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THE CANADIAN FOOTBALL LEAGUE: RADICALLY CANADIAN?

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ABSTRACT

Sport can be a medium for inculcating national passions and also as an outlet for the transmission of these. Indeed, Canadian professional football has made such claims for its game.

The Canadian Football League (CFL) uses marketing slogans like "The Canadian Football League: RADICALLY CANADIAN" and "Our Balls are Bigger" in attempts to attract fans and sell CFL merchandise. The League touts itself as being the only truly Canadian professional sports league and describes its championship game, the Grey Cup, as a national unifying event.

In order to answer the general question: How Canadian is the CFL, the study examines the following specific questions: what are the Canadian specificities of the game?, who controls the game?, who plays the game?, how is the game portrayed? Contrary to its rhetoric, the Canadian Football League is a misnomer. The CFL seizes upon the nationalistic passions of the fan base to further its growth while marginalizing the participation of the Canadian player. In fact, the CFL is Canadian in rules only and has, throughout its history, been subject to relentless forces of Americanisation. Using empirical quantitative data for the CFL from 1990 – 2000 as well as qualitative data throughout the CFL's history, the study demonstrates the diverse ways in which these forces manifest themselves.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In November 1997, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage created the Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport in Canada. The Sub-Committee's mandate involved three main topics of study: "measurement of the economic impact of sport on a national and regional basis; the contribution of sport to the cultural sphere, particularly with a view to finding evidence of sport's impact on national unity and how this might be enhanced; the potential scope of, and rationale for, federal involvement – or increased federal involvement – in the promotion of (and participation in) amateur sport in Canada" (Sub-Committee, 1998, p. 2). The Sub-Committee's findings, dubbed the Mills Report since MP Dennis Mills was the chair, were released in November, 1998. Many of the findings dealt with the economic realities faced by athletes and sporting organisations of all levels, both amateur and professional. As well as dealing with economic factors, the Sub-Committee reinforced the common notion that sport has many other benefits such as health and well-being, social development and social cohesion. It is the last aspect of the promotion of national unity and identity as fostered by professional sports, more specifically the Canadian Football League (CFL) that will be the focus of this thesis. In other words, does Canadian professional football contribute to the feelings of national identity? Or does it signal the subjugation of Canadian identity to globalising forces or to cultural imperialism from the United States?

THE CANADIAN FOOTBALL LEAGUE (CFL)

The unique game of Canadian Football has assumed many different forms throughout its history. While the origins of football have been variously attributed to Ancient Greeks and

Romans with their games of episkuros and harpaston and to the English who "celebrated a victory over marauding Vikings by kicking a vanquished Viking skull around the town square" (Currie, 1968, p.15), the introduction of football into Canada is not as confused. The first game account of rugby football was recorded in Montréal in 1865 with members of an English garrison playing a game against a group of students from McGill and civilians from Montréal (Cosentino, 1970). Previously, a game which more closely resembled Association Football or Soccer was played in Canada. After this introduction to football, McGill students began to play it regularly amongst the various faculties on campus and eventually travelled south to play in a two-game series against Harvard. The first game was played under Harvard rules, what can be classified as soccer, and the second game was played under the McGill rules, or rugby football rules. It is this series that is widely regarded as the first introduction to the United States of the game of football, and from this series the divergent paths of the games of American Football and Canadian Football can be traced (Cantelon, 1970)

The early history of football in Canada is characterised by rapid advancement in skills and many rule changes. As well, because of the many challenge series' between Canadian teams and American teams, not to mention between clubs from all over Canada, many adaptations and borrowings from the various forms of football added to the development of the game from one that closely resembled rugby to one that for the most part began to look like modern-day Canadian Football. Canadian football was first and foremost an amateur game and the only requirements to participate were that one met the amateur stipulations set out by the Amateur Athletic Union (A.A.U.) and that one was a resident in the town where the club played (Cosentino, 1970). Thus class and social position had very little to do with who participated in Canadian Football in its early history. For example, there were documented reports of games

organised between the Ottawa Roughriders, comprised of log riders and lumberjacks, and the Ottawa Senators, whose members came from the upper class. (Currie, 1968) This was in direct contrast to the situation in Britain as Association Football was primarily a working class game and Rugby was played by the upper classes (Dunning, 1971).

In the latter part of the 19th century, a period of rapid change and innovation, influence from the American game and its proponents was more frequent. It is this American influence and subsequent domination that is the crux of this thesis. One of the most influential Americans was Frank Shaughnessy. He was the coach of the McGill team and is credited with bringing about many of the changes to the game, such as, the training table where he could monitor his players' eating habits while promoting team unity and camaraderie, and travelling earlier to away games so that his players had sufficient rest. Within the actual game itself, Shaughnessy introduced the concept of the huddle, motion in the backfield and the position of linebacker. When the implementation of the forward pass began to appear inevitable, Shaughnessy recruited an American quarterback, Warren Stevens, who was proficient in the skill of throwing the football. Stevens led Montréal to the Grey Cup title in his first year playing in Canada in 1931 (Cosentino, 1995). This lead to increased importation of American talent into Canadian football and the professionalisation of the game. Perhaps the most glaring example of this was conducted by Joe Ryan, the general manager of the Winnipeg Blue Bombers, who recruited seven more American players to complement the two he already had on the roster. With their bolstered roster, the Blue Bombers won the Grey Cup in 1935 (Cosentino, 1970). Americans were considered to be superior to their Canadian counterparts and were heavily recruited to both play and coach in Canada. This cycle of recruitment became self-perpetuating as those Americans who came to Canada would recruit other Americans to join them as players or replace those who

joined the coaching ranks. This practice inevitably spelled the demise of the Canadian quarterback and brought about over the years, among other things, the implementation of a player's union, the import/non-import ratio and even changes to the size of the ball used (Cosentino, 1995).

The American player was at the pinnacle of the Canadian football hierarchy yet the game itself and its National Championship, the Grey Cup, were seen as beacons of Canadian nationalism. Indeed, then-Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson summed up the feeling, "... each year it becomes more obvious that in the annual classic, Canada exhibits not only a superb athletic contest but more and more, a genuine National symbol, a force for unity and understanding locking east and west in vigorous, healthy competition" (Cosentino, 1995, p. 85). The atmosphere which surrounds the Grey cup is alive with references to Canadiana and what it means to be Canadian. As Cosentino notes,

> ...the half-time show was a celebration of Canadianism. A giant Canadian flag was carried out to the field. Tommy Ambrose serenaded and led a spontaneous sing-along of Canadian songs. The sheer eye misting pride that we all take in this country, whether we cheer for Hamilton or Edmonton, reached a crescendo as folk singer Roger Wittaker belted out his big hit 'Canada is' (1995, p. 161).

These patriotic sentiments were seen as ways to bring the nation closer together.

Canadian sport history is replete with examples of the contributions of sport to the formation of the Canadian nation itself. In the 1880's the world champion rower, Ned Hanlon, "carried the name of Canada around the world...was better known than Prime Minister Macdonald and his victories were widely perceived to be an example of the growing strength of the young Dominion" (Kidd, 1982, p. 286). Thus, Hanlon helped define and establish an identity for a young nation that was seeking to shed the shadows of its colonial master, Britain, and to distance itself from its neighbour to the south, the United States. This nationalistic fervour can

also be seen in the examination of one of Canada's greatest long distance runners, Tom Longboat. "When he won against runners from other countries, he would be toasted as an example of Canadian courage and determination" (Kidd, 1982, p. 286). Nowhere in Canadian sport do the flames of nationalistic passion burn fiercer than in hockey. Most Canadians of a certain age could describe in great detail where they were when Paul Henderson scored the winning goal for Team Canada in the 1972 Summit Series with the Soviet Union, and if they were not alive could probably answer where their parents were at that moment. Indeed, more than half of the country's population watched the broadcast of the final game, the largest audience ever for a single broadcast on Canadian television, and the CBC recorded 97% for audience appreciation (CBC Annual Report, 1972). Like soccer in Europe and baseball in the United States, hockey in Canada would foster pride and national identity.

> Hockey was the one thing in our youth that virtually all boys seemed to have in common – the stuff of everyday conversation, the regularly shared experience of after-school and weekend play. Perhaps the strongest of all our feelings of commonality came when we watched *Hockey Night in Canada* on Saturday nights. Even at an early age the TV program made us feel like part of a national community (Gruneau and Whitson, 1993, p. 2).

However, hockey in Canada can also be seen to divide rather than unite and reopen wounds rather than heal. For, as Kidd (1992) states, "the Canadian unity celebrated by the triumph of Team Canada in international ice hockey helps reinforce the hegemony of an English-speaking, central Canadian patriarchy, and the legitimacy of high performance as the ultimate measure of cultural validity in sport" (p. 153). Therefore, sport can contribute both to foster and to work against Canadian nationalism. Moreover, given the complexity of the national issue in Canada, one has to keep in mind that there are competing visions of the country. For example, if one

examines the situation in Québec with regards to nationalism within sport an interesting phenomenon arises. Although Québec is part of Canada it uses sport, both at the elite level and at the non-competitive level, to promote a feeling of Québecois nationalism. Harvey (1999) writes of the Parti Québecois' "White Paper" that outlines its plan to use government money to create national training centres and to subsidise national teams from Québec and that "...the programme's emphasis on access, universality and equity suggests that all forms of leisure (including fitness and non competitive sport) will be promoted within the context of building a non-ethnic, although French-speaking, Québecois civic nation" (p. 44). What is worthy of note about the Québec situation is that its athletes compete, in some cases contentiously, under the flag of Canada but also as Québecois or what Cronin describes as "promot[ing] a minority notion of national identity in the face of a formalised nation state" (1999, p. 145). Parallels can be drawn between the Québec example and the soccer clubs of Barcelona and Dynamo Kiev, where the former competes within the top league in Spain but is seen as a flag-bearer for Catalonia and Catalonian nationalism and the latter which, within the former Soviet Union, was seen as a beacon of Ukrainian nationalism in the face of the dominant Soviet (i.e. Russian) state (Cronin, 1999).

Another perfect example of this nationalism can be seen with the Montréal Canadiens, the only National Hockey League franchise remaining in Québec. The Canadiens are a special case because they are seen as Québec's team and are followed religiously across the province. Whitson and Gruneau (1993) speak of watching "Hockey Night in Canada" as young boys and developing a shared sense of community. This development of a community identity manifested itself within Québec through the Montréal Canadiens and as Harvey (1999) has argued "'La soirée du hockey' where the performances of the French Canadian players have consistently

been celebrated" (p. 33). The team was seized upon by French Canada as their team and their boys, their resistance in the face of Anglo-domination. Bélanger (1996) does a masterful job of describing this phenomenon of minority nationalism in the face of a larger nation-state when she writes,

> By its very structure, it also served to soothe the collective frustrations and provide a place for the popular expression of a national debate: that of the quest by Québecois francophones for a collective identity in the face of 'rich and powerful' anglophones. The Montréal Canadiens traditionally have been comprised by mostly francophone players, yet on a team owned by anglophones and in a league run by anglophones. It is a bit like the image of the Québecois workers at the turn of the century, working for anglophone bosses, within an economy driven by anglophones, or in a more general fashion, a small battalion of francophones fighting to maintain their strong cultural identity, isolated within an anglophone continent. Within Québec's historical context, this sport also served to affirm a national identity within the imagination of its people (p. 541, my translation).

In brief, sport has been perceived by many as contributing to the promotion of different forms of nationalisms in Canada. Such is the case for Canadian football, namely CFL football. But with its history of American influence, if not domination, the role of the Canadian Football League appears somewhat unclear as a true vehicle for the promotion of Canadian nationalism.

DELIMITATIONS

This study focuses on the Canadian Football League. It will not address other forms of Canadian football played in leagues such as the Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union (C.I.A.U.) and the Canadian Junior Football League (C.J.F.L.) as these leagues are not professional and also abide by different rules and regulations than those by which the CFL competes.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research question for the thesis is: How Canadian is the Canadian Football League? In order to fully answer this general research question, four specific questions guided the research. These questions will be analysed by various means including document analysis, and descriptive statistics. The exact methods of analysis for each specific research question will be discussed in detail within the methodology section in chapter three.

1. WHAT ARE THE CANADIAN SPECIFICITIES OF THE GAME?

To answer this question, the rules, which are unique to the Canadian variation of football, as well as the specific history of the Canadian game will be studied. The answers to this question will tell us how different is the Canadian game from the American one. Moreover, the history of the Canadian game will tell us how these developments were "Canada specific" or rather reactions to events within, or to the general influence of, its American counterpart. In other words, the history of Canadian football will tell us about the "relative" autonomy of the Canadian game from the American one.

2. WHO CONTROLS THE GAME?

This question will focus on determining who exactly is controlling the game. The top decision-makers of the Canadian Football League are the coaching staffs, which include the head coach and the offensive and defensive co-ordinators, and the scouts. The nationality of these top decision-makers will provide the answers to this question. Indeed, a solid indicator of whose game is it is to assess to whom does it belong and who are the decision-makers within the sport.

The scouts of the teams and the coaching staff are key actors in the production of an entertainment product, such as professional football.

3. WHO PLAYS THE GAME?

This question will focus on determining what is the nationality of the CFL players. More precisely this study will assess if there are differentials in the nationality of the players playing at each specific position on the field, a phenomenon labelled as stacking. As the history of the specificities of the game will reveal in examination of question one, the ratio of American players versus Canadian players has been strictly regulated in the CFL. But these ratios provide one part of the answer about who is playing the game. The number of players making the team and actually playing is also important to know. Moreover, it is important to know the roles assumed on the team by the players of each country. Are key positions played by Canadians, Americans or both? Football is a team sport yet some positions are more integral to the outcome of the game. Players in these positions are likely to be the ones who will get most of the attention from the sport reporters, television commentators, as well as the audience and supporters. They are the media-produced stars of the game. The nationality of these players is key to understanding the Canadianness or American character of the game. After all, the players are the raw material of the game, the labour force of the sport spectacle, and the main producers of the entertainment product.

4. HOW IS THE GAME PORTRAYED?

With this question, we switch from how the game is produced to how it is perceived. This question will focus on the portrayal of professional sport as a contributor to national identity

within Canada. The deliberations of the Mills committee and of the witnesses that met with the committee, as well as the report itself will be the main source of information. National symbols and beliefs are key to national identity, as we will see in the review of literature. Therefore, it is as important to know how the game is portrayed as contributing to a specific form of nationalism, as it is to understand the realities of the game.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

NATIONALISM

The concept of nationalism is problematic in that there are a seemingly infinite number of definitions and interpretations. As Hutchinson and Smith have written, "perhaps the central difficulty in the study of nations and nationalism has been the problem of finding adequate and agreed definitions of the key concepts, nation and nationalism" (1994, pp. 3-4). As the task of finding the perfect definition of nationalism would be nearly impossible and, without a doubt, beyond the scope of this thesis, I will utilise the framework of nationalism, as well as nationalism in sport put forward by Cronin in his 1999 book entitled "Sport and nationalism in Ireland: Gaelic games, soccer and Irish identity since 1884". Cronin defines nationalism as "a multifaceted expression of identity which, while having some common constituents, functions as both a mobile and historically contested ideology. It can be either formalised, imagined or challenged by forces, groups or individuals both within, and outside the projected vision or reality of the nation" (1999, p. 30). Cronin sees nationalism as working on numerous different levels. As a result of the different levels, nationalism can be moulded by not just a governing intellectual elite but by other means "such as the individual, the people, the media, customs, traditions, gastronomy, sporting styles and so on" (1999, p. 31). Cronin also sees nationalism as

containing characteristics that have been discussed on a theoretical level as well as being tangible and put into practice. "These common constituents which are often seen as 'real', include ideas such as an identifiable geographical area for the nation, a shared or common language, history, race, tradition, customs and so on" (1999, p. 31). The key point that must be emphasised is that nationalism is dynamic and malleable and this is true when one analyses it throughout history or within the context of the contemporary world.

The second major point of Cronin's definition is that nationalism can be formalised, imagined or challenged by many diverse groups. A nation becomes formalised by recognition from other countries and then by groups such as the United Nations (U.N.) or the North Atlantic Treat Organisation (N.A.T.O.). While this is not an absolute rule, for the most part if a nation is accepted and recognised by other countries then world-wide organisations soon follow suit. However, key to this point is that merely being recognised as a formal nation does not constitute 'rightness' of a nation. For example, within Spain, the Basque separatists do not define themselves as being part of the Spanish nation. In Canada, many Québecois do not see themselves as being within the Canadian nation.

With the last point in mind, the "imagined" nation that Cronin describes is present at a much broader level than formal nationalism. While its members are not joined together in any specific fashion per se, it is nonetheless a very real experience. This may consist of factors such as "common heritage, a shared ethnic background or shared values. It does not matter if these imagined commonalities are not real or that they never existed. It is enough for the members of a nationalism to believe that they are real and that they existed" (1999, p. 32). This imagined nationalism can be evoked by the individual or can be utilised by outlets such as the media and political leaders in order to further their cause.

CANADIAN NATIONALISM

Just as nationalism is difficult to define, so too for Canadian nationalism. Thus, for the purposes of this thesis what I wish to draw upon when discussing Canadian nationalism is the definition Cronin put forth above, more precisely, its multifacetedness and how it is created and challenged by both groups within and outside the projected nationalism. As Canada is a country shaped by its differences built along linguistic, geographic, and religious lines this definition is especially fitting. While the four main groups, French, English, First Nations, and Immigrants, are definitely not on equal footing with respect to the power of defining Canadian society, each group plays an integral role in shaping national identity and unity. It is a unique variety of nationalism, unlike any other nation in the world. John Ralston Saul (1997) juxtaposes Canada against the United States and describes Canada as having

> attitudes and policies [that] are largely the product of local circumstances, in part because we have constructed a country on the margins of western civilisation. Those circumstances moved us away from the European model of the monolithic frontier-conquering nation-state. It was a model which could not work here. The United States, on the other hand, is the natural prolongation of the European idea. It is the European state personified. It has become what France, Germany, England and Spain dreamt they might become if only they had had the space (pp. 102-103).

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

The Dictionary of Sociology (1995) defines imperialism as "the political and economic domination of one country, or countries, by another, which leads either to alien rule imposed by force, or to economic domination and exploitation" (p. 236). The focus of the thesis will be on the cultural and economic domination of the United States towards Canada. As the economic domination with which this thesis is most concerned occurs within the realm of sport, the term

cultural imperialism may in fact be more descriptive of what is occurring. John Tomlinson (1991) defines cultural imperialism as "a form of domination...not just in the political and economic spheres but also over those practices by which collectivities make sense of their lives" (p. 7). Sport, with its many different inherent meanings, is definitely intertwined with our culture and thus the use of the term "cultural imperialism" with regards to the relationship between the United States and Canadian sport is justified.

Kidd (1991) prefers to use the term "American capitalist hegemony" to describe the phenomenon because of its Gramscian implications. That is, Kidd argues, the term imperialism and its inherent implications of domination, do not take into account the resistance that can occur by the local culture with regards to the outside influence, nor the acquiescence of the local culture to view outside or global forces as intrinsically better.

STACKING

Another important concept for this study is stacking. According to Coakley, (2001, p. 263) "when players from a certain racial or ethnic group are either over-or under-represented at certain positions in team sports, we say that racial stacking exists." Numerous examples of stacking have been shown to exist in American sports such as football, baseball, and basketball. For the purposes of this thesis, the concept of stacking will not be examined from a racial perspective but by categories of citizenship. That is, are Canadians and Americans or Non-imports and Imports under–represented or over-represented at certain positions within the CFL?

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study will add to the ongoing debate surrounding national identity and sport. More specifically, it will address the contribution of professional sport to national identity and unity. It will also add to the debate on issues of globalisation versus American imperialism in sport. There is a lack of literature concerning the American influence on Canadian sport and more specifically the American influence upon the Canadian Football League. As this study will address this very issue it should be an important addition to Canadian sport sociology and will attempt to build on the brilliant insights put forth by Kidd (1970, 1982, 1991) in his treatises on the American influence within Canadian sport.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The undertaking of this thesis will touch upon many critical debates, namely those surrounding national identity and sport, globalisation and local resistance and acquiescence and cultural imperialism. These debates will all be situated in the context of Canadian Football in a unique and heretofore unseen fashion. In order to accomplish this, a review of literature must be completed on the topics of nationalism, Canadian nationalism, nationalism and sport, Canadian sport and nationalism, globalisation, cultural imperialism and stacking.

NATIONALISM

The term "nationalism" conjures up many different images and ideas as to what exactly the term means. However most theorists who study the concept would agree that nationalism as we know it today had its genesis in the 17th and 18th centuries. Debate to whether it began in England, with its emphasis on patriotism and individual liberty, or through the French revolution, and its emphasis on homogeneity, or the American revolution, with its emphasis on heterogeneity, has raged and will continue to rage. In order to fully grasp nationalism one must first attempt to understand the concept of what is meant by a nation. Bagehot (in Hutchinson, 1994) describes it as "one of those many phenomena that we understand so long as we are not asked, but that we cannot explain in brief and succinct terms" (p. 25). Ernest Renan, in his classic treatise "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?", sees it as something in which we have a common past and a common present and is based upon the underlying morality found within. "A great aggregation of men,

with a healthy spirit and warmth of heart, creates a moral conscience which is called a nation. When this moral conscience proves its strength by sacrifices that demand abdication of the individual for the benefit of the community, it is legitimate, and it has a right to exist" (In Hutchinson, 1994, p. 29).

Stalin (in Hutchinson) sees the nation as being composed of many compulsory qualities such as " ...a stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological makeup manifested in a common culture"(p. 21). All of these qualities are necessary in order for the nation to exist and, for Stalin, absence or weakness of one of these qualities means the nation ceases to exist. Otto Bauer views the nation much the same as Stalin in that people are united by their common history and future which gives them a distinct character. This distinctiveness of character almost always manifests itself in a common language (Bauer, 1924).
In contrast to the idea of a nation of Bauer and Stalin are the thoughts of Max Weber. Weber feels that a nation " is not identical with the people of a state...not identical with a community speaking the same language,...(and) the sentiment of ethnic solidarity does not by itself make a 'nation'" (Weber, 1994, p. 22-23). Weber views the concept of the nation as being part of the political process. He describes it as "a community which normally tends to produce a state of its own" (Weber, 1994, p.23). In keeping with this statist definition of a nation, Giddens (1985, p. 34) sees the nation as a "bordered power-container" in which power is institutionalised and administered from within clearly marked boundaries or territories.

Hobsbawm (1990) discusses the nation as ever changing and it can only be studied within the context from which it came. It is related to the concept of a state but

only in the fact that " (n)ations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way round" (p. 10).

Gellner (1983) viewed the attempt to define "nation" as problematic because he felt that the nation was sometimes not necessary, in other words, nations "are a contingency, and not a universal necessity" (p. 6). Yet to describe someone as without a nation or without nationality is implausible and incomprehensible to most.

Anthony Smith (1979) envisages two types of nations, "the nation as a 'natural' unit in history and the 'nation' as a historically specific and political goal or ideal" (p. 167). The former sense deals with the nation as being rooted to the planet and its changing seasons, primarily through religious or cultural ties. This describes the nation at its basest level. Smith's second description is 'political' in that the nation must be tied to politics and government if true enlightenment, liberty and justice are to be reached. This latter definition is a "modern, revolutionary and specifically nationalist concept, a political ideal peculiar to an era of massive change" (p. 168).

Anderson (1991) put forth the definition of a nation as "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (p. 6). What Anderson means by imagined is that it is impossible for citizens of a community to know everyone, even in the smallest of nations. In other words, we know we have fellow citizens and we assume they exist even though we do not know of them personally. It is limited because it has borders that are restrained by physical laws and beyond which are other nations. Anderson describes the nation as sovereign because the definition came about as a result of rejection of the notion of divine right. Rather sovereignty implies freedom and liberty for all. It is regarded as a community because no matter how much

inequality exists and how many atrocities are committed within its boundaries a nation encompasses feelings of togetherness and unity with one's fellow members.

As the focus of this thesis is the Canadian nation, Anderson's conception is arguably the most beneficial. First, and without sounding trite, Canada is a vast country with a relatively small population in comparison to its physical size. It is impossible for Canadians to know all other Canadians, even at the local level. Yet Canadians in British Columbia still know of and consider Nova Scotians as Canadians, and vice versa, without having formally met. Canada is, for most of its citizens, an imagined community. Second, Canada is limited by its geographical border. It is the northern most North American nation, surrounded by the Atlantic, Pacific and Arctic oceans. Its only political neighbour is the United States with which its shares the 49th parallel. Third, the journey leading to Canada as a sovereign nation began as a result of war between the English and French and continued along that path with events such as the creation of a Canadian flag, a distinct national anthem and political separation from the British monarchy. The final point, and one that is not as easily expressed, is that Canada has a feeling of unity among most of its citizens. There are those who would argue that Canada could not be more divisive and divided and would cite the strained relations and tensions between the French, English, First Nations and immigrants, the regional tensions between East, West, Central Canada and Québec, and the lack of cohesion or outright hostility between the provinces. Nonetheless, applying Anderson's concepts of sovereignty and limitation, the rural farmers from Saskatchewan, the urban dwellers from Toronto, the Alliance members from British Columbia or péquistes from Trois-Rivières, are still citizens of the country that is Canada. Anderson's "imagined nation" holds true when an examination of

Canada is undertaken, despite the tensions and uncertainty that individual citizens may express.

In short, there are many different viewpoints as to what constitutes a nation. Obviously this problem does not disappear with the related concept of nationalism. In order to facilitate understanding we will again turn to Cronin and his framework of nationalism. Cronin has framed nationalism into four distinct categories: Primordialists; Modernists; Statists; and Political Mythologists.

PRIMORDIALISTS

Those who subscribe to the primordialist view of nationalism would contend that the nation and nationalism is inextricably linked with the earth and the concept of physicality. Not only can it be manifested within the individual but it is also tied to the notion of an actual homeland or longstanding place of living. Those groups who have been living in certain areas for centuries and justify their inhabitancy by rhetoric that relies on anthropological and archaeological relics utilise this type of reasoning. Cronin summarises primordialists as seeing "nationalism as the product of ethnicity which can be rooted in history" (1999, p. 26). Examples of primordialist authors include H. Seton Watson in his book "Nations and states" (1977) and Hooson's 1994 book "Geography and national identity".

MODERNISTS

Modernists, as the name suggests, view nationalism as coming about as a result of the industrial and technological advancement (crudely, the modern age). Modernity brought

on the downfall of feudal society and with it technological advancements helped create less emphasis on organised religion in favour of secular scientific thinking. As a result of this secularisation, new social structures emerged. This allowed for more emphasis to be placed on the nation and social unity. Problematic with this point of view is the fact that it is mainly concerned with the 19th century and does not take into account other changes that may have occurred or are occurring. As Cronin states, modernism "belongs to a world of imperial powers and high politics. It is the nationalism of jingoism and war. How does such a nationalism fit in with the development of global politics, mass communications and marketing?" (1999, p. 28) Examples of modernist work include Ernest Gellner's "Nations and Nationalisms" (1983) and Greenfield's 1992 work entitled "Nationalism: 5 roads to modernity".

STATISTS

As political states materialised across the world and looked to expand their scope and influence, conflict occurred in the form of wars and the like. Statists would argue that these countries used nationalism to justify the bloodshed. Nationalism is a direct result of the overriding philosophy of the state. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger expound a politically driven view of statism. The state is governed by a ruling elite that uses invented traditions such as public commemorations and monuments along with propaganda to instill feelings of pride of the state within the governed masses. A good example of this can be seen within the former Soviet Union and their military parades and rallies in honour of the state. Examples of statist work include Breuilly's

"Nationalism and the state" (1982) and Moore's "Social origins of democracy and totalitarianism" (1967).

POLITICAL MYTHOLOGISTS

In direct contrast to the above mentioned viewpoints are the political mythologists. Instead of seeing nationalism rooted in tangible items (i.e., the land, modernity, the state), political mythologists describe it as coming from ideas that are imagined or mythological. These ideas can take many forms throughout history but for the most part are articulated by the elites of a nation. As Cronin writes, "the basic aim of the imagined nationalism was to motivate the whole of society around the idea of the nation. This is done through a shared sense of community and a similar belief in the values of the institutions of the state" (1999, p. 27). Examples of the political mythology viewpoint of nationalism can be seen in Benedict Anderson's 1991 work "Imagined communities" and Elie Kedourie's "Nationalism" published in 1963.

To conclude this section on nationalism it is important to show how nationalism will be used within this work. Nationalism is dynamic; that is, it is constantly evolving and changing shape and focus. It cannot be the same as in previous centuries as the nation in which it is created is not the same. It also operates on many different levels and is shaped by various groups. For the purposes of this thesis, the professional sporting leagues and franchises within Canada and the contribution they make to Canadian nationalism will be the focus of concentration. But what exactly is Canadian nationalism? This question is explored within the next section.

CANADIAN NATIONALISM

Defining Canadian nationalism is problematic. Indeed, Canada and the Canadian way of life are characterised by tensions, contradictions and a network of social, political and cultural complexities. Being Canadian is not a homogeneous experience. There are many divisions between different groups within Canada that have different experiences and outlooks as to what it means to be Canadian. These include distinctions relating to ethnicity, race, culture, gender and language, among others. What follows will be a brief look at the unique experiences of Canadians affected by these divisions and how each of these contribute to and impact upon Canadian nationalism.

To live within Canadian society is inherently different with regards to gender. That is, to be a woman in Canada is to face dissimilar obstacles and experiences than those of male Canadians and to also face challenges that males simply do not have to contend with. Indeed, women in Canada were not entitled to vote until 1918 (Hiller, 2000) and it was not until the late 1960's that various women's groups began to exert pressure to receive more equitable treatment in all aspects of life (Hiller, 2000). Yet today, gender equity is still far from the case. While almost 75% of women from the ages of 20-54 are part of the workforce, the jobs they fill are considerably different than those of men. As Hiller (2000) points out, "men have a broader range of occupational sectors in which they work, whereas women are clustered in clerical and service industries with a smaller concentration in health and education from where they build their management and administrative roles" (p. 100). As well, 66% of women work in jobs where 70% of the workers are women (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1994).

Scholars such as Roberta Hamilton (1996) feel that the Canadian state itself has been patriarchal and that, in spite of some changes, the status quo of male dominance has been sustained through things like the lack of gender equity among decision makers and the undervaluing of women's work. Further to this gendered division of labour is the fact that women of visible minorities must also deal with racial discrimination. They are doubly disadvantaged. They must adapt to large cultural differences between traditional female roles and also face the, sometimes daunting, task of finding employment. This leads into a discussion of the differences surrounding Canadian national identity with regards to the complex and intertwined concepts of race and ethnicity.

Compared to the United States, the phrase "race doesn't matter here" is widely endorsed in Canada (James, 1994, p. 47). This is simply not true. If one examines the history of Canada, it is fraught with incidences of racial discrimination and racism and anti-ethnic backlash. In Pre-Confederation Nova Scotia, African-Canadians were used as slaves (Jones, 1978), there was a head tax placed on incoming Chinese immigrants to British Columbia in the early 1920's (Fleras & Elliott, 1996), while Japanese-Canadians were placed in internment camps in World War II (Sunahara, 1981). As well, in the 1930's, universities imposed limits on the number of Jewish students who could enrol (Abella, 1989) and African-Canadians were barred from many theatres and restaurants, much like the Deep South of the United States, until the 1950's (Walker, 1989). While things have ameliorated considerably, racism still exists in Canada but, for the most part, it is not as overt as it was in the past. As Fleras and Elliott (1996) write,

> Canadian racism is often depicted as polite and subdued. Racism in Canada is rarely perpetuated by raving lunatics who engage in beatings, lynchings, or graffiti. Rather, racism among Canadians is unobtrusive, often implicit and embedded in words or actions. Derogatory references

> about minorities continue to be expressed, but they are usually restricted to remarks to friends in private locales. With higher education, individuals become more adept at compartmentalizing and concealing racist attitudes lest they blurt out statements at odds with career plans or a sophisticated self-image (p. 75).

Thus, Canadians from visible minorities have different experiences and ideas of what it means to be Canadian that, in turn, leads to different views on Canadian nationalism and national identity.

Canada has become a more multicultural nation with the addition of other ethnic groups to the "original" First Nations, English and French groups through immigration. These immigrants are consciously chosen and add immensely to Canadian society and also help to continuously shape Canada and feelings of national identity. Hiller (2000) points out,

> it is important to note that federal government policy determines which ethnic groups are preferable immigrants, and a change in qualifications for admittance can significantly affect the nature of ethnic representation. The government then, determines which ethnic groups will be admitted and what work they are likely to do. For example, when Eastern Europeans entered the country in the 1920's, they were largely rural peasants encouraged to settle remote western farmlands (e.g. the Ukrainians in Northern Saskatchewan), whereas the immigration of Asians in the 1970's consisted mostly of skilled and professional persons destined for urban centres (p. 94).

What emerges is what Porter (1965) described as the "Vertical Mosaic", or how ethnicity in inextricably linked with one's social status within Canada.

French-English relations have been an integral part of Canadian nationalism since Canada's inception as a nation-state for the obvious reason that it was France and England who were competing for control of the new country. The clash between the two founding groups in Canada has been well documented throughout the country's tumultuous history resulting in what many describe as irreconcilable differences. There

are many reasons given for the dispute but that which we are concerned with for the purposes of this thesis is the alleged distinction between the forms of nationalism practised within Québec and within the rest of Canada.

The separation of Québec from the rest of Canada was brought to a head with the 1995 Québec referendum and again recently with the apparent inevitability of pro-separation Bernard Landry succeeding Lucien Bouchard as head of the Parti Québecois and Premier of Québec. Opponents of the separatist movement denounce it as a discordant movement to the very fabric of what constitutes Canada and have compared it to the atrocities which occurred in Nazi Germany, Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. This comparison came about as a result of defining Québec nationalism as an ethnic nationalism. Harvey (1999) defines ethnic nationalism as "a nationalism essentially promoting the project of a specific cultural group to become sovereign". (p. 39). This is juxtaposed against civic nationalism, or more or less the nationalism said to exist within Canada. Harvey (1999) defined civic nationalism as "referring to a de-ethnicised nation, predicated on a civic, rational logic or universal reason. This community is essentially pluralist and respectful of all groups. The definition of this community also implies the primacy of citizenship over any cultural or categorical representation. In other words, it is a liberal view of a nation-state where individual rights take precedence over those of the group" (p. 39). The description of Québecois nationalism as an ethnic nationalism stemmed from the notion that the basic tenets of Québecois nationalism as promoting and preserving the French language as the principal language of the province ran in direct opposition to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and thus to the perceived notion that Canadian nationalism was one of the civic variety. Yet the government of

Québec's official vision of its nationalism is a civic nationalism. Indeed, in a pamphlet distributed to Québec voters before the referendum, the government stated their willingness to preserve the identity and institutions of both First Nations and anglophones in Québec. As well, Salée (1995) describes the government's attempt at sovereignty as one that "...stabilises the tension between citizenship and nation through showing itself as part of a collective will for a common life among all the residents living in Québec's territory, whatever their ethno-cultural origin" (p. 136). In further defense of Québecois nationalism as a form of civic nationalism, Harvey (1999) describes the government's official position as "a vision of an ideal supra nation, i.e. above the ethnic groups living in a given territory. Citizenship becomes the common denominator. The decision to create this new country is therefore not a sentimental ethnic one, it is a decision governed by rationality – the functional need of a sovereign state to solve the political and constitutional problems of Québec" (p. 41).

Related to the above is the experiences of minority francophones within other parts of Canada. They sometimes experience being a Canadian from two or more perspectives. As a French speaker in an English majority, as an English speaker (in some cases) and some whose mother tongue is neither official language. Young (1995) describes this phenomenon as "hybridity". Hybridity allows for expression of complex identities which have routinely been considered distinct. This hybridity has been documented by Magord (1997) in his look at Franco-Newfoundlanders and Marchand's (1997) study on Franco-Manitobans. Dallaire and Whitson (1997) also refer to this notion of hybridity in national identity in Alberta and found that

> young francophones' experiences in Alberta today inevitably extend beyond the borders of the francophone community. They are, and want to

> be, part of the wider, multicultural English-speaking Albertan and Canadian societies in which they also live. However they want to do this without rejecting their "French" affiliation or language—indeed without exception they are proud of both (pp. 105-106).

With regards to the First Nations and their interactions with the French and English, one can see that role of the First Nations has been changed considerably throughout Canadian history. What began as a partnership between the groups with the First Nations as allies quickly dissolved into the assimilation and subservience of the First Nations to both the French and English. As Saul (1997) points out the First Nation's "status declined, via legal transformations, from that of allies to that of minors during the nineteenth century, and to that of wards in the early part of this century. Government policy was intended, in Duncan Campbell Scott's words, to cause them to 'disappear as a separate and distinct people'" (pp. 88-89). Recently, the role of the First Nations has undergone another change, one which seeks to return the First Nations to the role of ally. This return is viewed by Saul (1997) as the way it should be because the First Nations were part of what he terms the "triangular foundation", the alliance formed between the three groups which helped bring about the shaping of Canada. In his words, "the gradual return of aboriginal influence, from the 1970's on, is often interpreted as a legal oddity or as a phenomenon of guilt or charity or as the annoying appearance of yet another interest group. Surely not. Surely it is the logic of history painfully kicking back into gear" (p. 88). The creation of the territory of Nunavut exemplifies this reappearance of the First Nations to the triangular foundation. This is not to say that the sides of this triangle are equal, on the contrary, the First Nations are definitely a small player in the game of Canada, even with their recent triumphs in court cases concerning land treaties

and residential schools. Indeed, "descendants of the aboriginal peoples of this country face a litany of social, psychological, and economic problems unparalleled in any other segment of Canadian society" (Asch, 1984, p. 13). This last point of unequal power relations is the major point of the triangular foundation and also one which is key within the next section of Canada's role within North America, or more specifically Canada's place in its association with the United States.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the unique Canadian brand of nationalism for the purposes of this thesis has to do with the relations with our neighbours to the south. The United States exerts an influence over nearly, if not all, aspects of Canadian life. To what level and extent this occurs is quite difficult to be truly measured and has been the focus of heated debate for decades. What is indisputable is that nearly ninety percent of Canada's 30 million citizens live within 480 kilometres of the Canada-U.S. border, the longest undefended border in the world (Wonders, 1987). American influences abound via the media, television programs, movies, music, sporting events, business and even by Americans themselves through the huge influx of tourists each year. What does this lead to? Is Canada merely the northern extension of the United States within the continental economy and artistic world as Grant (1997) has expressed? Or does Canadianness become entrenched more fully in the national psyche, a local resistance to globalising (in this case, Americanising) forces? Many Canadians cannot define what it means to be Canadian except by stating "not American". It is this last choice of Canadian opposition to American influence that I feel is what is occurring. This is another piece in the unique puzzle that is Canadian nationalism. This resistance to U.S. assimilation is not a new way of thinking, for as Cook (1995) states "it must always be

remembered that the nineteenth-century experience of Canadians included several bitter memories of relations with the United States: the War of 1812, a long series of border disputes, the ruptured relations of the Civil War years...the very existence of Canada, most nineteenth-century Canadians realised, was an anti-American fact" (p. 177).

Another factor that plays a large role in shaping Canadian nationalism and is integral to this study is regionalism and the problems associated with this phenomenon. The last point is one of extreme importance as the sheer physical size of the country along with an array of geographic obstacles have lent itself to the creation of regional differences and divisions. As Wonders (1987) has stated "(the physiography) has fragmented the country harshly into a series of compartmentalised habitation regions separated by hundreds of miles of inhospitable terrain" (p. 240). Indeed, as Frye (1982) has commented "every part of Canada is shut off by its geography, British Columbia from the prairies by the Rockies, the prairies from the Canadas by the immense hinterland of northern Ontario, Québec from the Maritimes by the upthrust of Maine, the Maritimes from Newfoundland by the sea" (p. 207). These divisions lead to a country with strong regional ties and identities and as an outcome hinder the development of a sense of unity within the entire nation-state that is Canada. This helps to create the unique blend of Canadian nationalism. As Hiller (2000) states "regions are social constructions because people both respond to the elements of their surroundings and initiate actions to transform them and thereby create their own local communities" (p. 128). Regionalism has two dimensions, geographic considerations, as stated above, play a huge role, while economic reasons are equally important. In other words, what people do to earn a living

within that geographic region, for example, the fishing industry in Nova Scotia versus the oil industry in Alberta. Hiller (2000) again shows that

> the importance and economic value of what people do to earn a living shapes the nature and quality of their lives, and gives a region a distinct identity. Social institutions (e.g. grain growers or fish cooperatives, manufacturing unions) which grow up around these economic activities help to produce a regional culture, a similar view of the world, a folk culture of customs and traditions, a common history, linguistic idioms, and consequently a personal attachment to an area and group identity (p. 128).

But what factors lead to regionalism occurring in Canada? Hiller (2000) sees five possible explanations emerging. Uneven development is the first. Historically, most of the economic development in Canada revolved around the central Canadian cities of Toronto and Montréal. Indeed, Glenday, Guindon & Turowetz (1978) show that in post-World War II development "75% of the leading Canadian corporations and 85% of the major financial institutions established their head office in Toronto or Montréal" (p. 188). As a result, the Maritimes' earlier industrial dominance soon rapidly declined and the region has never fully recovered (Acheson, 1977). This central Canadian industrial dominance means that "persons seeking work or career advancement are forced to leave the hinterland regions and move to Ontario or Québec. This movement contributes to further population imbalances" (Hiller, 2000, pp. 131-132). As will be seen, these imbalances aid to the further entrenchment of regionalism within Canadian society.

State policy is the second factor which contributes to Canadian regionalism. Government policies have far-reaching effects that impact regions in various ways. Brodie (1997) discusses the Canadian state policy of 1879 that was put into place to erect a nation-wide economy. This policy placed tariffs on the importation of goods and materials from the United States in an effort to heighten trade between Canadian

provinces and regions. What occurred was "that central Canadian industries flourished , the Maritimes became deindustrialized, and the West was limited to providing primary products as an exporting hinterland" (p. 133). She continues on to describe the more recent example occurring in the late 1980's of free trade as a state policy which became a factor in Canadian regionalism. "Some regions were better able to take advantage of integration into the global economy than others, and other regions were not only hurt by their inability to do so, but were further disadvantaged by the lack of federal transfer payments to support their services infrastructure" (p. 134).

The third factor revolves around elite control and capital flows. In other words, how power relations with regards to the financial elite are intertwined with all aspects of life in Canada. Hiller (2000) writes that,

> by focusing on elite control, it becomes clear that it is not so much geopolitical units such as Ontario and Québec that maintain a regional dominance over the rest of Canada; rather such dominance is the result of activities of the capitalist class, which resides primarily in the two primate cities of Toronto and Montréal and even goes beyond to external capital markets and foreign centres of capital control (p. 134).

Fourth is the political structure of Canada. Canada's political system is based upon the principle that the higher the population base, the higher the political representation i.e. more voters equals more ridings which in turn equals more seats in the House of Commons. Thus what occurs is that "population imbalances within the nation (e.g. almost two-thirds of the population live in Ontario and Québec) create an awesome concentration of power. The votes of persons in regions other than Ontario and Québec are seldom vital to the outcome of an election (Hiller, 2000, pp. 135-136).

The final factor that contributes to Canadian regionalism is North-South linkages. Historically, Canada has had very strong economic ties with the United States. This North-South flow leads to Canadian provinces solidifying relations with the American states below them rather than the provinces beside them. As Hiller (2000) points out,

> each Canadian region then develops its own pattern of interrelationships with an allied American region based on economic development, travel and even Cable TV and professional sports. Energy agreements (e.g. the Columbia River Treaty, Québec-New York power grid), industrial development (e.g. the automobile industry that links Ontario and Michigan), religious ties (e.g. Mormons of Utah and Alberta), and sports (e.g. hockey and baseball divisions) are all based on North-South links, and each can detract from, or compete with, national ties (p. 137).

Canadian nationalism would be weak indeed if it merely contained reference to regionalism versus federalism and/or an undercurrent of anti-Americanism. While these negativisms are part of Canadian nationalism, they are not all that constitutes it. The use of symbols by the government and Canadians alike serve to solidify the ideals of Canadianness and Canadian national identity. What follows is a brief look at a few of these symbols. It is by no means exhaustive but it will serve to show how these symbols aid in the construction of the distinctive Canadian nationalism.

Canada is a bilingual nation. This has been espoused, both from the viewpoint of its citizens and from those around the world when one is asked to provide characteristics of the country. Bilingualism is an obvious symbol of Canada. The nation-state was founded by France and England. But bilingualism is not prevalent either throughout the country or throughout its history. Regardless of the perceived pervasiveness of bilingualism, it has been seized upon as representative of Canadianness. French has been spoken within Parliament since Confederation, its use on stamps and bank notes became

official in 1927 and 1936 respectively, and government-issued cheques followed suit in 1945. (Meisel and Rocher, 1999) Yet the French language never really took flight within the realm of federal politics. This changed with the introduction of the Official Languages Act of July 9th, 1969. This gave equal status to both French and English within Parliament and Federal government institutions. Showcasing its importance in national unity and cementing the idea of Canadianness, MP Lorne Nystrom described the act thusly, "[this piece of legislation] should help make Canada more distinct in identity and culture from the United States. I believe it will add to the individuality of Canada as a nation and promote the Canadian conscience and attitude on national unity throughout the world" (Meisel and Rocher, 1999, p. 186). The basic tenets of Official Bilingualism were written into the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom in 1982. In 1988, the Act was updated to reflect the government's commitment to provide services to citizens in both official languages and the maintenance of minority language rights. In 1995, after 25 years of implementation, the Act was judged to be a success by the Commissioner of Official Languages. Government services were available in either official language. Minority language schooling was a reality. Francophones within the government work sector approximated their percentage of the overall Canadian population. Yet the Act is not considered a complete success by many. "[W]hen measured against the expectations of the Act – the linguistic health of official minorities, individual bilingualism and national unity, for instance – the assessment is less positive. The rate of assimilation of Francophones outside Québec is high, individual bilingualism is prevalent only among minorities and Francophones, and there has been no substantial change in the sense of

belonging of Québecers, who still overwhelmingly identify themselves as Québecers first" (Meisel and Rocher, 1999, p. 188).

The Canadian vision of a multicultural society helps shape the state's distinctive version of nationalism. Rather than replicate the "melting pot" immigration of the United States, where new citizens are expected to be assimilated within the current American culture, Canada is considered a "cultural mosaic". New citizens are encouraged to retain and practice the cultural and linguistic activities of their heritage. This mosaic was the result of another government policy that was inextricably linked to the Official Languages Act discussed previously. The Federal Multiculturalism Policy was enacted in response to concerns raised that there were other ethnic cultural groups other than the English and the French that helped shape and build Canada. In addition, these groups comprised nearly 27 % of the population of Canada in 1971, and expressed concern about marginalisation and the loss of cultural and ethnic identity. In short, it was argued that the Official Languages Act that gave justifiable rights to Francophones needed to be expanded to include other ethnicities.

The result was the Federal Multiculturalism policy of 1971. This policy contained four principal objectives: 1) federal assistance to cultural groups, 2) an effort to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society, 3) the promotion of dialogue between cultural groups, and 4) language instruction for immigrants. Prime Minister Trudeau stated "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework would enhance the cultural freedom of Canadians and thereby advance Canadian unity by breaking down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies" (Meisel and Rocher, 1999, p. 189).

Reaction to the policy has remained mixed since its enactment. Many western-based groups and politicians were initially very supportive of the program as it was seen as the perfect foil for the alleged special status acquired by Québec in the Official Languages Act. As well many of the ethnic groups that this policy was designed to aid have recently raised concerns as to the viability of the policy. Bissoondath (1994) has argued "that federal policy has gone too far, weakening the social fabric, and the divisions that multiculturalism celebrates as diversity in fact hinder the full acceptance of immigrants into the mainstream" (pp. 133-134). However, as Meisel (1999) points out "multiculturalism continues to enjoy the support of its key stakeholders, namely ethnic and cultural organizations. In addition, polling data on multiculturalism show, paradoxically, that support for the retention of minority cultures is high among university-educated Canadians of British ancestry" (p. 192).

In many instances, when Canadians are asked to single out defining traditions or symbols of what it means to be Canadian, one of the more recurring examples is universal health care. It is a social welfare policy that many Canadians take for granted but could not imagine a Canadian society without it. Yet the implementation of universal health care was an arduous task that took excessive time and debate and the path of implementation was fraught with opposition from many sources.

Saskatchewan was the first province to implement a hospital insurance plan under the Tommy Douglas-led Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) in 1946. Yet it was not until April 12, 1957 that the federal government adopted the Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic services act and it took almost six years for all Canadians to become covered. The next step in universal health care was the establishment of medical care

insurance program or Medicare. Again Saskatchewan was a trailblazer in the acceptance and implementation of a program which "offered federal financial assistance to the provinces provided they respected five principles: accessibility, universality, portability, public management and comprehensive services" (Meisel and Rocher, 1999, p. 146).

Opposition to universal health insurance came from many different fronts and groups. Both doctors and insurance groups were against the plans as they saw it as a threat to the standard of care and also to their standard of payment for services. The health plans had critics within the federal government too, as many cabinet ministers including then-Prime Minister Louis Saint-Laurent and former Prime Minister Mackenzie King did not want to enter into a very expensive public program and preferred a modified plan which covered only the most needy and destitute. Provincially the opposition came in the form of resistance to federal intrusion into a provincial domain. This resentment was widespread across the country. Premiers in Alberta, Québec, British Columbia and Ontario expressed concern at the federal infringement of their political jurisdiction. Premier John Robarts of Ontario described Medicare vitriocally as "a glowing example of a Machiavellian scheme that is in my humble opinion one of the greatest political frauds that has been perpetrated on the people of this country" (Taylor, 1987, p. 375). Québec politicians opposed it on the grounds that it would impinge on the social doctrine of the powerful Catholic Church. Jean-Jacques Bertrand, a member of the Union Nationale cabinet stated "we agree with Catholic sociologists that the state should avoid entering headlong into a field where the dividing line between social doctrine and socialism is so easy to cross" (Meisel and Rocher, 1999, p. 148).

Perhaps the most recognisable symbol of Canadianness is the flag with its red Maple Leaf on a white background. Yet, like other national symbols, the Canadian flag has drawn the ire of many. In fact, "the flag debate" raged throughout the history of the nation itself. As a colonial entity British Canada flew the British Flag, the Union Jack. In 1925, then-Prime Minister King put forth a proposal to study the feasibility of creating a unique Canadian flag. His proposal was not viewed favourably. "When the flag question was raised in the House of Commons, the supporters of the Union Flag, charged King with 'flag-waving', an activity engaged in only by unsophisticated Americans, and with disloyalty to the Mother Country" (Stanley, 1965, p. 35). The government responded to the criticism and the plan was shelved.

Progress to the eventual adoption of the Maple Leaf came slowly. In 1945, federal buildings were allowed to fly the Red Ensign, a red flag which bore the arms of the provinces and the Union Jack. The next year, the King government put forth another motion to develop a distinctive Canadian flag. As previously, this was met with great debate. The Québec government led by Maurice Duplessis wanted the flag to be void of all foreign symbols, i.e., the Union Jack, while English Canada felt the Union Jack should be present in the flag in some form. Again, the motion was shelved and was not to be re-opened for 20 years.

As part of an election promise by Liberal leader Lester B. Pearson, there was to be a Canadian flag before the first two years of his mandate were completed. "In October 1964, the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons responsible for studying the various proposals retained three sketches: a Red Ensign bearing the *fleur-de-lys* and the Union Jack, a design consisting of three maple leaves between two sky-blue

borders, and a red flag displaying a stylized red maple leaf on a white square" (Stanley, 1965, p. 67). The Joint Committee favoured the third design; the Conservatives desired the first. To break the stalemate and to bring closure to the flag debate the government instituted the motion of closure. The Maple Leaf design was approved by a vote of 163 to 78. On February 15, 1965, Canada officially had its own flag. English Canada viewed the flag in a positive light. However, in Québec, it was met with indifference. "No one felt wildly enthusiastic about the new flag; everyone felt, without daring to say so publicly, that we were again faced with a compromise, that the flag expressed a unity which was deeply desired but not yet achieved" (Meisel and Rocher, 1999, p. 179).

What the above examples illustrate is that these symbols and/or government actions were undertaken to increase a Canadian national identity or feeling of unity. They are symbols that many Canadians seize upon when describing their country and in so doing, they became the symbols of Canadianness with which foreigners identify. Symbols can be viewed both positively and negatively, depending on one's point of view, but there is no doubt that they serve to create and maintain a unique Canadian identity.

Another area, and one which this thesis is most concerned about, is how sport can be used as a venue for creating these nationalistic feelings and as a place where symbols of national identity can be created, exemplified and exhibited for fellow citizens and for those from other countries. The next section will address this phenomenon.

NATIONALISM IN SPORT

According to Jarvie, "sport ...often provides a uniquely effective medium for inculcating national feelings; it provides a form of symbolic action which states the case

for the nation itself" (1993, p. 74). Sport stirs up nationalistic passions of the like which have only been seen during times of war and battle. How is it able to do this? The advent of modern sport brought about the subsequent formation of clubs and league structures which in turn were governed at the top level by National Associations. Inevitably, these National Associations sought to measure themselves in some way against similar associations in other regions or countries. This led to the formation of international governing bodies, like the International Olympic Committee, which provided the forum for international sporting competitions to be waged. Since sport arouses passion even at the local level, when thrust into an international arena where the jingoistic sentiments such as "Us versus Them" and "Our Team" pervade, passions run that much higher.

Edwards (1984) conceived of international competition as:

> the embellishment of outstanding sports performances with the trappings of patriotism occurs in all societies. Nowhere is sportpolitics more clearly evident than in modern international sports. Here, world-class athletes and other sports personnel emerge as little more than political foot soldiers, front-line troops in assorted cultural and ideological struggles camouflaged under the pageantry of international competitions (p. 172).

These ideological foot soldiers inflame and arouse the nationalistic feeling across countries. The critical point here is representation. That is, these athletes compete not only as individuals on a national team but as a symbolic representation of every citizen of their country. It is as if the individual carries into competition the collective hopes and dreams of his or her nation's citizens. Personal triumphs become national triumphs just as personal defeats are defeats of our nation. Anderson's concept of imagined communities is important in this process. Those that do not meet and may never meet

still understand they are part of a collective whole. For the most part, those who find international sports competition important, also feel part of something larger. They connect to the idea of a nation as an imagined community.

Bairner (1996) expresses this process well:

> As athletes compete and their compatriots support their endeavours, there emerges a bond that can be understood only with reference to the idea of the nation...Thus, not only does sport provide opportunities for the expression of national solidarity, it may also represent one of the clearest and most tangible indications of a nation's very existence (p. 314-315).

Again Cronin's (1999) paradigm is beneficial in understanding the linkage between sport and nationalism. Examples of other studies and literature can be situated within his eight characteristics of nationalism within sport.

1. Constructed by many different forces. Nationalism within sport can be brought about by actors such as the state, the media, the athlete, the fans and even the style of play of the team. Arbena (1991) argues that "sports continually reappear in Mexican history over the last century linked to programs of national development and international interaction" (p. 350). Lever (1988) believes that soccer in Brazil allowed for increased feelings of unity and political cohesion among its citizens. Jobling's (1988) study on Australia within the historical time frame of 1896 to 1926 exemplifies how sport was used to create, foster growth and maintain an Australian national identity, most recently displayed at the 2000 Olympics in Sydney. The media too is an important vehicle to create and sustain nationalism. Maguire (1993) for example, describes the media discourse surrounding a cricket test match between England and Australia. With the English victory, the Daily Star wrote of "British being best" (p. 304). Its rival, the Sunday Mirror, proclaimed "We'll rule the World" and "It Makes You Proud To Be

British" (p.307). Media headlines and verbal descriptors contribute to building an imagined community, in this case based on "Britishness".

2. The manifestation of a variety of different types of nationalism. Cronin (1999) includes nationalisms that are "political, religious, cultural, media-constructed, historical, banal, individual, aspirational or formalised by the existence of an actual state" (p. 55), i.e., the multifaceted nature of nationalism. Any type of nationalism within sport reinforces the point of variety. Examples can include the singing of the national anthem before sporting events, supporting a team based on ethnic, political or religious grounds (e.g. Protestant Glasgow Rangers or the Catholic Glasgow Celtic) or even reading media accounts of sporting events which espouse the superiority of one's own country and way of life over a rival country (e.g. the Cold War rhetoric of the American and Soviet press).

3. Both real and imagined. In this instance, "real" indicates that the nation has achieved autonomy and controls an actual state. Real nationalism can include what occurs at major international sporting events like the Olympics, with delegations marching in as a recognised nation at the opening ceremonies behind a flagbearer and wearing the uniform of one's country. When nations reach this level of political autonomy (i.e. state) their nationalism is real and thus, legitimatised and accepted by other states. And sporting achievement goes a considerable way in the reinforcement of real nationalism. Cronin (1999) writes of Croatia winning the bronze medal in the 1998 Soccer World Cup final and the ecstatic joy that followed, a remarkable accomplishment not only for the victory but the fact that Croatia as a state had existed for ten years. With the victory it seemed as though the rest of the world had accepted Croatia as a "real" nation. Imagined nationalism often is expressed in the style of play, as Archetti (1992) discusses with

regards to Argentinian football and its "freshness, spontaneity, improvisation and beauty" (p. 211). Humphrey (1994) makes a similar argument about Brazilian football.

> The Brazilians believe that their team and footballing tradition are peculiarly Brazilian. They regard their country's black and Latin roots as having given rise to a style of football based on individual flair, agility, artistry (as well as artfulness and trickery) and all-out attack. As such, football proclaims the value of popular characteristics and virtues, and it is as deeply rooted in popular culture as samba and carnival (p. 66).

As well imagined nationalism can be seen in the shared bond between the fans and the players, the jingoistic "our boys and girls". Bairner's (1996) description of the annual soccer match between England and Scotland is a case in point. "For more than a century, this fixture had provided Scots, whatever their differences, with the opportunity to unite behind the national team as it did battle with the traditional enemy" (p. 321).

4. A force of either creation or reflection. Sport can create a nationalism as in the case of Irish nationalism and the Gaelic Athletic Association (Cronin, 1999; Bairner, 1996) or reflect the nationalism that already exists within the nation-state. At the height of the Cold War period both the United States and the Soviet Union used sport as a way of defending an economic mode of production and touting the virtues of one style of life over another.

5. Both positive and negative. Cronin (1999) shows how positive nationalism within sport "can bring together different groups within the nation, project a strong and positive image of the nation to other countries, and provide a meeting place for antagonistic nations that may be (at times) politically value-free" (p. 55-56). Two excellent examples of this are Brazilian soccer and Yemeni sport. Brazil is a country divided, where local identities reign supreme over national unity. Soccer however, serves to unite the country

and allow for feelings of national pride through a fanatical attachment to the national team (Lever, 1983). Similarly in the Kingdom of Yemen, Stevenson and Alaug (1999) argue that after the 1990 unification of Yemen "sports were one of the few visible expressions of the peoples' desires for one nation. In this sense the community Yemeni imagined was based on a limited set of common elements and required them to set aside a host of differences that had in the past been the basis of division" (p. 204).

Cronin (1999) states that "in its negative mode, sport can demonstrate weak and disunified images of the nation, can be the focus for violence, may exclude groups within the nation, or project negative images of the nation to the outside world or through defeat in competition" (p. 56). An example of the violence surrounding nationalism and sport was documented by Bairner (1996) with his account of six Irish Catholic men who were murdered "as they sat in a bar in Loughinsland, County Down, watching the Republic's opening match against Italy on television. These were peaceful men quietly celebrating their Irishness. That in itself was all the justification needed by loyalist gunmen to regard them as legitimate targets" (p. 327).

6. Can be transient and temporary. Cronin suggests that the nationalism we witness with reference to sport is only visible for the duration of the contest. The Olympics only really matter for two weeks every two years (Summer and Winter Olympics) and Jarvie and Walker (1994), within Scottish sport, speak about "ninety minute patriots"(p. 21). In other words, Cronin implies that nationalism is sustained by much more than an allegiance and interest in sport.

7. An evolution not an invention. "Sport cannot be successfully transplanted or forced on a nation without being adopted or adapted to demonstrate national traits and thereby

coming to represent the force of nationalism" (Cronin, 1999, p. 56). American football steadily distanced itself from its British rugby football roots because the American hybrid more closely represented "America". Conversely, the relative failure of the National Football League to create a following for American football within Great Britain in the 1980's was indicative of a resistance to further Americanisation of British culture (Maguire, 1990).

8. Multifaceted and multilayered. The manifestation of nationalism in sport expresses or mirrors the various tensions and dimensions of the construction of a nation constructed by many different forces, such as religion, ethnicity, gender, language, and culture. It goes without saying that the preceding examples illustrate the point of nationalism in sport being multifaceted and multilayered.

SPORT AND NATIONALISM WITHIN CANADA

Within this section I again utilise Cronin's framework for nationalism within sport but I use examples from Canada and Canadian sport.

1. Constructed by many different forces. Nationalism has been constructed within Canada through the efforts of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada. The A.A.U. governed most sports including track and field, gymnastics, boxing and wrestling. First and foremost its mandate was to uphold the virtues of amateurism. As well, as Kidd (1996) notes "it was one of the first bodies to direct its ongoing activities to the task of knitting together a common Canadian identity" (p.53). As noted previously the media in general have played a large role in creating national unity with their coverage of Canadian sport, more specifically with CBC's "Hockey Night in Canada" and "La soirée

du hockey". Another force that creates national unity through sport is the government. The Task Force on Sport for Canadians was set up by Pierre Trudeau in 1968 in response to Canada's poor showing in international sports competition, especially with losses to the Soviet Union in ice hockey, Canada's national winter sport. Gruneau and Whitson (1993) note that "Trudeau saw sport, and more broadly culture, as highly relevant to the questions of national identity and unity that were political issues of the time, and these issues became noteworthy themes in his campaign" (p. 261).

2. The manifestation of a variety of different types of nationalism. Examples of the different types of nationalism will be put forth within the other seven areas of Cronin's framework.

3. Both real and imagined. A splendid example of real nationalism might be the gold medal win of the men's track and field 4x100 m relay team in the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta. The Maple Leaf was raised; "O Canada" was played. The nationalism was tangible. Conversely, an example of imagined nationalism might be the contrasting styles of play, the "da, da Canada, nyet, nyet Soviet" mentality captured in the 1972 Summit Series played between Canada and the Soviet Union in Ice Hockey. These subtleties are among the many facets of nationalism that were found within this series. As Gruneau and Whitson (1993) state "despite the initial shock of the Soviet victories in the first games in Canada, the manner of 'our' victory in the deciding match in Moscow led to an orgy of self-congratulation about the triumph of 'Canadian virtues' –individualism, flair, and most of all, character – over the 'machine-like Soviet system" (p. 262-263).

4. A force of either creation or reflection. The role that hockey and in particular the Montréal Canadiens play in constructing a national identity for Québec has already been

noted. Sport is a venue often cited in the presentation of Québec nationalism. For instance in 1984, then-Premier René Lévesque quipped "Québec 2, Canada 0" when Gaétan Boucher won two gold medals in speedskating in the Winter Olympics in Sarajevo (Hall *et al.*, 1991, p. 182). The leader of the Parti Québécois noting that Québec athletes had won the lion's share of the medals for Canada at the 1992 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer (9 out of 13) stated: [this is] "an example of the power of the Québec people (Laberge, 1995, p. 65). These examples of Québec nationalism give, what Cronin refers to as, a voice and a focus.

To showcase the reflection of Canadian nationalism, we might again turn to the 1972 Summit Series between the Soviet Union and Canada. After winning in dramatic fashion "most Canadians felt confirmed in finding that our image of ourselves as the best hockey country in the world could be sustained" (Gruneau and Whitson, 1993, p. 263).

5. Both positive and negative. The above examples are instances of positive nationalism within Canada. However, sport also provides negative nationalism. For instance, in the National Hockey League (NHL) there has been a steady decrease in the number of Canadian players to go along with an increase in the number of professional franchises based in the United States. This is compounded by the fact that presently two American teams were once in Canada (Québec Nordiques, Winnipeg Jets). In addition, male Canadian teams have not been performing as well as expected in Olympic and World Championships. This results in a sense of loss for many Canadians who "...resent the fact that Canadian hockey seems to be transforming to conform to standards and agendas that come from 'somewhere else.' This offends their sense of proprietorship of the game; they *feel* their hockey deeply, and they feel 'its not our game anymore' (Gruneau and

Whitson, 1993, p. 281). The fact that the Canadian women do exceptionally well in international competition also serves to showcase the gender specific relationship between hockey and Canadian traditionalist thinking. The unparalled success of the women's national team is not celebrated to any great extent.

6. Can be transient or temporary. Canadian sporting nationalism parallels nationalism elsewhere in following the trials and tribulations of its athletes at events such as the Olympics or at various world championships. Rather than Jarvie's "90 minute patriots" it may be more à propos to describe Canadians as "60 minute patriots". Hockey games are sixty minutes in length and in the famous 1972 USSR-Canada hockey series, "Some 15 million Canadians shared in the vicarious climax when [Paul] Henderson scored for Canada. Many were to watch the last game at home, at work or at school as – in some cases – television sets were brought into classrooms by excited teachers aware that a moment of Canadian history was being made" (Earle, 1995, p. 114).

7. An evolution not an invention. As noted in the introduction, English army personnel brought the game of rugby football to Canada. Over the years, through what Cronin describes as adopting or adapting to demonstrate national traits, the game underwent many changes. The result is the distinctive game of Canadian football. "Football from 1900 to 1920 was influenced by many things, Canadians were torn between the desire to maintain English rugby, adopt more of the American game, or develop its own set of hybrid rules. In the end the advocates of an unique Canadian game won out" (Cantelon, 1970, p. 4).

8. Multifaceted and multilayered. Given the multicultural nature of Canada, it logically follows that its sporting nationalism would also be multifaceted. Paraschak (1997)

reveals how the Arctic Games have been used by the federal government to advance national unity while at the same time the Inuit and other Aboriginal peoples see the Games as a vehicle to advance and maintain their unique culture. Similarly, French Canadian national team members struggle to maintain their Québecois distinctiveness within the Canadian team (Laberge, 1995).

GLOBALISATION

A recent advertisement depicts young Chinese children playing basketball on a dirt road, and exclaiming "I want to be like Mike!", a reference to NBA superstar Michael Jordan. Advertisements such as these portray the world as one which knows no boundaries, Marshall McLuhan's "global village" cited in his vastly influential book entitled "Explorations in Communication" (1960, p. 8). In recent years, the term most often used to describe this phenomenon has been globalisation.

According to Robertson, "globalisation as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (1992, p. 8). Featherstone refers to "a global culture" which he feels are "cultural integration and cultural disintegration processes which take place not only on an inter-state level but processes which transcend the state-society unit and can therefore be held to occur on a trans-national or trans-societal level" (1990, p. 1).

Appadurai (1990) sees these processes as occurring in five dimensions. The first dimension is "ethnoscape", which refers to the influx of people from tourism, immigration, political exile and other groups who play a large role in the political policies of countries they are leaving and those that they are arriving in. Secondly, "technoscape"

refers to the fluidity of technology to flow through heretofore-impenetrable borders. Thirdly, "finanscape" which relates to technoscape in the fact that global capital exhibits the same characteristic flow of technology. Fourthly, "mediascape" refers to the almost-instantaneous world-wide production and dissemination of information via newspapers, television, magazines etc. Lastly, "ideoscape" also refers to the production of images, but these are overtly political and deal with state ideologies (pp. 297-299).

Sklair's "global systems theory" attempts to explain these examples of cultural flow.

> The building blocks of the theory are the 'transnational corporation', the characteristic institutional form of economic transnational practices; a still evolving transnational capitalist class in the political sphere; and in the culture-ideology sphere, the culture-ideology of consumerism (1991, p. 196).

These global systems are in direct contrast with the local or "communities of various types including, certainly, urban, regional, societal, intra-state and supra-state spaces..." (Sklair, 1991, p. 196).

This global-local dichotomy has also been referred to by Robertson as "the particular and the universal" (1992, p. 97), and Hannerz describes it as "cosmopolitan-local distinction" (1990, p. 237). While any of the above authors may use different terminology, all are in agreement that these spheres have an inter-dependent relationship.

There is an ongoing debate within the sociology of sport concerning globalization and how it is affecting the sporting process. There have been many arguments raised to describe the process. Maguire's (1990) "Americanization" describes the implantation of American football into British culture. Klein (1991) also uses the term Americanization to depict baseball in the Caribbean. McKay and Miller (1991) and McKay, Lawrence, Miller, and Rowe (1993), in their studies of Australian sport, reach the conclusion that

the globalising phenomenon goes beyond the realm of the United States and to speak of Americanization is limiting. For these authors the primary concern is with capital at the global level. In other words, Americanization only makes sense if one notes that the American system is one of the largest and most visible perpetrators of a global phenomenon. Wagner (1990) takes a different tack. He uses the term "Mundialization" to describe the process of the homogenisation of sport. Homogenisation occurs, Wagner argues, because there is increased incentive to be a part of the increasingly popular realm of international sport. The global nature of the mass media is critical in mundialization process. Global communications justify the importance and significance of westernised sport to Third-world countries and these countries are persuaded to pursue the considerable political gains that sport can generate.

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM IN SPORT

Cultural imperialism is defined as "a form of domination... not just in the political and economic spheres but also over those practices by which collectivities make sense of their lives" (Tomlinson, 1991, p. 7). Scholars such as Guttmann (1994), Donnelly (1996) and Kidd (1991) have used this concept to describe the one-way process of American domination in sport. To some, cultural imperialism might appear outdated and ignorant of the power of agency of the receiving culture, particularly in a globalising village. Yet, both Donnelly and Kidd have argued that in the context of Canada and Canadian sport it is exactly what is occurring. Kidd does prefer the term "American capitalist hegemony" because of it implies, in a Gramscian sense, that the process is taken for granted as "common sense" or non-debatable.

STACKING

As noted previously, stacking deals with questions of over- or under-representation in team sports. Numerous examples of stacking have been shown to exist in American sports such as football, baseball, and basketball. However this problem is not merely confined to the United States. Within British soccer, Black West Indians and Black Africans were found mainly on the wing while white players were seen more often at positions such as midfield or goalie (Maguire, 1988; Melnick,1988). Similarly, Hallinan (1988), found that whites played more often in central positions in Australian rugby while players of Aboriginal descent played out wide, where speed is considered an essential asset.

Lavoie (1989) surmised that in the National Hockey League, French Canadians were over-represented at goalie and there were more English Canadians playing on defence. Lavoie (1998) also undertook a study of the myths surrounding the performance of the francophone player in the National Hockey League in "Désavantage numérique: Les francophones dans la LNH". While the primary objective of this research was not related to whether stacking occurs within the NHL, it is nonetheless critical to the arguments being made in the present research. Comparisons can be drawn between the plight of the francophone player in the NHL and the Canadian player in the CFL. It is expedient to compare Lavoie's observations about francophone hockey players with my hypothesis about Canadian football players. Both are considered inferior athletes. Both are discriminated against by coaches and scouts who, for the most part choose players with whom they are familiar or have been schooled in familiar ways. Thus, while Lavoie argues that, more anglophone decision makers lead to more anglophone players in the

NHL, I argue that within the CFL, more American decision makers lead to more American players. Canadian football is uniquely different from NHL hockey in one important way. The CFL has a quota system which limits the number of imports versus non-imports. Unlike NHL hockey teams, which could have an over-representation of any ethnic group, there cannot be more Americans than Canadians in the CFL. What this does mean is that stacking does occur. American players are recruited as playmakers and star players and the Canadian player is relegated to less integral positions, special teams, and back-up status.

There have been three studies conducted on stacking within the Canadian Football League. Smith and Grindstaff (1972) found that stacking was occurring on the offensive side of the ball but there was no evidence of this on defence. This study was limited in two ways: it analysed the seasons of 1954 to 1969 only; it analysed the CFL in terms of racial stacking. To reach their findings, Smith and Grindstaff used the publicly available data of league rosters. Donald Ball (1973) conducted a similar study as that of Smith and Grindstaff. His analysis was limited to the 1971 season and like his predecessors, Ball used publicly available data from the preseason rosters of that year and concentrated upon racial stacking. He did however, also examine the concept of centrality whereby players would be stacked according to how central they were to the ball. In other words, those most likely to handle the ball the most were considered to be the most central positions and conversely, those least likely to handle the ball were considered less-central. Stebbins (1993) conducted the most recent stacking study within the Canadian Football league. In contrast to the previous studies, this was a qualitative-exploratory field study. Data was compiled from the years 1983 and 1984 and interviews were

conducted to ascertain players' views on, among other topics, stacking within Canadian football. Twenty-five amateur players and 30 professional players were interviewed. All three studies had similar conclusions concerning the occurrence of stacking in offensive positions. Ball and Stebbins also found that stacking occurred on defence as well, although not to the same extent. Stebbins (1993) writes,

> ...that stacking manifests itself in Canadian professional football in several distinct ways: Coaches and managers are inclined to fill certain positions with imported players, especially the one of quarterback but, to a significant extent, those of defensive back, running back and wide receiver as well. Moreover, they are especially inclined to fill the positions along the offensive line and those of kicker and punter with Canadian trained players. Finally, the positions along the defensive line are somewhat more likely to be filled by native than by import players (p. 67).

Several observations can be made in relation to the current research. First, there have been few studies on stacking in Canadian football and for the most part, have concentrated on issues of racial stacking. Second, the Ball and Stebbins research have a very small sample of years, while Smith and Grindstaff included data for a time period of over 45 years ago. The current research will build upon these earlier studies of stacking but in a more expansive way. Rather than racial stacking, I will institute the notion of stacking based on citizenship, i.e., the categories of Import / Non-Import players.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

As noted in the introduction, this study is concerned with a broad and general research question: " How Canadian is the Canadian Football League?" This is not a straight-forward question for it is one that has multiple dimensions. Asking the question of the Canadianness of a sport organisation such as the CFL raises several other questions. For example, does it mean that ownership is the legitimate right of those who play? Does it mean that the game has to include specific cultural or technical characteristics to create a Canadian distinctiveness? Because of the multiple dimensions of the question, a series of specific questions have been developed in order to answer the general research question. These four specific research questions are: 1.What are the Canadian specificities of the game? 2.Who controls the game? 3.Who plays the game? 4.How is the game portrayed?

To answer these questions we will need two different types of data. What follows is a rationale for each specific indicator and how it will aid in answering the general research question.

1. WHAT ARE THE CANADIAN SPECIFICITIES OF THE GAME?

For this question, a document analysis and review of literature of the history and rules of the Canadian Football League has been undertaken. As well, an examination of the unique characteristics of Canadian football has been completed. The focus of this question was on the degree of American influence on the implementation of rules, that is, in what aspects did the development of the Canadian game depend or adopt American-

style of play or rules? As well, the degree of American influence as pertaining to players, coaches and training methods throughout the league's history has been studied. This lends itself to answering the general research question because it indicates the extent to which the Canadian game evolution and current characteristic are specific to this country and level of American influence upon the game throughout its history.

2. WHO CONTROLS THE GAME?

Document analysis again was used to identify the important decision makers within the Canadian Football League. Football is a very rationally organised game with considerable control in the hand of the coaching staff, as to the actual playing of the game (strategy, plays etc.) compared to other sports where athletes have more control on their performance and choice of strategy, and those individuals who scout the amateur leagues for professional prospects. Therefore, this research defines the decision-makers as the Head Coaches, the offensive and defensive coordinators, and the personnel scouts for each of the eight Canadian Football League franchises. The analysis identified the citizenship of each of these decision-makers. It allowed me to see the level of the American influence on who chooses the players, the playing time for each player, and the position in which these players are placed. These are only some of the duties attributed to the above three groups of decision-makers. It does however, lend itself to answering the more general research question of "How Canadian is the CFL?" And it replicates earlier work carried out by Lavoie (1999) on NHL hockey. In his work on discrimination against francophones in the National Hockey League, Lavoie found those in positions of power are more likely to choose players with whom they are personally familiar or who

have been trained in amateur clubs whose training methods are deemed appropriate. Thus it follows that if most decision-makers in the Canadian Football League are American, they would tend to favour American players or those Canadians trained under American methods. While the decision-makers are limited as to the number of Americans they can favour as a result of the CFL's quota system, they have a good deal of influence on positioning of players, who is chosen, and the actual playing time of the player.

3. WHO PLAYS THE GAME?

This question addresses the breakdown by nationality of players in the CFL. Further, is stacking occurring with respect to nationality within the Canadian Football League? In order to do this effectively means and proportions were used. Specifically, the number of Imports and Non-imports on the rosters of each of the eight teams was totalled. An Import is classified as a player who received his football training in the United States prior to his 17th birthday, all others are classified as Imports. As the Canadian Football League rules require a 37 player roster, 20 of whom must be Non-import players. It should follow that there will be 160 Non-imports and 136 Imports on opening day rosters for each season within the sample. As the data collected encompasses the period of American expansion and inclusion of now-defunct franchises, these numbers were adjusted accordingly. Next, for each of the twelve positions on offence and defence I computed the share of non-imports and the share of imports. This was done for all eight teams therefore there will be 96 starting players on offence and 96 on defence. I then computed the percentage of Imports and Non-imports who play at that position by taking

the number of players at that position and dividing it by the total number of players in that category. A comparison between the two percentages showed whether stacking is indeed occurring at that particular position. The main point of this question is to see if Americans are placed more often at the so-called "skill" positions, quarterback, tailback and receiver on offence and linebacker and cornerback on defence. If this can be shown to be true then it will contribute answering the general research question, because it can be shown that Americans are considered the playmakers. Indeed, Americans are placed at positions where they can receive the most touches of the football on offence, or make the most plays on defence. This would accentuate the claim that Americans are considered more important and most crucial to a team's success.

The data that was used for this quantitative analysis of the theory of stacking was taken from the Canadian Football League's publication entitled "The Canadian Football League: Facts, figures and records". This publication includes opening day rosters which break down each of the eight team rosters into either of the two categories of Import or Non-Import. As well the players classified as Non-Imports will be further broken down into U.S. trained and Canadian-trained. For the purpose of this study, players from Simon Fraser University in Vancouver will be considered as U.S. trained because Simon Fraser competes against U.S. College competition and can offer athletic scholarships, a practice not allowed within Canadian Interuniversity sport. This further division of the Non-Import category is necessary to address the question of familiarity and confidence of previous training. Since it is Americans who have most authority within the CFL clubs, it is hypothesised that they will tend to favour American-trained Non-Imports. The time frame that this data was collected was for the eleven-season

period from 1990 until 2000. Many of the studies completed on stacking were focussed on single year periods or relatively short time frames, with the ten-year time frame this study has a broader scope that allows the examination of trends. As well this time frame overlaps the period of expansion of the Canadian Football League into the American market. Finally, while there have been other studies conducted on stacking within the Canadian Football League, they have focussed on a short period of time and none have been done in the past twenty-five years.

4. HOW IS THE GAME PORTRAYED?

Question # 4 is concerned with how the game is portrayed as contributing to a Canadian national identity. There are three steps to this question: First, there is a detailed investigation of the Mills Report: the committee sessions, the briefs of different witnesses and the report itself. This provides valuable insights about professional sport within the Canadian context. Second, since the then-League Commissioner, John Tory, made a presentation to the Mills Committee, this brief is closely scrutinised. Finally a comparison is made between the two positions. This method is a form of descriptive and qualitative content analysis. Creswell (1994) states that this type of research "(e)nables a researcher to obtain the language and words of the informants, (and) represents data that are thoughtful in that informants have given attention to compiling" (pp. 150-151).

One of the main goals of this research is to understand how the CFL sees itself as a contributor to Canadian national identity and stimulus to strengthen national unity. The language expressed in the CFL brief is an excellent means to analyse this specific research question. Moreover, the brief will help answer the general research question

about the quality of "Canadianness" that the CFL believes it creates. In terms of the data collection for the more general document analysis concerning the Mills report, the debates and findings of the sub-committee on Sport have all been collected as well as the briefs presented by the various professional sport franchises and leagues. These were part of government proceedings and thus access to them was publicly available As stated in the introduction, the Mills committee was formed to examine the contribution of professional sport to Canadian economy and culture. As the very existence of this committee created a specific historical moment where the contribution of Canadian professional sport to Canadian culture has been questioned and discussed in a prime social setting the Mills Report represents a pertinent example of the importance that professional sport has attained within Canadian society. While professional sport has long captured the imagination of the Canadian public, its inclusion in the Mills report represents the attainment of the highest echelon of recognition of its role in Canadian society, that of parliamentary review.

With regards to the document analysis concerning the Canadian Football League, league documents will be analysed. These documents will include minutes of meetings of the CFL's Board of Governors, rule books of the CFL, press releases put out by the CFL and the brief presented by the commissioner of the CFL to the sub-committee on Sport in Canada.

CONCLUSION

Given the complexity of the issues examined in this thesis, no single methodology would provide all the necessary data. Therefore, a series of indicators have been

identified that will provide several partial answers to the specific research questions. The partial information taken together from different angles of the reality of CFL football do provide what Gruneau (1983) calls an interpretation "of plausibility in depth" (p. 91). This plausible interpretation does help to ascertain the degree of Canadianness that is generated by CFL football.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This section contains the analysis of each of the four specific research questions described within the methodology section. Through this analysis each indicator will mesh with the others and act synergistically to answer the question of "How Canadian is the Canadian Football League?"

1. WHAT ARE THE CANADIAN SPECIFICITIES OF THE GAME?

Within the following section, the question above will be answered. A brief introduction of Canadian football will be undertaken followed by an overview of the history of Canadian Football. This will not be an exhaustive history as that undertaking would be a thesis in itself. However, the history will be comprehensive in the description of events which are of great importance in the advancement of the general research questions, namely those events which portray American influence upon the development of the Canadian game.

Canadian Football pits two sides of twelve players each against each other in a game of territory and possession on a field 110 yards long by 65 yards wide. The game consists of four fifteen-minute quarters. The object is to penetrate the other team's goal area or end zone by carrying the ball across the goal line, known as a touchdown and worth six points. Points are also awarded for kicking the ball through the upright goal posts, one point for the conversion of a kick after a touchdown and three points for a kick from goal or field goal. One point is also awarded for a missed field goal, punt or kickoff into the end zone, which is not brought back into play by the receiving team, known as a rouge or single. Two points are awarded for a safety touch which occurs when the team in possession of the ball within the field of play voluntarily

retreats behind its goal line and is unable to return into the field of play. A two-point conversion after a touchdown is awarded if the offensive team carries or passes the ball over the goal line instead of an attempted kick for conversion.

The team with possession has three downs to attain ten yards through running with or passing the ball. If it succeeds in obtaining the necessary yardage, three more downs are awarded, if it is unsuccessful the defending team obtains possession. Only twelve players are on the field at any one time but there are unlimited substitutions. Teams are divided into offensive and defensive teams.

With regards to the uniquely Canadian attributes of the game as opposed to the American game, the Canadian game has one more player on the field. On offense this player is usually an inside receiver (tight end or slot back) while on defense, usually a defensive back. The Canadian game allows for unlimited backfield motion whereas within American Football only one backfielder can move towards the line at one time. The offensive and defensive lines are separated by a zone of one yard within Canadian Football while there is no such zone in American Football. The field in Canada is ten yards longer within the in-play area and the end zones are twenty yards long as opposed to ten in the American version. The width of the field in Canada is 65 yards, 15 yards wider than that of the American game. Three downs are allowed within Canadian Football to obtain the necessary ten yards to receive another set of downs while the American game allows four attempts. Scoring is much the same except that there is no rouge or single point within the American game. If the offensive team does not make the required ten yards by the third down, most teams will kick the ball to the defending team rather than risk turning the ball over at that point on the field. This is known as a punt and is another area where there are differences between the two North American games. Within Canadian Football, the

receiving team has a five yard safety halo or radius around the ball to receive it. Players from the kicking team must not enter this zone until the ball has been touched by the receiving team or a penalty of fifteen yards, known as "no yards", is assessed. In the American version, there is no such zone but the punt returner can raise his hand above his head to signal a "fair catch" and may then catch the punt unhindered by the kicking team, but may not advance the ball.

With regards to possession of the ball on a loose ball, within Canadian Football, the last person to touch the ball before it leaves the field of play is deemed to have possession whereas the American game gives possession to the last team to have control of the ball within the field of play. This difference can be perfectly illustrated through the example of the onside kick within the two games. The onside kick is a variation of the kick off which occurs at a re-start of the game, either after a score or at the start of the game or at the start of the second half. It is used as a surprise tactic or when a team is behind in the score and is attempting to retain possession of the ball. Within the two games, any player behind the kicker is considered on-side and can attempt to retain possession of the football. Thus on the kickoff, as all players are behind the kicker the ball is live and these players can recover the ball as long as it travels the required ten yards downfield. Because of the possession rules of the two games, the onside kick takes on a different form for each of the games. Within Canada, the ball is usually kicked high in the air towards the sidelines so that the members of the kicking team can attempt to bat it out of bounds to obtain possession while the American onside kick is usually kicked low and hard off the ground so that it remains in the field of play and the kicking team can attempt possession.

There are many nuances within the respective games which arise as a result of the differences in rules. For instance, the Canadian game places more emphasis on passing the football due to the one less down to obtain ten yards, the size of the field which is more

conducive to passing the ball, and the unlimited motion allowed by pass receivers. Conversely, within the American game, teams rely more on the run because of the extra down and the smaller field. Running the ball gives the offensive team a higher percentage of retaining possession. This nuance leads to a definite difference in style of play. Canadian Football is considered to be more wide-open, higher scoring and some would say based more on finesse, and thus more exciting to watch. The American version is based more on ball retention and is more methodical in its approach to advancing the ball. Power is the key to most plays because of the confined space of the field of play. I do not mean to suggest that these characteristics are exclusive to the respective game as anyone who has watched the two games will attest to the excitement, power and finesse needed to be successful in either version of football.

Today's version of professional Canadian Football is played by nine teams within an East and West division. The East division consists of the Hamilton Tiger-Cats, the Montréal Allouettes, the Toronto Argonauts, Winnipeg Blue Bombers and the recently revived but newly named Ottawa Renegades. The West Division consists of the British Columbia Lions (Vancouver), the Calgary Stampeders, the Edmonton Eskimos, and the Saskatchewan Roughriders (Regina). The 18 game regular season runs from the beginning of July until the beginning of November and then the playoffs begin culminating in the League Final, the Grey Cup, usually played towards the end of November. This introduction briefly illustrated the game that is Canadian Football, both in and of itself and with reference to the American version. What follows will shed more light onto the history of the game within Canada, the amount of influence exerted by outside influences, most notably American forces, and will orient the reader as to the developments throughout the course of the game which shaped the game into today's brand of football unique to Canada.

Canadian football has its roots in the sport of rugby football, a game which was introduced to Canada by English garrisons stationed in Canada sometime after 1823 (Cosentino, 1970). Prior to the introduction of the rugby game, Canadians played a game which more closely resembled Association football or soccer, as it came to be known. The first documented game of rugby football played in Canada took place in 1865 in Montréal with a game between English officers stationed in the Montréal garrisons and a team comprised of McGill University students and civilians from Montréal (Cosentino, 1970). From this early beginning, McGill University, and subsequently the province of Québec, emerged as leaders in the practice of a Canadian version of rugby football. Cosentino (1970) notes that "playing English rugby rules, the Faculty of Arts defeated the Faculty of Science in 1873, by a score of one touchdown to nil. It is certain, however, that the McGill rules were not duplicates of the English ones codified in 1871" (p. 1). This beginning in Montréal led to the first football encounter with the United States. The McGill team issued a challenge to Harvard University for a two game series, with each team playing host. The Harvard team refused on ill-informed information that the weather conditions in Canada would be unsuitable for play. As well, the administrators at Harvard felt that their players could not afford time away from their studies. Eventually, with some persistence the series took place with McGill travelling to Cambridge, Massachusetts. The first game took place on May 14th, 1874 with the Harvard rules and round ball being utilised. At this time Harvard was playing the soccer football variety, as were the rest of the American universities. Harvard won the initial encounter. The following day was to be a watershed in the development of football in both countries as the McGill rules were implemented. Even though McGill's oval rugby football could not be found for the match, which ended in a scoreless draw, the Harvard team was so enamoured with the rough and tumble game that it subsequently

adopted and introduced it to the other Ivy League schools within the next year. The Americans soon embraced the English Rugby Union Rules which was the precursor to the present-day game of American Football (Cosentino, 1970). This series was the first example of the interaction between the two countries in football-related events.

Another challenge series in 1879 between two universities from the two countries, the University of Toronto and University of Michigan, provided opportunities to formalise rules. This time it was the Canadians who were the beneficiaries of innovation. The Michigan team had abandoned the scrummage system of Rugby Football and had placed all their forwards in a straight line directly across from the Toronto team. As well the ball was directly snapped to the backs, a practice heretofore unseen (Cantelon, 1970). Thus this practice of lining up was soon added to the Canadian game and the line of scrimmage was born. This change, more than any other, represented the departure from the English game of rugby and the development of the hybrid Canadian game.

With the popularity of the game growing in Québec, the Québec Rugby Football Union (Q.R.F.U) was formed in February of 1882. Teams were organised at McGill University, Bishop's College, Québec City, Montréal, and Britannia. Ontario soon followed suit and established the Ontario Rugby Football Union (O.R.F.U) on January 5, 1883. The scoring system that was used emphasised the kicking aspect of the game as 6 points were awarded for a field goal (kick from the field through the uprights), 4 points for a try (touching the ball down in the goal area), 3 points each for a goal after a try, a penalty kick, and a free kick, 2 points for safety touches (tackled in one's own goal area), and 1 point each for kicks to the deadline, rouges (missed field goals) and touch in goals (Canadian Football League Facts, Figures and Records, 1999).

The game went national the next year with the formation of the Canadian Rugby Football Union (C.R.F.U.) on the 7th of February, 1884. It was not a friendly formation. The C.R.F.U. was met with indifference and as a result of conflicting versions of rules between the O.R.F.U and Q.R.F.U., in some cases, outright hostility. This lack of cohesion with regards to the rules would epitomise the Canadian football scene for years to come, not only between Ontario and Québec but also between Central and Western Canada. Nevertheless, the first championship game, the so-called national championship, between the Québec and Ontario unions took place on November 6th, 1884 with the Montréal Foot Ball Club defeating the Toronto Argonauts 30-0 (Canadian Football League Facts, Figures and Records, 1999). Within three years after much acrimony over rules between the C.R.F.U and its two member unions the C.R.F.U ceased operations. It would be several years before a national governing body, the Canadian Rugby Union (C.R.U.), would become a reality. In the interim, the Manitoba Rugby League was formed in 1888 and the first game was played in Alberta between Edmonton and Clover Bar in 1890. In 1897, the Canadian Intercollegiate Rugby Football Union was formed and joined the new national organisation, the C.R.U. The following year the first game was played in Kingston, Ontario between Queen's University and McGill (Canadian Football League Facts, Figures and Records, 1999). The next few years saw few changes of major consequence. One which stood out was that the field of play was set at 110 yards long by 65 yards wide, dimensions still used today.

Canadian football was not exempt from the amateurism debate which characterised most forms of sport in Canada at the turn of the century. The O.R.F.U., for example, decreed in 1901 that all players must sign cards which signified their amateur status in order to participate. As

well, the Intercollegiate Union withdrew from the C.R.U., the result of a defeat of the University of Toronto by perceived professional players from Ottawa.

In 1901, John Thrift Meldrum Burnside drew up additional rule changes which perhaps had the most influence on the contemporary game. The rules were first used in 1901 inter-faculty games at the University of Toronto, and the following year were adopted by the O.R.F.U. The "Burnside Rules" as they were known, reduced the number of players to 12, utilised the snapback system, required the offensive team to gain 10 yards on 3 downs with six men on the line of scrimmage, stated that the quarterback could buck the line (cross the line of scrimmage), counted all kicks from the field as two points, stated that opponents must stay ten yards from the kicker on all kicks, and abolished the throw-in when the ball went out of play with the ball to be brought in at a right angle to the touch line (Cosentino, 1970). The CIAU settled its difficulties concerning professional players and its subsequent reappearance in the C.R.U. meant that the national body faced the problem of having to organise a championship game with widely different rules. A makeshift solution was to have a coin toss in which the winning team would choose the rules for the first two 15 minute quarters and the loser to have the choice for the final two. As a result two referees were needed at any given championship (Cosentino, 1970). In 1906, the C.R.U adopted the rules of the Intercollegiate Union, which included the rule which requires the one-yard distance between the two teams at the line of scrimmage.

The following year, yet another union came into existence. The Interprovincial Rugby Football Union (I.R.F.U.) was comprised of Ottawa, Montréal, Toronto, and Hamilton, the former two being the top two teams in the Q.R.F.U. and the latter two, the most powerful in the O.R.F.U. This spelled the outright demise of the Québec Union as the conference would never

again be a factor in the C.R.U. championship while the level of play in the O.R.F.U. was considerably weakened (Cosentino, 1970).

In 1909, Albert Henry George, the fourth Earl of Grey and the Governor General of Canada, donated a trophy to be awarded for the Rugby Football Championship of Canada. The "Dominion Championship", as it came to be known could only be contested by those teams that were registered with the C.R.U., a stipulation which would have repercussions in the years to come (Canadian Football League Facts, Figures and Records, 1999). The years 1909-1924 could arguably be classified as the "University Years" with regards to the Grey Cup competition. The University of Toronto won 4 out of 5 Grey Cups in which it participated while Queen's University won 3 straight Dominion Championships from 1922-1924. It should be noted that the Grey Cup was not contested during World War I (1916-1919) and the Intercollegiate Champions from McGill did not participate in the 1912 and 1913 Grey Cup games due to school commitments (Cosentino, 1970).

As was discussed in the introduction, McGill was coached by an American, Frank Shaughnessy, who was credited with many innovations which were sometimes forcefully decried as illegal and tactics which were considered overly-American. Notwithstanding these criticisms, Shaughnessy's innovations were significant in the development of the game in Canada. Not only were they instrumental in the transformation of the game but they also resulted in counter solutions to defend against Shaughnessy's innovations. For example, Shaughnessy's back line would line up in various positions, heretofore unseen, in an effort to confuse the other team as well as in an attempt to outflank the defensive team. Cosentino (1970) opines that "the resultant style of play was so different from the conventional systems and thought to be of such advantage to McGill that the Intercollegiate Union decided, in 1914, to legalise interference for a three yard

area in advance of the line of scrimmage" (p. 9). Unfortunately for the Intercollegiate Union champion, University of Toronto, this rule was not adopted by the C.R.U. and is indicative of the variance of play which made national championships problematic. In the 1914 Grey Cup, the University of Toronto was prohibited from using the legalised interference rule. As a result, the Blues were defeated 14-2 by the Toronto Argonauts (Canadian Football League Facts, Figures and Records, 1999).

By 1920 the differences in rules between the different unions was a source of real concern to those involved in Canadian football. And this was not a trivial matter. The C.R.U. had its own set of rules, as too did the O.R.F.U., while the Interprovincial Union played by the rules of the Intercollegiate Union. To compound the problem, the Western Canada Rugby Football Union (W.C.R.F.U.), the governing body for the Manitoba Rugby Football Union (M.R.F.U.), the Saskatchewan Rugby Football Union (S.R.F.U.), and the Alberta Rugby Football Union (A.R.F.U.), had rule variations from the C.R.U. and wished to challenge for the Grey Cup. The problem of uniformity of rules was addressed at the general meeting of the C.R.U. with a Rules Committee appointed to draw up consistent rules which would be put into play across all the Unions contesting for the Grey Cup. Cosentino (1970) points out that "the main points were 1. twelve men a side. 2. snap back instead of scrimmage. 3. quarterback may carry the ball beyond the line of scrimmage. 4. at least five men of the attacking team on line of scrimmage when ball is put into play. 5. substitutes allowed at any time and no more than 18 players of one team shall take part in any one game" (p.10). The Rules Committee succeeded. Every union under the jurisdiction of the C.R.U. agreed to abide by the same rules with only minor regional differences. The first "more" national Grey Cup between East and West, took place in 1921 with the Toronto Argonauts defeating the Edmonton Eskimos 23-0 (Canadian Football League Facts,

Figures, and Records, 1999). That the Grey Cup however has never been truly national is blatantly obvious since Maritime teams have never contested the championship.

With the basic game rules agreed upon in 1920, any new rule changes tended to be both national and designed to improve the game. The numbering of players was made compulsory in 1925. In the same year, the introduction of film study for coaching and scouting purposes, first used by Queen's coach, Bill Hughes was deemed legal (Canadian Football League Facts, Figures and Records, 1999). The innovative Frank Shaughnessy continued to mark his indelible presence on the game with the introduction of what he called "the Conference System", later known as the "huddle". The huddle symbolised the shift from the "flow" game of English rugby to the "set pattern" game of Canadian football. The huddle allowed teams to devise strategies to score and to call predesigned plays without the fear of opponents hearing.

Arguably the greatest break from its rugby roots came in 1929, when Canadian football implemented the forward pass. Considered outright blasphemy within the rugby culture, forward passing was accepted and encouraged by Canadian football fans and players alike. This was not only a "watershed" moment to differentiate between rugby and football, it was also another example of American influence exerting itself on the Canadian game which would have far reaching consequences. The forward pass had been a routine part of American football since 1906 (Riesman & Denney, 1971). It was less adaptable to the Canadian game because of imposed restrictions placed upon the forward pass. Any pass had to be thrown from a spot five yards behind the line of scrimmage and no pass could be used within the opponents 25 yard line. If the pass was incomplete, it was ruled a kick and the defending team could pick it up and return it. Obviously, with such restrictions, teams were loathe to use a pass except as a trick play or when behind in the score near the end of a game (Cosentino, 1970). However, once an

innovation becomes commonplace, it is not long before the innovation is exploited to one's advantage. Players soon realised that a ball could be thrown further and more accurately than it could be kicked. Translation: soon players were throwing the ball to improve their defensive position, rather than kicking it. The rules were changed again. No longer was an incomplete pass considered a kick; it was an incomplete pass and resulted in a loss of down from the original line of scrimmage.

The first legal pass in Canadian Football was thrown by an American , Jerry Sieberling from Drake University, to his Calgary teammate, Ralph Losie versus the Edmonton Eskimos on September 21, 1929. The ball being used in Canadian Football prior to 1929 was closer to the oval rugby ball used at the time and with the growing popularity of the forward pass, the C.R.U. passed a rule making the ball smaller, sleeker and therefore, easier to throw. As was discussed in the introduction the Montréal Winged Wheelers used an American quarterback, Warren Stevens, on their way to an undefeated season and Grey Cup triumph. Stevens completed the first touchdown pass in the Grey Cup when he threw the ball to teammate Kenny Grant (Canadian Football League Facts, Figures and Records, 1999).

Much of the success of the Montréal team was attributed to their American quarterback, Stevens. As a result, the symbiotic relationship that exists between the two versions of football in North America was about to be forever altered. The American quarterback, and subsequently, the American player were quickly becoming the most sought after player in Canadian Football. It was perceived by most that success could only be achieved by having an American quarterback, or at the very least, American players. Perhaps the most illustrative example of this phenomenon, and one discussed in the introduction, occurred when the Winnipeg Blue Bombers won the first Grey Cup ever for the West in 1935 with a total of nine Americans on their roster.

The powers that be at the C.R.U. enacted legislature to limit, but not exclude, the American player within Canadian Football. According to Cosentino (1970) "starting in 1936, a player, in order to compete in the Grey Cup or any other game under the jurisdiction of the C.R.U., was required to reside in Canada at least one year prior to October 1st of the current playing season" (p. 13). This rule would have some immediate consequences in 1936 as Regina, bolstered by five American recruits, upset the Winnipeg team in the Western Finals and thereby earned the right to challenge for the Grey Cup. Because its American players did not meet the residency requirements and were therefore ineligible, the Regina team were reluctant to challenge without them. As a result, they defaulted its challenge and the Sarnia Imperials were named Grey Cup champions for 1936 (Canadian Football League Facts, Figures and Records, 1999).

Western teams were not only at the forefront in the use of Imports, after 1936 teams in Western Canada introduced new rules designed to heighten the excitement of the game and to increase scoring. These rules included the ability to throw the ball from any point behind the line of scrimmage, also known as the "pro pass", and interference by offensive players for up to 10 yards downfield (Cosentino, 1970). Again, the lack of uniformity of rules throughout the country was problematic. At the 1941 C.R.U. annual meeting the rules governing the C.R.U. were amended to achieve solidarity among its various member bodies. The so-called "pro pass" rule was adopted verbatim from the Western rules while compromise was reached on the interference rule. The compromise "stated that linemen could block for five yards in advance of the line of scrimmage and backs would be able to block one yard in front and one yard behind" (Cosentino, 1970, p. 15).

With the advent of World War II, as with many Canadian sports, many players and paying customers were enlisted men. Games, for the most part, took place between the various

teams of military personnel. After World War II the trend in Canadian Football moved towards increased professionalisation of the game. According to Cosentino (1970) "the senior clubs did not openly espouse professionalism, they simply chose to ignore the concept of amateurism. The constitution of the C.R.U., and indeed all the unions in Canada, required that all its members be amateur. The wealthy clubs chose to ignore the regulation; the poorer clubs had to decide whether they would carry on in an amateur way, thereby losing money and prestige, or join with the other clubs in the recruiting and paying of players" (p. 16). The trend towards professionalism led to more rule changes. In 1946, the residency rule of 1936 was replaced by one which stipulated that the player must have resided in Canada as of August 26th of that season. A related rule change which would have extensive repercussions within Canadian Football was the approval of five imports per team. No longer did teams have to worry about hiring Americans who would fulfill the residency requirements. The American player had become firmly entrenched within Canadian Football.

Until 1947, when the ball was put into play through the "snapback", it was required to travel backwards in the air from the centre to the quarterback. This required the quarterback to be in a position a few yards behind the centre which limited the variety of offensive positions. Roughly over the same time period, American football allowed the quarterbackto stand directly behind the centre and receive the ball through the centre's legs, known as the "T" formation. Most Americans were familiar with this formation, and with Canadian Football dependent on the American player, it followed logically that the centre/quarterback formation and rules should conform to those of the American game. Indeed it was argued, "it did not make sense to hire an American for his particular talent on the football field and then place him into a situation which was restrictive" (Cosentino, 1970, p. 18).

Professionalisation also brings with it the selling of a commodity (football) to a group of consumers (fans). Football was increasingly being marketed as "entertainment" and the fans wanted to see highly skilled players in the field of play. The most skilled were American players and the quest to sign better Americans drove up the expenses incurred by each club. Further, the large market clubs were able to attract a larger fan base which spelled the demise of the smaller clubs and towns. The small market community and the amateur franchise were doomed. The O.R.F.U. soon followed the same path as the Q.R.F.U. and the Intercollegiate Union had done earlier. It withdrew from Grey Cup competition. The point however ,was moot. The stronger and more professional W.I.F.U. and the I.R.F.U. no longer viewed the Grey Cup game as a challenge competition and did not leave open dates for any type of challenge from rival leagues. In fact, these two most recently formed unions consisted of wealthy professional teams from Canada's major urban centres. They were replete with American talent and assumed their right to contest for the Dominion Championship, the Grey Cup, because they were the two strongest unions in Canada. In 1956, the two unions formed the Canadian Football Council (C.F.C), which "marked the first time in Canada that professional football was brought under the jurisdiction of one body without outside interference" (Cosentino, 1970, p. 19). The next two years would see changes to the points awarded for a touchdown (from five to six), the dropping of the name, C.F.C. and the subsequent formation of the Canadian Football League (C.F.L.) on January 19th 1958. As well, a contract became the only document necessary to sign a player and a waiver system was implemented, whereby teams could release players and other teams could pick up the released player's services by claiming him off waivers.

The Americanisation of Canadian Football continued with the number of American imports raised to 12 and the names of positions were changed to conform to American

terminology. Snaps were changed to centres; inside wings were now known as guards; middle wings to tackles; outside wings became ends and flying wings were to be called wingbacks (Canadian Football League Facts, Figures and Records,1999). Again, this was to make the transition easier for Americans wishing to ply their trade, both as coaches and players, north of the 49th Parallel. Another example of name changing to entice more Americans to come North to play occurred when the I.R.F.U. changed its name to the Eastern Football Conference, dropping "Rugby" from the title to lessen the confusion for potential American recruits. The W.I.F.U. followed suit the following year in 1961 and was renamed the Western Football Conference. That year also marked the first time an interlocking schedule between the two conferences was played. The Canadian Football League now stretched from Vancouver, across the Prairies and as far East as Montréal.

At this time there emerged a hierarchy of players coveted by teams of the CFL as a direct result of their nationality and which correlated with their salaries. The highest paid player was American-born and who received all his football training in the U.S. system. Next came the naturalized Canadian, an American-born player who received his training in the United States but who had lived in Canada year-round for five years and had received naturalized citizenship. Next on the salary hierarchy was the Canadian who had attended an American university, usually on a football scholarship. At the lowest levels of the dollar pyramid were the Canadian who attended a Canadian university and the Canadian player with no intercollegiate experience, but who had played junior, intermediate or senior level amateur football (Cosentino, 1995).

In 1965, two rule changes were implemented by the CFL which were to have far-reaching implications for Canadian and American players alike. Descriptors of American and Canadian were replaced by Import and Non-Import respectively. This was a direct result of the

many levels of Canadian and American players mentioned above. The CFL drew up guidelines for the Import/Non-Import classification system based on football playing experience rather than nationality. Cosentino (1995) shows that according to the new ruling the following players would be classified as Imports:

1. A player who has received training in football outside Canada by having participated as a player in a football game outside Canada prior to his 17th birthday.
2. A player who has received training in football outside Canada by having participated in a football game as a player outside of Canada after his 17th birthday but who has received no football training in Canada prior to his 17th birthday (p. 20).

The second rule change limited teams to fourteen imports and three naturalised Canadians. This latter rule change struck many as discriminatory and players wondered aloud if "a naturalised citizen in Canada was only a secondary citizen" (Cosentino, 1995, p. 20). Coaches were displeased as well as it decreased the possibility of playing more American-trained players under the guise of Canadian status. As Cosentino (1995) noted, "there's no question this hurts a coach's chance of fielding a first class team" (p. 20). The CFL placated those Americans who had wondered aloud about their status in the CFL by stating that the rule would not apply to those who had previously had Non-Import status or those who had acquired Canadian citizenship prior to July 20th, 1965.

With the growing similarities between Canadians and Americans brought about by the rule changes, there was growing interest in a players' union; and it was not long before the CFL Players' Association (C.F.L.P.A.) was formed. The idea of a players' union had always been resisted. It was felt that the concerns of the Canadian player were far different than those of his American counterpart. It is telling that the C.F.L.P.A. became a reality only when the status and well being of American players was being threatened.

Another implication of the rule changes was that of the fourteen imports, two of these imports would be designated as quarterbacks who could substitute freely with each other. According to Cosentino (1995), this Designated Import rule "...virtually assured that non-import and quarterback would be mutually exclusive" (p. 22). Since the inception of this rule the number of Canadian quarterbacks given the opportunity to start for a CFL team has been almost nil. Bill Robinson was an All-Canadian quarterback who led two different schools to back-to-back Vanier Cup titles, emblematic of Canadian University football supremacy. He was invited to the Ottawa Rough Riders training camp in 1974 whereupon he was told he should consider playing defensive back. Robinson refused, and rightly so as the only position he had ever played was quarterback. Robinson played two plays in four exhibition games and was virtually ignored by the coaching staff, not because he was not good enough but simply because he was Canadian. After returning to school and winning his second consecutive Vanier Cup, he was again invited to the Ottawa Rough Riders training camp as the team still retained his professional playing rights. Robinson attended camp with two first year quarterback hopefuls, both American, Condredge Holloway of the University of Tennessee and Tom Clements of Notre Dame. It was almost a mirror image of the previous year's experience. Robinson received 8 minutes of playing time in the four exhibition games. Previously the young Canadian showed that he was not out of place competing at the quarterback position. In the team's intra-squad game Robinson threw 10 completions in 13 attempts. He developed a small fan following and earned the respect of his teammates. This was all for naught. The Rough Riders had considerably more money invested in the signing of the two American quarterbacks. And the growing perception of most American coaches was that Canadians could not play the position as well as an American. The best way to dissipate the public opinion that Robinson could play was not to play him. He was

placed on injured reserve with tonsillitis, quite an accomplishment for someone without tonsils! After returning he played on special teams and was subsequently cut. The president of the C.F.L.P.A., George Reed stated

> A Canadian quarterback doesn't have a chance to win a job on merit in the Canadian Football League...Canadians just aren't supposed to have it, so they seldom get the chance to prove differently. I've seen the prejudice time and again. But the Designated Import rule is the worst thing. It's dumb and crazy, and anyone who tells you it doesn't discriminate against Canadian quarterbacks is dumb and crazy. If you're a Canadian quarterback out of college, you might as well go home. They say this is the *Canadian* Football League but it makes you wonder (Cosentino, 1995, p. 102).

When Robinson was asked for his thoughts on the matter he said, "I'm a quarterback, I've always been one. I've played the Canadian game and the Americans coming up haven't. Why can't I be a quarterback in this league?" (Cosentino, 1995, p. 104).

Another case involving the designated import rule and a Canadian quarterback surfaced in 1978. Jamie Bone was an outstanding Canadian University quarterback at the University of Western Ontario and upon graduation was drafted by the Hamilton Tiger-Cats. Bone and his agent, Alan Eagleson, arrived at Brock University for a meeting with the Hamilton management and were shocked to see that training camp was already underway. After signing with the Tiger-Cats, it was quite obvious that Bone was not in the team's plans. When Bone confronted General Manager Bob Shaw about his lack of chances to showcase his ability, Shaw said "well, it takes a hell of a lot of guts for a coach to play a Canadian quarterback" (Cosentino, 1995, p. 136). The head coach at Western Ontario, Darwin Semotiuk, filed a complaint on behalf of his former quarterback with the Ontario Human Rights Commission. The registered complaint stated that Bone was not being allowed a fair tryout because he was a Canadian. At the hearing , the Hamilton Head Coach, Tom Dimitroff, was unequivocal in his assessment of American players. "U.S. players are superior to Canadians because they are better trained at high school

and college levels" (Cosentino, 1995, p. 137). Bone won the hearing and was awarded punitive damages as well as a five-day tryout with the Tiger-Cats. In an ironic twist, Bone decided to forego his tryout with the Hamilton club and instead attended the training camp of the Dallas Cowboys of the National Football League, who are known by the moniker "America's Team".

In 1986, the designated Import was dropped and the roster was set at 35 players consisting 19 Non-Imports, 13 Imports and 3 quarterbacks. By 1989, the roster was increased to its present quota of 39 players: 20 Non-Imports, 16 Imports and 3 Quarterbacks. The quarterback category is misleading. It was seen as a viable way to develop young quarterbacks and to give them valuable playing time and learning experiences. However implicit in the category is the restriction to *American* quarterbacks. Canadian-trained players need not apply. Larry Uteck, a former CFL player and former head coach of the St Mary's University Huskies states "everybody in their right mind knows that no player is developed overnight. Yet here, when the CFL has an opportunity that would enable Canadians to develop at the quarterback position, they blow it" (Cosentino, 1995, p. 295).

A related topic to the issue of the American quarterback within the CFL deals with the ball used in the game. With the introduction of the forward pass from the United States the ball was changed to one which was sleeker and easier to throw. Nonetheless, throughout its history the CFL has always used a slightly larger ball than the one used in American football. This was a contentious issue and a paradoxical one as well. The quarterbacks in the CFL were all American and had grown up throwing American footballs, yet when they came to Canada they were forced to use the fatter, Canadian balls. The players that the braintrust of the CFL courted so fervently, and above any player in Canada, were being put at a disadvantage. Thus, the balls were changed in 1986 to measure as an American ball would. The manufacturer of the J5V CFL

ball was an American company, Spalding, but they were being assembled or stitched together in Canada. Spalding, along with two other American companies, Wilson and Rawlings, were asked to submit proposals to make the balls for the CFL. Spalding won the battle but at great cost to their profits due to the contract with the CFL as they were forced to give most of the balls to the clubs for free and pay a royalty fee as well. This contract was short-lived. In 1993, the official ball of the CFL became the American-made Wilson 2001. Ironically, a recent marketing catch phrase of the CFL declares "Our Balls Are Bigger". Maybe this was the case before 1986 but a more accurate phrase might be "Our Balls Are Imports".

Throughout the development of Canadian Football, with the exception of the very early competitions, the innovations have come from the United States. This was about to change. With the announcement in 1993 that the CFL was going to expand to the United States the American public was to get their first live taste of CFL football in an American city. Larry Smith, the CFL's Commissioner at the time and evangelistic proponent of American expansion, gave five main reasons for the move. First, the Canadian market was simply too small to promote the growth of the league considered essential in the competition for consumers dollars. Second, sponsors were not interested in the CFL as it currently existed. Third, there was no competition within Canadian television for covering the CFL (i.e., between CTV and CBC, the two major networks in Canada). As a consequence, the CFL could not receive higher revenues as a result of a competition to attain broadcast rights. Fourth, it was difficult to attract owners to what was perceived as a losing proposition thus the much-needed influx of cash was hard, if not impossible, to come by. Finally, Smith considered the CFL to be stagnant and without a concrete strategy for success.

Commissioner Smith and his team gave four solutions needed to solve the problems listed above. First, a larger market with more partners was required. A larger market would attract more interest in the league. Third, more fans were needed, particularly the younger age group. Specifically, the CFL sought to rekindle and develop interest with the 18-34 year old market. Finally, television markets that paid for programming were needed. Smith and his team saw the expansion to the United States as the inevitable solution to these problems. They would not make the same mistakes as other unsuccessful challengers to the domination of the National Football League (i.e. the World Football League (WFL), the United States Football League (USFL) and the World League of American Football (WLAF)), leagues which set up franchises in the same cities as the NFL and played basically the same game as the NFL. The CFL would market its game in American cities that would never attract NFL franchises but were lucrative markets, both as live audience venues and through a wider television audience. The CFL strategy was to market itself as a different game with a rich and storied history and one that was affordable to the middle classes. Different from the NFL, yet still Major League.

In Canada, public perception was mixed. A Gallup poll reported that 33% disapproved of expansion to the United States, 31% were in favour, while the remainder were undecided. Among players and former players reaction was also mixed. Dan Ferrone, former Toronto Argonaut and head of the CFL Players' Association saw expansion as "absolutely fantastic ... this will make the league better" (Cosentino, 1995, pp. 343-344). Yet, former Ottawa Rough Rider, Ron Stewart said:

> When the CFL goes south, all that tradition, all that history, all that East-West glue will subside into the realm of old memories. Sad and unnecessary. I believe that someday, the Canadian Football League will rise again. It has been too big and too important in our country to disappear forever (Cosentino, 1995, p. 338-339).

Another issue which arose as a result of expansion concerned the Import / Non-Import quota. Larry Smith stated that "the prevailing free market economic would govern. The 1936 protectionist rule had served its time" (Cosentino, 1995, p. 337). These statements were disheartening to many current and former Canadian players. Smith's remarks were also puzzling to some because the rule that had "served its time" was the reason why Smith had played in the CFL in the CFL and subsequently why he was named commissioner. Many felt that with the abolition of this rule it was an end of an era. While most agreed that Canadians would still be a part of the CFL, the numbers would drastically decrease. As Calgary linebacker Matt Finlay bluntly stated "American coaches are prejudiced. They don't want to play Canadians" (Cosentino, 1995, p. 341).

The Sacramento Gold Miners was the first American expansion team in the CFL, entering the league on February 26th, 1993. Commissioner Smith stated that the Gold Miners did not have to adhere to league rules concerning the Non-Import / Import quota while the rest of the league would continue to do so. The Canadian inferiority in relation to anything American is telling with Commissioner's Smith's announcement. It was viewed as inevitable that Sacramento would triumph in the CFL with its all-American roster. The General Manager of the Toronto Argonauts, Mike McCarthy, a Canadian, said, "by mid-season, when the Americans begin to learn our rules, we'll get our butts kicked. With all those Americans, we'll definitely be at a disadvantage" (Cosentino, 1995, p. 346).

The following season the expansion into the United States continued as the Las Vegas Posse, the Shreveport Pirates and the Baltimore CFLers joined the CFL. This brought about the distinct possibility that there could be an all-American Grey Cup final. The changes to the makeup of the CFL continued in 1995 with the disbandment of the Las Vegas franchise, the

move of the Goldminers to San Antonio where they became the Texans and the addition of the Memphis Maddogs and the Birmingham Barracudas. It surprised many people that the American teams did not fare as well as predicted. Most were plagued with problems both on and off the field. Even the actual field dimensions brought about its own set of problems. Most American stadiums could not accommodate the larger area of the Canadian field. The fan support and the lucrative television contracts that were anticipated never materialised. In Las Vegas, where the Posse played for only one season, the problem was credited to the fact that "the town is based on a major league perception... [people] perceive the CFL as minor league" (Cosentino, 1995, p. 364). One American team did achieve success. The Baltimore CFLers captured the Grey Cup in 1995. But Baltimore was the only team to actively recruit players and coaches with CFL experience and some saw this as critical in the success on the field. However, this success was short-lived. In 1996, Baltimore moved to Montréal as the revived Montréal Alouettes while the remaining teams, the San Antonio Texans, the Shreveport Pirates, the Memphis Maddogs and the Birmingham Barracudas, all folded. American fans "saw the NFL as an inferior game played by superior athletes; the CFL might have been a superior game but it was played by inferior athletes" (Cosentino, 1995, p. 362). With the failure of the Smith expansion many suggested "good riddance". The CFL, it was argued, was better off without American teams and that this was a triumph for the Canadian player and all of Canada as well. Former Ottawa Mayor, Pierre Benoit, boldly announced, "there is no greater single contributor to national unity in Canada than Canadian professional football" (Cosentino, 1995, p. 77-78).

Surprisingly in the highly competitive world of sports entertainment, the relationship between the NFL and the CFL has been, for the most part, an amicable one. Players who need more development before they can play in the NFL have been encouraged to play in Canada and

then return to the NFL when their skills have been refined. The CFL is replete with the names of players like Joe Theismann, Warren Moon, Doug Flutie, Mervyn Fernanadez, and Raghib "the Rocket" Ismail who initially developed their skills in Canada. Similarly coaches, such as Marv Levy, Bud Grant and Forrest Gregg, have utilised the CFL as a stepping stone to obtain coaching positions in the NFL. But the exodus of players is not a one-way track to the South. CFL teams routinely and quickly add players to their rosters who have recently been released by NFL teams. While this practice is well orchestrated there were never any set rules or guidelines except for the fact that NFL teams could not sign players already under contract to CFL clubs. In 1996, however, an agreement was signed by the two leagues. The NFL gave the cash-strapped CFL, $5 million to help stabilise the CFL financially. In return, the NFL received the right to negotiate with any player entering into his option year of his CFL contract after the season and before March 1st of the following year.

The full effect of this agreement remains to be seen. There are recent scenarios which are telling. Players who had starting positions in the CFL were approached by NFL clubs to attend their training camps. Most did not have a legitimate opportunity to make the NFL club but instead were needed as spare bodies or "tackling dummies". However, the amount of money that these players would earn even if they only made an NFL team's practice squad is $80,000 U.S. compared to the average salary for a starting player in the CFL of approximately $40,000 Canadian. For the money being offered and the prestige that accompanies an alliance to an NFL club most players did not hesitate and jumped at the chance to attend an NFL training camp. According to Prince (2001), " a total of 19 CFL option-year players signed with NFL clubs before the March 1st deadline this year" (p. S1). While this agreement may have anticipated benefits to both leagues, it is apparent that the reward structure favours the NFL. As well, the

agreement was vague in the handling of violations. In fact, the NFL has taken advantage of the ambiguous nature of the agreement and has approached CFL players not in their option year. It has signed players to NFL contracts and then allocated them to NFL Europe teams. Finally, some players who left the CFL did so after the season had already begun. They were enticed to head to the NFL because a particular NFL team needed players due to an inordinate number of injuries.

The new CFL commissioner, Michael Lysko, has "also expressed concern about those option-year players released by NFL teams who are signed by another NFL club and buried on that squad's practice roster" (Prince, 2001, p. S1). Most CFL teams were under the assumption that once a player has been cut from one NFL team his playing rights reverted to their former CFL club.

Throughout the history of Canadian Football there have consistently been interactions with Americans be it through the influx of players, coaches, rule changes or innovations. The relationship began with Canadians introducing their version of football to the United States via a series between McGill and Harvard. This relationship soon became tremendously one-sided as the American influence pervaded the Canadian game. As the preceding has shown, Americanisation is perfectly exemplified with regards to the case of Canadian Football.

2. WHO CONTROLS THE GAME?

The results as to who are the top decision-makers of the CFL are presented on the following page in Table 1.

The analysis of the results supports the premise that the CFL is indeed run by Americans. Those in charge of the day-to-day decisions of each of the Canadian teams within

the CFL, from who gets recruited through to who plays where, in what capacity and for how long, are overwhelmingly American.

The results from the position of Head Scout will be discussed first. This category had the highest percentage of Canadians of the four groups studied at 24.1%, as well as the highest number of different people holding the position with five different Canadians named as Head Scout in the past eleven years. However, one of these Head Scouts, Nick Volpe of the Toronto Argonauts, held the position for all eleven years analysed. If he is taken out of the sample the percentage of Canadian Head Scouts falls to 12.5% for the eleven year period. Regardless, the numbers are still quite dismal for the only All-Canadian professional sport league. The Defensive Coordinator position was held by two men for a period of three seasons out of sixty-six positions filled during the eleven year period. 4.5% of the Defensive Coordinators were Canadian. When the Offensive Coordinator percentages are analysed the percentage of Canadian coordinators is even lower than the Defensive Coordinator percentages. In fact, only one Canadian has held the position of Offensive Coordinator within the past eleven years in the CFL, Cal Murphy, for a total of one season out of sixty positions filled or 1.7% Canadian. The Head Coach figures are higher than both the Coordinator positions as a Canadian served as Head Coach 20 times out of 89 possible positions within the sample period, or 22.5%. Again, if one looks deeper into the figures, there are only three different Canadians holding the position of Head Coach. Wally Buono is the longest serving as he was the Head Coach of the Calgary Stampeders for the entire sample period, followed by Cal Murphy at six seasons and Jim Daley at three seasons.

Table 1 Canadians holding key leadership positions in CFL clubs from 1990-2000

Club	Head Coach	Offensive Coordinator	Defensive Coordinator	Head Scout
	Canadians per positions filled[1]	Canadians per positions filled	Canadians per positions filled	Canadians per positions filled
BC Lions	0 /11 = 0%	0 / 9 = 0%	1 / 11 = 9.1%	3 / 8 = 37.5%
Edmonton Eskimos	0 / 11 = 0%	0 / 10 = 0%	0 / 11 = 0%	0 / 11= 0%
Calgary Stampeders	11 / 11 = 100%	0 / 11 = 0%	0 / 6 = 0%	0 / 10 = 0%
Saskatchewan Rough Riders	4 / 11 = 36.4%	1 / 4 = 25%	2 / 8 = 25%	0 / 11 = 0%
Hamilton Tiger-Cats	0 / 11 = 0%	0 / 10 = 0%	0 / 7 = 0%	2 / 10= 20%
Toronto Argonauts	0 / 11 = 0%	0 / 6 = 0%	0 / 9 = 0%	11 / 11=100%
Winnipeg Blue Bombers	5 / 11 = 45.5%	0 / 5 = 0%	0 / 4 = 0%	2 / 10= 20%
Montréal Alouettes[2]	0 / 5 = 0%	0 / 3 = 0%	0 / 5 = 0%	0 / 5 = 0%
Ottawa Roughriders[3]	0 / 7 = 0%	0 / 2 = 0%	0 / 5 = 0%	2 / 7=28.6%
Totals	20/89 =22.5%	1/60 = 1.7%	3/66 = 4.5%	20/83 = 24.1%

[1] Some positions were not filled each year during the sample period of 1990-2000
[2] Montréal entered the CFL in 1996, thus data taken from 1996-2000
[3] Ottawa folded in 1996, thus data taken from 1990-1996

Interestingly, the last two mentioned, Murphy and Daley, were also part of the sample in other categories as Murphy was the lone Canadian Offensive Coordinator while Daley served two years as the Defensive Coordinator with the Saskatchewan Roughriders.

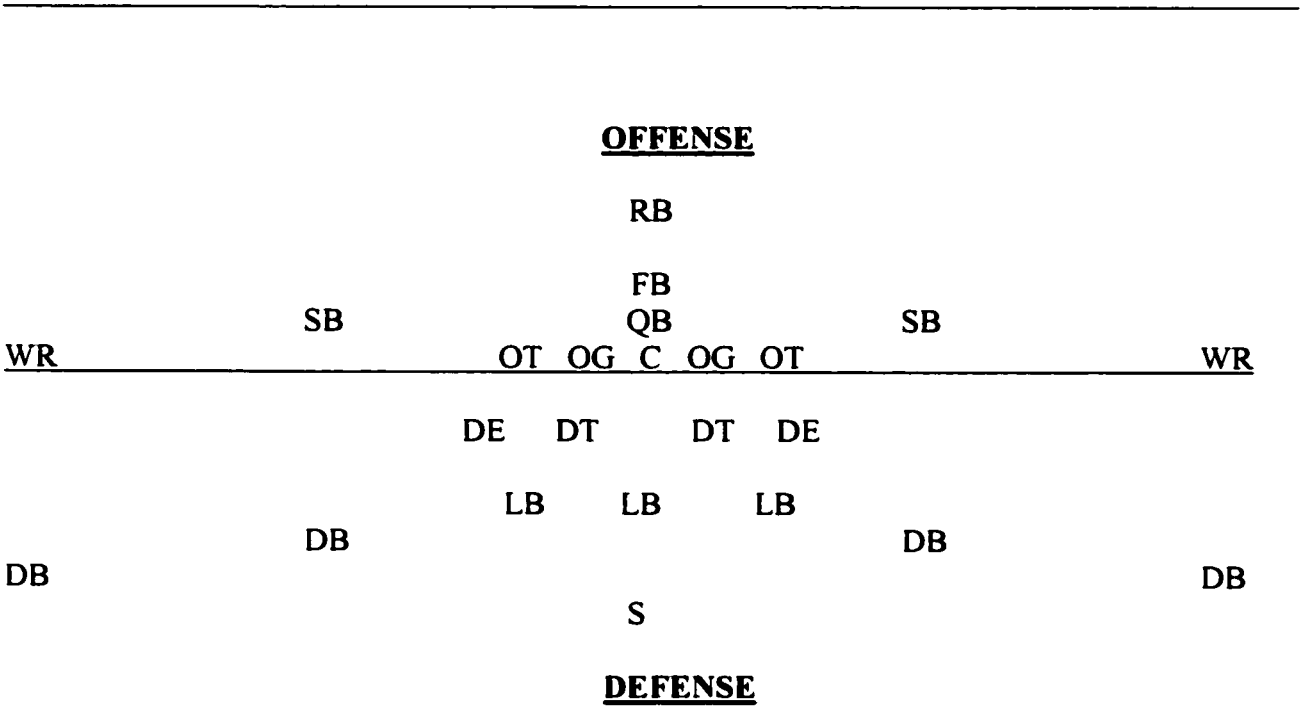
If all the positions are taken into consideration, there are only nine different men filling the 44 Canadian positions. As well, these 44 Canadian positions make up just 14.8% of the total positions for the eleven year sample period. Conversely, nearly 85% of the top decision making positions within the CFL are filled by Americans. What this serves to do is to maintain the cycle of American players as the primary players within the CFL as these American decision makers will choose players they are familiar with, or at least choose players who have been trained under the American system. While this may seem somewhat speculative on the part of the author, the results of the next section will aid credence to this train of thought.

3. WHO PLAYS THE GAME?

Figure 1 presents the positions in the game of football and where they are situated generically on the field. Within this question the citizenship of the players was analysed, both starters and backups. With regards to the Canadian players, this category was further broken down into three subcategories, Canadian-trained, American-trained and trained at Simon Fraser University. The SFU category is an important distinction because its football team competes in the National Athletic Intercollegiate Association (N.A.I.A) which plays under American rules and SFU is the sole Canadian representative. SFU-trained players are considered a step above Canadian-trained players. As well, each position was analysed according to the above criteria.

Figure 1

Canadian Football Positions



Legend: OFFENSE QB = Quarterback, RB = Runningback, FB = Fullback, SB = Slotback, WR = Wide Receiver, OT = Offensive Tackle, OG = Offensive Guard, C = Centre
DEFENSE DE = Defensive End, DT = Defensive Tackle, LB = Linebacker, DB = Defensive Back, S = Safety

The results were given on a year-to-year basis from 1990-2000, along with totals from three larger time periods, the seasons from 1990 to 1995, 1996-2000 and the entire time period of 1990-2000. The following (Table 2 and 3) portray these results. The results show that Americans are overwhelmingly placed in starting positions while Canadians are relegated to backup status in relationship to the number of Americans and Canadians in the CFL. In other words, American roster spots are mainly used for starting positions and not for backups. This suggests a train of thought that if an American is on the roster than he must be played as much as possible.

The results show that within the sample period of 1990-2000, nearly 80% of the American players on rosters were in starting roles. Within the same time frame, 59% of Canadians were starters. The results for the first six years of the sample (1990-95) and the last five years (1996-2000) are nearly identical for Americans in starting roles at close to 78%. An interesting finding arises when these two time frames are analysed with respect to the Canadian player in a starting position. From 1990-95, close to 63% of all Canadians in the CFL were starters, yet this percentage falls to 54% for the last five years of the sample. This is a direct result of a change to the Import / Non-Import ratio. In 1990, the ratio was 14 Imports, 20 Non-Imports and 2 quarterbacks, most likely Imports.

Table 2 Percentage of starters by citizenship from 1990-2000

Position	Import	Canadian-trained	American-trained	SFU
QB	100%	0%	0%	0%
RB	96.7%	1.1%	0%	0%
FB	5.6%	53.9%	32.6%	7.9%
SB	46.6%	36.5%	14%	2.9%
WR	83.7%	9.6%	6.2%	0.5%
OT	25.8%	34.3%	36.5%	3.4%
OG	12.2%	42.7%	43.9%	1.2%
C	4.5%	28.1%	60.7%	6.7%
S	13.5%	48.3%	20.2%	18%
DB	96.2%	1.9%	1.9%	0%
LB	75.7%	9.4%	10.1%	1.1%
DE	81.5%	7.3%	10.1%	1.1%
DT	52.2%	11.2%	30.3%	6.3%
K	1.1%	29.2%	58.4%	11.3%
P	0%	46.1%	41.6%	12.3%

Table 3 Percentage of backups by citizenship for 1990-2000

Position	Import	Canadian-trained	American-trained	SFU
QB	95.3%	1.3%	0%	3.4%
RB	69.7%	24.2%	6.1%	0%
FB	0%	60%	37.9%	2.1%
SB	8.4%	59%	22.9%	9.7%
WR	43.9%	37.8%	17.1%	1.2%
OT	3.5%	50.9%	38.6%	7%
OG	0%	55%	45%	0%
C	0%	72.7%	18.2%	9.1%
S	0%	68.2%	26.1%	5.7%
DB	76.7%	9.6%	9.6%	4.1%
LB	16.9%	44.8%	29.7%	8.7%
DE	35.25%	27.5%	37.25%	0%
DT	10.5%	31.6%	55.3%	2.6%

From 1991-95 the ratio was 14 Imports, 20 Non-Imports and 3 quarterbacks. In 1996 and 1997, the rosters were dropped back down to 36 dressing players but the ratio was 17 Imports, 17 Non-Imports and 2 quarterbacks. In 1998, the roster was increased to 39 players with 17 Imports, 19 Non-Imports and 3 quarterbacks. After every increase to the number of Imports allowed, the percentage of Canadian starters falls. For example, in 1995, the percentage of Canadians as starters was 63.5% while the following year, when the ratio was changed, the percentage falls to 56.4%. The following year, 1997, the percentage falls even further to just over 52%. During the same time period, the percentage of Americans as starters increases from 80.3% in 1995 to 83.9% in 1996 and to 89.4% in 1997, the highest percentage in the 11 season time frame. As soon as the CFL changes its ratio, teams recruit as many Americans as the rules allow and play them mostly as starters.

Related to the above is the percentage of Americans as starters in relation to starters as a whole group. The starters include 12 offensive starters and 12 defensive starters plus 1 kicker and 1 punter for a total of 26 starters. Some teams prefer to have one player handle both kicking duties to free up another roster spot for a backup position. From 1990-95, just over half of the starters in the CFL are American. This percentage increases to 61.5% for the last five year period (1996-2000). For the entire 11-season period the percentage of starters that are American is nearly 56%. This adds additional support to the above statement that the number of American starters increase as soon as there is an increase to the number of Americans allowed on the rosters.

There is very little difference between the number of Canadian starters that were trained in Canada and the ones trained in the United States, including those trained at Simon Fraser University, as both groups fall around the 20%-24% level for the 11-season period. The total

number of Canadian-trained starters is 470 players (20.7%) and there are 532 American-trained starters(23.4%). These numbers are quite close to the results found when the time period is broken down into the last five years(1996-2000) and first six years (1990-95). For 1990-95, the total number of Canadian-trained starters is 287 players (23.4%) and the total for American-trained starters is 314 players (25.5%). For 1996-2000, the total number of Canadian-trained starters is 183 players (17.6%) and the total for American-trained starters is 218 players (20.9%).

When the results from the backup players are analysed, close to 69% of all backups in the 11-season period are Canadian or Non-Import. This percentage is relatively uniform from season to season except for the 1992 season where the percentage dips to 62.2% and the 1997 season where the percentage reaches its high of just over 82%. The actual number of Canadian backups remains close to the same for each season but the numbers of American backups is quite high in 1992 and at its lowest in 1997 at only 15 American backups as opposed to 69 Canadian backups. What is interesting is that the equality found with regards to the number of Canadian-trained starters in comparison to American-trained Canadian starters is not present within the backup results. 398 backups were Canadian-trained (38.9%) while 301 backups were American-trained (29.5%) during the 11-season time frame. These percentages are uniform from season to season except for the 1993 and 1994 seasons where the percentages are 31.3% for Canadian-trained and 36.5% American-trained backups in 1993 and 28.9% for Canadian-trained and 35.1% for American-trained backups in 1994. This suggests that a hierarchy emerges where Canadian-trained players are most likely placed in backup roles with American-trained players below and the American Import least likely to be a backup.

The next section will examine the results found with regards to specific positions. The main question to be answered is whether stacking is occurring in the CFL with reference to citizenship.

Table 4

QUARTERBACK

		1990-95		1996-2000		1990-2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
IMPORT	STARTERS	48	100	41	100	89	100
	BACKUPS	89	94.7	53	96.4	142	95.3
	ALL		96.5		97.9		97.1
CANADIAN TRAINED	STARTERS						
	BACKUPS	2	2.1			2	1.3
	ALL	2	1.4			2	0.8
SFU	STARTERS						
	BACKUPS	3	3.2	2	3.6	5	3.4
	ALL	3	2.1	2	2.1	5	2.1
CANADIAN CITIZENS	STARTERS						
	BACKUPS		5.3		3.6		4.7
	ALL		3.4		2.1		2.9
TOTAL		142		96		238	

There were no starting Canadian quarterbacks in the CFL for the 11-season sample period. Less than 3% of all the quarterbacks in the CFL for the sample period were Canadian. Indeed only one Canadian quarterback per year was a backup for the seasons from 1991-95 and 1997-98. While this may seem quite appalling, it becomes even more so when further analysis is undertaken. The Canadian quarterback with the most years of backup duty in the sample was Giulio Caravatta, of Simon Fraser University, as he was on the roster for five seasons for the British Columbia Lions. However he was the third string quarterback and was used only as a kicker to perform kickoffs save for a few minutes per year at quarterback at the end of games

which were out of reach. Bob Torrance was the other Canadian quarterback in the sample period with the Calgary Stampeders. He was one of the best Canadian-trained quarterbacks ever, yet never really received a chance to showcase his skills, much like the Bill Robinson case discussed previously, as he was again listed as a third-string quarterback. The American is the overwhelming choice at quarterback for the CFL.

Table 5

RUNNING BACK

		1990-95		1996-2000		1990-2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
IMPORT	STARTERS	45	93.7	41	100	86	96.7
	BACKUPS	8	61.5	15	75	23	69.7
	ALL		86.9		91.8		89.3
CANADIAN	STARTERS	1	9.8			1	1.1
TRAINED	BACKUPS	5	38.5	3	15	8	24.2
	ALL		9.8		4.9		7.4
AMERICAN	STARTERS						
TRAINED	BACKUPS			2	10	2	6.1
	ALL				3.3		1.6
SFU	STARTERS	2	4.2			2	2.2
	BACKUPS						
	ALL		3.3				1.6
CANADIAN	STARTERS		6.3				3.3
CITIZENS	BACKUPS		38.5		25		30.3
	ALL		13.1		8.2		10.7
TOTAL		61		61		122	

Nearly 90% of all running backs, both starters and backups, in the CFL for the seasons from 1990-2000 were American. The percentage of American starting running backs is 96.7% for the same time frame, with 100% of all starters in the past five years being American. Indeed there were only three instances of Canadians starting at running back in the sample period. At

the backup positions the numbers rise for Canadians as just over 30% of the backups from 1990-2000 were Canadian. The time frame of 1990-95 saw the highest percentage of Canadian backups at 38.5% but then fell to just 25% for the last five years of the sample. However, teams in the CFL traditionally do not usually carry many backup running backs on the roster so these percentages may be a bit misleading. If the actual numbers of backups are analysed, it reveals that there have only been 33 backup running backs in total for the eleven-season time frame with 10 of those backups being Canadian. During the 1990-95 time frame, the highest percentage recorded for Canadian backups, there were just 13 backups, of which 5 were Canadian. If the Canadian running backs are broken down to the subcategories it reveals that Canadian-trained running backs have a slightly higher percentage of participation than the American-trained running back. The American again is the overwhelming choice at running back.

FULLBACK

When the position of fullback is analysed the reverse of the above trend is seen. Just over 97% of fullbacks from 1990-2000 were Canadian with 94% of the starters being Canadian. An interesting finding can be seen within the fullback category with regards to the changing of the Import / Non-Import ratio. During the first six years of the sample (1990-95) there were no American fullbacks but with the increase to the ratio taking place within the last five year period, an emergence of American fullbacks, with five players at the starting position, can be seen. While it may only be a slight increase in percentages, it could be a sign of things to come. Regardless, as soon as more Americans are allowed by rule, there is an increase of starters. Backups have been exclusively Canadian for the sample time frame. When the subcategories of Canadians are implemented, the numbers are uniform throughout the sample with between 50%

and 60% of fullbacks, both starters and backups, being Canadian-trained. The Canadian player is the overwhelming choice at fullback with the Canadian-trained fullback holding a slight preference over the American-trained Canadian fullback

Table 6

FULLBACK

		1990-95		1996-2000		1990-2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
IMPORT	STARTERS			5	12.2	5	5.6
	BACKUPS						
	ALL				5.95		2.7
CANADIAN	STARTERS	27	56.3	21	51.2	48	53.9
TRAINED	BACKUPS	29	55.8	28	65.1	57	60
	ALL		56		58.3		57.1
AMERICAN	STARTERS	19	39.6	10	24.4	29	32.6
TRAINED	BACKUPS	21	40.4	15	34.9	36	37.9
	ALL		40		29.8		35.3
SFU	STARTERS	2	4.1	5	12.2	7	7.9
	BACKUPS	2	3.8			2	2.1
	ALL		4		5.95		4.9
CANADIAN	STARTERS		100		87.8		94.4
CITIZENS	BACKUPS		100		100		100
	ALL		100		94.05		97.3
TOTAL		100		84		184	

SLOTBACK

Nearly two-thirds of all the slotbacks in the sample are Canadian. Indeed, for the first six years of the sample the percentage of Canadians at slot was over 75%. However, as has been seen above, the percentages reduce when the rules pertaining to the Import / Non-Import ratio are changed as only 53% of all slotbacks in the CFL for the 1996-2000 season are Canadian. As

well, during the 1996 season, the year that the ratio increases by three players for Americans per team, the amount of starting American slotbacks more than doubles from 5 the previous season to 11 starters in 1996. Related to the ratio change is the finding that the number of American starters increases by 19 players from the time period of 1990-95, 32 starters, to 51 starters for the last five seasons.

Table 7

SLOTBACK

		1990-95		1996-2000		1990-2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
IMPORT	STARTERS	32	33.3	51	62.2	83	46.6
	BACKUPS	4	8	3	9.1	7	8.4
	ALL		24.7		47		34.5
CANADIAN	STARTERS	40	41.7	25	30.5	65	36.5
TRAINED	BACKUPS	31	62	18	54.5	49	59
	ALL		48.6		37.4		43.7
AMERICAN	STARTERS	19	19.8	6	7.3	25	14
TRAINED	BACKUPS	13	26	6	18.2	19	22.9
	ALL		21.9		10.4		16.9
SFU	STARTERS	5	5.2			5	2.9
	BACKUPS	2	4	6	18.2	8	9.7
	ALL		4.8		5.2		4.9
CANADIAN	STARTERS		66.7		37.8		53.4
CITIZENS	BACKUPS		92		90.9		91.6
	ALL		75.3		53		65.5
TOTAL		146		115		261	

In fact, in the 2000 season, nearly 63% of the starters were American. As previously noted, Americans are also placed more often in starting roles as opposed to backups. This definitely holds true for the position of slotback as out of 90 American slotbacks, 83 were

starters (92%). Within the subcategories of Canadian slotbacks, the percentage of Canadian-trained slotbacks is almost double that of the American-trained players. This holds true for the three main time frames in addition to the categories of starters and backups. The position of starting slotback is divided roughly between Americans and Canadians yet as soon as rules permit more Americans, more American starting slotbacks are seen in the CFL.

Table 8

WIDE RECEIVER

		1990-95		1996-2000		1990-2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
IMPORT	STARTERS	87	90.6	62	75.6	149	83.7
	BACKUPS	24	58.5	12	29.3	36	43.9
	ALL		81.1		60.2		71.2
CANADIAN	STARTERS	4	4.2	13	15.9	17	9.6
TRAINED	BACKUPS	11	26.8	20	48.8	31	37.8
	ALL		10.9		26.8		18.5
AMERICAN	STARTERS	5	5.2	6	7.3	11	6.2
TRAINED	BACKUPS	5	12.2	9	21.9	14	17.1
	ALL		7.3		12.2		9.6
SFU	STARTERS			1	1.2	1	0.5
	BACKUPS	1	2.5			1	1.2
	ALL		0.7		0.8		0.7
CANADIAN	STARTERS		9.4		24.4		16.3
CITIZENS	BACKUPS		41.5		70.7		56.1
	ALL		18.9		39.8		28.8
TOTAL		137		123		260	

Wide Receiver is another position dominated by Americans as 71.2% of all wide receivers from 1990-2000 were American. Americans are especially prevalent at starting positions where nearly 84% are American for the total sample. There are also many Americans

at backup positions, although Canadians still hold the edge as 56.1% of all backups are Canadian. An interesting finding within this category is that there has been a decrease in the number of Americans at wide receiver since 1996. American starters have dropped by 15% from over 90% to just over 75%, while the percentage of American backups has been cut in half from almost 60% to under 30%. One explanation could be that recent Canadian wide receivers have been of a higher calibre but more likely the explanation is because offences in the CFL have used the slotback as the featured receiver in recent years as opposed to the wide receiver. In other words, the wide receiver is not viewed as important as the slotback and thus Canadian players can be used to fill that position. Regardless, Americans are still the overwhelming favourite to start at wide receiver in the CFL. Within the subcategories of Canadian players, the Canadian-trained starter is slightly preferred over the American-trained. However, at the backup position the percentage of Canadian-trained wide receivers is nearly double that of the American-trained wide receivers.

OFFENSIVE TACKLE

The offensive tackle, as all positions along the offensive line, was considered a "Canadian" position. This is played out in the percentages from the entire 11-season sample as nearly 80% of all tackles were Canadian. However, in the past 5 years, the percentage of American starting offensive tackles has increased tenfold, from just over 5% to half of all starters in the CFL. This can be attributed to three causes. First, as previously noted, the ratio was increased and thus more Americans could be used at positions normally played by Canadians. Second, in 1996, the Baltimore franchise moved to Montréal. As they had competed with an all-

American team many of their coaching philosophies remained committed to utilising the American player rather than the Canadian player.

Table 9

OFFENSIVE TACKLE

		1990-95		1996-2000		1990-2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
IMPORT	STARTERS	5	5.2	41	50	46	25.8
	BACKUPS			2	7.1	2	3.5
	ALL		4		39.1		20.4
CANADIAN	STARTERS	40	41.7	21	25.6	61	34.3
TRAINED	BACKUPS	13	44.8	16	57.1	29	50.9
	ALL		42.4		33.6		38.3
AMERICAN	STARTERS	48	50	17	20.7	65	36.5
TRAINED	BACKUPS	14	48.3	8	28.7	22	38.6
	ALL		49.6		22.7		37
SFU	STARTERS	3	3.1	3	3.7	6	3.4
	BACKUPS	2	6.9	2	7.1	4	7
	ALL		4		4.6		4.3
CANADIAN	STARTERS		94.8		50		74.2
CITIZENS	BACKUPS		100		92.9		96.5
	ALL		96		60.9		79.6
TOTAL		125		110		235	

While they had to compete under the ratio system in Montréal, nevertheless some of these strategies remained intact. One of these personnel strategies was the use of Americans at the offensive tackle position, in fact, since the team resurfaced in Montréal, there have been no Canadians starting at offensive tackle for the Alouettes. As the Montréal franchise has been quite successful, other teams have taken notice and copied the practice of placing Americans at tackle. Finally, and related to the last point, defences in the CFL have recently employed

defences which rely heavily on an outside pass rush from a position called the "rush end". The rush end's main responsibility is just that, to rush the quarterback. The prototype for this player is athletic and fast. As the rush end lines up outside the tackle, it would follow that the tackle position becomes that much more important as the tackle must block the rush end one-on-one. Thus, the position of tackle has become a much more integral one and much more athletic. Coaches, anxious to protect their marquée quarterback, have resorted to placing Americans in the tackle position as they are viewed as more skilled than their Canadian counterparts. What we see here is that a position, once deemed unskilled and reserved for Canadians, has, as a result of coaching strategies, become a skilled position and therefore more Americans are playing it. At the backup position, offensive tackle is dominated by Canadians. For the subcategories of Canadians, the percentages between the two groups are roughly even for the entire sample at both backup and starting positions. However in the past five years, the number of American-trained starters has decreased drastically by 31 starters. This can be attributed to the influx of American starters as the number of Canadian-trained starting tackles has dropped by 19 positions as well. Canadian-trained backups have recently increased in the past five years and therefore hold a slightly higher percentage than American-trained tackles, 50.9% to 45.6%. The offensive tackle is Canadian overall in the 11-season sample but the number of starting tackles is split equally between Canadians and Americans in the past five years and this may continue to be the trend.

OFFENSIVE GUARD

The offensive guard in the CFL is the domain of the Canadian player. Indeed, in the first six years of the sample there was just one American guard found. During this time frame, the

Canadian-trained player had the majority of positions, both starting and backups. The last five years saw an increase in both the number of Americans starting at guard, from 1 position to 10, and the number of American-trained players. The numbers for the two subcategories of Canadians were relatively equal during this time frame for starters and backups. The backup position is exclusively Canadian throughout the survey.

Table 10

OFFENSIVE GUARD							
		1990-95		1996-2000		1990-2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
IMPORT	STARTERS	1	1	10	12.2	11	6.2
	BACKUPS						
	ALL		0.9		9.8		5
CANADIAN	STARTERS	58	60.5	35	42.7	93	52.2
TRAINED	BACKUPS	15	71.4	11	55	26	63.4
	ALL		62.4		45.1		54.3
AMERICAN	STARTERS	29	30.2	36	43.9	65	36.5
TRAINED	BACKUPS	5	23.8	9	45	14	34.1
	ALL		29.1		44.1		36.1
SFU	STARTERS	8	8.3	1	1.2	9	5.1
	BACKUPS	1	4.8			1	2.5
	ALL		7.6		1		4.6
CANADIAN	STARTERS		99		87.8		93.8
CITIZENS	BACKUPS		100		100		100
	ALL		99.1		90.2		95
TOTAL		117		102		219	

Table 11

CENTRE

		1990-95		1996-2000		1990-2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
IMPORT	STARTERS			4	9.8	4	4.5
	BACKUPS						
	ALL				8.3		3.6
CANADIAN	STARTERS	15	31.3	10	24.4	25	28.1
TRAINED	BACKUPS	12	80	4	57.1	16	72.7
	ALL		42.9		29.2		36.9
AMERICAN	STARTERS	29	60.4	25	61	54	60.7
TRAINED	BACKUPS	2	13.3	2	28.6	4	18.2
	ALL		49.2		56.3		52.3
SFU	STARTERS	4	8.3	2	6.2	6	6.7
	BACKUPS	1	6.7	1	14.3	2	9.1
	ALL		7.9		6.2		7.2
CANADIAN	STARTERS		100		90.2		95.5
CITIZENS	BACKUPS		100		100		100
	ALL		100		91.7		96.4
TOTAL		63		48		111	

Just like the position of guard, the centre is the domain of the Canadian player. Until the past five years there were no American centres in the CFL and even during the above mentioned time frame there have only been four American centres who were starters. However, unlike guard, the American-trained centre is the most highly sought after for a starting position as the percentage of American-trained starting centres nearly doubles that of the Canadian-trained player for every period analysed. This relationship is reversed when the backup position is analysed as the number of Canadian-trained backups is double the number American-trained players. The finding that American-trained players are preferred almost 2 to 1 is interesting and

could be explained because the position of centre is considered to be the most demanding mentally along the offensive line as the centre must know his job plus everyone else's. As well, it is a different position physically as the centre must snap the ball to the quarterback with precision each play and then block his opponent from a different stance used by the other positions along the offensive line. As a result of these characteristics needed, the American-trained player may be considered better suited to perform at this position. The reason for having an American-trained player and not an American Import is because the ratio is still in place and there are only so many positions available to place Americans.

Table 12

SAFETY							
		1990-95		1996-2000		1990-2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
IMPORT	STARTERS			12	29.3	12	13.5
	BACKUPS						
	ALL				13.6		6.8
CANADIAN	STARTERS	27	56.25	16	39	43	48.3
TRAINED	BACKUPS	26	63.4	34	72.3	60	68.2
	ALL		59.6		56.8		58.2
AMERICAN	STARTERS	9	18.75	9	22	18	20.2
TRAINED	BACKUPS	11	26.8	12	25.5	23	26.1
	ALL		22.5		23.9		23.2
SFU	STARTERS	12	25	4	9.7	16	18
	BACKUPS	4	9.8	1	2.2	5	5.7
	ALL		17.9		5.7		11.8
CANADIAN	STARTERS		100		70.7		86.5
CITIZENS	BACKUPS		100		100		100
	ALL		100		86.4		93.2
TOTAL		89		88		177	

Safety has been considered a Canadian position for some time, this may be changing however. In the first six years of the sample, there were no American safeties, yet in the last five years there have been 12 starting safeties who were American. Again this is a direct result of the change to the Import / Non-Import ratio. The backup position is exclusively Canadian. Within the subcategories of Canadian, the Canadian-trained safety holds a slight edge over the American-trained safety at the starting level but the number of Canadian-trained safeties at the backup position is more than double the number of their American trained counterparts. The position of safety is Canadian but the ratio allows for more Americans to become starters.

Table 13

DEFENSIVE BACK							
		1990-95		1996-2000		1990-2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
IMPORT	STARTERS	184	95.8	158	96.3	342	96.2
	BACKUPS	32	82.1	24	70.6	56	76.7
	ALL		93.5		91.9		92.8
CANADIAN	STARTERS	6	3.1	1	0.6	7	1.9
TRAINED	BACKUPS	1	2.5	6	17.6	7	9.6
	ALL		3		3.5		3.3
AMERICAN	STARTERS	2	1.1	5	3.1	7	1.9
TRAINED	BACKUPS	3	7.7	4	11.8	7	9.6
	ALL		2.2		4.6		3.3
SFU	STARTERS						
	BACKUPS	3	7.7			3	4.1
	ALL		1.3				0.6
CANADIAN	STARTERS		4.2		3.7		3.8
CITIZENS	BACKUPS		17.9		29.4		23.3
	ALL		6.5		8.1		7.2
TOTAL		231		198		429	

The American player is the undisputed choice to play defensive back in the CFL. Indeed out of 429 positions found in the sample, both starters and backups, 398 were American Imports. Defensive backs' primary job is to cover the receivers of the opposing team, in most cases, one on one. Americans are perceived as faster and more athletic and with much more experience covering equally fast and athletic receivers after playing football in the United States. Thus, the American defensive back is the route all teams take. This is interesting because although they may have grown up covering these supposedly faster and more athletic receivers, when they come to Canada they have to contend with the CFL field which is much larger than the American one, both by length and width. As well, unlimited motion is allowed in the CFL which would definitely take time to adjust to. One would think that Canadian defensive backs who have grown up playing with the Canadian rules on the Canadian field would at least be offered the opportunity to play. Yet most Canadian defensive backs are switched to safety when they enter the CFL. Judging by the lack of Canadians at defensive back found within this study, the braintrust of the CFL obviously feels that the perceived athletic superiority of the Americans far outweighs the experience associated with playing the game for one's entire amateur career. This example mirrors the problems faced by the Canadian quarterback throughout the recent history of the league. With regards to the subcategories of Canadians, the American-trained defensive back holds a slight edge over their Canadian counterpart, in both the backup and starting role. However, these numbers pale in comparison to the dominance of the American player so they must be described as quite insignificant.

Table 14

LINEBACKER

		1990-95		1996-2000		1990-2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
IMPORT	STARTERS	102	70.8	100	81.3	202	75.7
	BACKUPS	17	19.3	12	14.3	29	16.9
	ALL		51.3		54.1		52.6
CANADIAN	STARTERS	19	13.2	6	4.9	25	9.4
TRAINED	BACKUPS	36	40.9	41	48.8	77	44.8
	ALL		23.7		22.7		23.2
AMERICAN	STARTERS	15	10.4	12	9.8	27	10.1
TRAINED	BACKUPS	29	33	22	26.2	51	29.7
	ALL		19		16.4		17.8
SFU	STARTERS	8	5.6	5	4	13	4.9
	BACKUPS	6	6.8	9	10.7	15	8.7
	ALL		6		6.8		6.4
CANADIAN	STARTERS		29.2		18.7		24.3
CITIZENS	BACKUPS		80.7		85.7		83.1
	ALL		48.7		45.9		47.4
TOTAL		232		207		439	

Throughout the sample period of 1990-2000, the position of linebacker has been split almost in half. This also holds true for the two sub periods of 1990-95 and 1996-2000. However, Americans are definitely the CFL's choice for the starting position. For the entire 11-season time frame the American linebacker is a starter in close to 76% of starting positions. This percentage has also risen since the ratio change from just below 71% up to just over 81%. In keeping with the coaching logic that if you have an American you are going to play him as much as possible, the Canadian player is relegated to backup status. The percentage of Canadians at backup positions is above 83% for the entire time frame. Many Canadian linebackers enjoy long and successful careers as special teams players but rarely get to actually play other than on third down or other special teams. The American-trained linebacker holds a slight edge over the

Canadian-trained linebacker within the starting role but this relationship is reversed within the backup category.

DEFENSIVE END

Within the subcategories of Canadians, the American-trained player is preferred slightly over the Canadian-trained player in both starting and backup capacities. Regardless, defensive end within the CFL has become synonymous with American.

Table 15

DEFENSIVE END

		1990-95		1996-2000		1990-2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
IMPORT	STARTERS	74	77.1	71	86.6	145	81.5
	BACKUPS	11	42.3	7	28	18	35.25
	ALL		69.7		72.9		71.2
CANADIAN	STARTERS	7	7.3	6	7.3	13	7.3
TRAINED	BACKUPS	6	23.1	8	32	14	27.5
	ALL		10.7		13.1		11.8
AMERICAN	STARTERS	14	14.6	4	4.9	18	10.1
TRAINED	BACKUPS	9	34.6	10	40	19	37.25
	ALL		18.9		13.1		16.2
SFU	STARTERS	1	1	1	1.2	2	1.1
	BACKUPS						
	ALL		0.7		0.9		0.8
CANADIAN	STARTERS		22.9		13.4		18.5
CITIZENS	BACKUPS		57.6		62		64.75
	ALL		30.3		27.1		28.8
TOTAL		122		107		229	

The defensive end position is one most often filled by Americans as over 70% of all defensive ends in the CFL are American with well over 80% being played in starting roles. This can be

attributed to the fact that the defensive end position has become an integral part of all defences in the CFL. The "rush end", discussed previously, must be strong, fast and athletic. As the American player is perceived to be all of these by CFL coaches it would follow that Americans would be the automatic choice for this position. This dominance by American defensive ends can be seen throughout the 11-season time frame and serves once again to relegate the Canadian role to one of backup.

Table 16

DEFENSIVE TACKLE

		1990-95		1996-2000		1990-2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
IMPORT	STARTERS	49	51	44	53.7	93	52.2
	BACKUPS	5	12.5	3	8.3	8	10.5
	ALL		39.7		39.8		39.8
CANADIAN TRAINED	STARTERS	10	10.4	10	12.2	20	11.2
	BACKUPS	15	37.5	9	25	24	31.6
	ALL		18.4		16.1		17.3
AMERICAN TRAINED	STARTERS	30	31.3	24	29.3	54	30.3
	BACKUPS	18	45	24	66.7	42	55.3
	ALL		35.3		40.7		37.8
SFU	STARTERS	7	7.3	4	4.9	11	6.3
	BACKUPS	2	5			2	2.6
	ALL		6.6		3.4		5.1
CANADIAN CITIZENS	STARTERS		49		46.3		47.8
	BACKUPS		87.5		91.7		89.5
	ALL		60.3		60.2		60.2
TOTAL		136		118		254	

The position of defensive tackle is one which is roughly split between Americans and Canadians. This has been seen throughout the 11-season time frame as well as the two other

time frames analysed. However, this applies only to starting positions as the backup defensive tackle has majoritarily been Canadian. Again it can be seen that the if a team employs an American defensive tackle, that player will most likely be starting while a Canadian defensive tackle is seen equally at both starter and backup. With regards to the subcategories of Canadians, the American-trained player occupied 3 times as many starting positions and almost twice as many backup spots as the Canadian-trained defensive tackle. What is worthy of note about this position is the fact that there have been 11 starting defensive tackle in the CFL from Simon Fraser University from 1990-2000. This is quite remarkable from a single school considering that there were only 9 more starting defensive tackles who were Canadian-trained. This could be a result of excellent coaching at SFU coupled with the lower stature accorded to those players from Canadian-based schools.

Table 17

KICKER

		1990-95		1996-2000		1990-2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
IMPORT	STARTERS			1	2.4	1	1.1
CANADIAN TRAINED	STARTERS	14	29.2	12	29.3	26	29.2
AMERICAN TRAINED	STARTERS	28	58.3	24	58.5	52	58.4
SFU	STARTERS	6	12.5	4	9.8	10	11.3
CANADIAN CITIZENS	STARTERS		100		97.6		98.9
TOTAL		48		41		89	

The position of kicker in the CFL from 1990-200 is one dominated by Canadians. There was only one American kicker in the sample, Jon Baker of the British Columbia Lions, and he only played one and a half seasons in the CFL. He was used mainly for kickoffs and long field goal attempts. Coaches in the CFL would not choose to use an American at kicker but rather at other positions because of the limit to the number of Americans. American-trained kickers take up more than twice as many positions as their Canadian-trained counterparts. The percentages are relatively steady throughout the time frame studied because many kickers, such as Paul Osbaldiston of Hamilton, Mark McLoughlin of Calgary, Lui Passaglia of B.C. and Terry Baker of Ottawa and Montréal, were present for each of the eleven seasons analysed.

Table 18

PUNTER							
		1990-95		1996-2000		1990-2000	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
CANADIAN TRAINED	STARTERS	26	54.2	15	36.6	41	46.1
AMERICAN TRAINED	STARTERS	16	33.3	21	51.2	37	41.6
SFU	STARTERS	6	12.5	5	12.2	11	12.3
CANADIAN CITIZENS	STARTERS		100		100		100
TOTAL		48		41		89	

The position of punter has been exclusively Canadian for the sample period. This can be attributed again to the fact that coaches in the CFL would prefer to use an American at a position which would have more impact on the game rather than on 3rd down. In the first six years of the study, the Canadian-trained punter held a slight advantage over the American-trained punter. In

the past five years this relationship has shifted in the opposite direction with the American-trained punter holding the edge. The numbers are quite similar to the ones found within the kicker category as many players, such as Osbaldiston and Passaglia, handle both the kicking and punting duties, thus freeing up another roster spot for their team.

OVERALL

Within the CFL, stacking by citizenship is indeed occurring. This phenomenon is transpiring in four different variations. The first is by having American starters and American backups, complete American domination. As the above has shown, the positions which fit into this category are at Quarterback, Running Back and Defensive Back. It is very rare to see a Canadian Running Back or Defensive Back and almost impossible to see a Canadian Quarterback

The second variation consists of Canadian starters and Canadian backups, complete Canadian domination. The positions which exemplify this are Fullback, Safety, Centre, Offensive Guard, Kicker and Punter. The first two positions mentioned are at the lower end of the scale of Canadian dominance as a result of the ratio change. Since its inception we are seeing more and more Americans playing at safety and fullback. For the sample period these positions fit into the second category but this may be changing in the future. The other four positions are quite clearly Canadian.

The third variation is a category which has American starters but Canadian backups. This is a result of the Import / Non-Import ratio. Teams need to have 19 Canadians on the roster, as a result many coaches place players in these positions but in backup capacities. These positions are Wide Receiver, Linebacker and Defensive End. The American starts at these

positions and the Canadian player is relegated to special teams duty, many for the duration of their career.

The final variation is one in which the number of Canadian and American starters is roughly equal while the backup positions are exclusively Canadian. These positions are Offensive Tackle, Defensive Tackle and Slotback. The first two positions mentioned, offensive and defensive tackle, were at one time exclusive to Canadians but as a result of the changes to the ratio they have now become increasingly Americanised. Slotbacks are only placed in this category because of the 11-season time frame. If only the past five years were taken into consideration then slotback would be considered to be in the category of American starters and Canadian backups. The style of game play (i.e. slotback become primary passing target) and the increases to the ratio are the two main reasons for the position of slotback become more Americanised.

To conclude, the American player in the CFL plays the glamour positions, the integral positions and the speed positions. The Canadian plays in the interior of the line of scrimmage, blocks for the running backs, is the last line of defense but not counted on to cover one-on-one and kicks the ball. At every instance the CFL has increased the number of Americans allowed on the roster there have been more American starters and more Canadian backups. Positions which were formerly thought of as Canadian positions are becoming split between Americans and Canadians and, in some cases, becoming American positions. The CFL is a league where the bulk of the excitement for Canadian fans is generated by American players.

4. HOW IS THE GAME PORTRAYED?

Professional sport is generally seen as very important within Canada, both from a cultural point of view and from an economic standpoint. The members of Parliament (MP's) who served with the Mills committee echoed these statements. In its introductory meeting, Denis Coderre, who would later become the Secretary for State of Amateur sport, stated that the first questions that the committee must ask are "how should we consider sports: as culture, as an industry, as both?" (Sub-Committee on the Industry of Sport in Canada of the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage, November 17, 1997, p. 2; to be cited subsequently as the Sub-Committee on Sport). Continuing on with the national unity theme, Coderre went on to say that "I was born in 1963, but I remember that goal by Paul Henderson in 1972. After that event, we noticed that hockey in particular had a good effect on national unity" (Sub-Committee on Sport, November 17, 1997, p. 2). Rick Borotsik of Manitoba stated "professional sports are very important, not only financially and economically, but obviously for a psyche we have as Canadians" (Sub-Committee on Sport, May 25, 1998, p. 19). Other MPs from across Canada expressed similar outcomes about the importance of sport. George Proud of Prince Edward Island, asserted that "sport is a big part of the culture and the life of my province" (Sub-Committee on Sport, Nov. 17, p. 3). Most MPs' comments fit into the two general categories of culture and economy. There were those which expressed regional differences and the sheer geographical size of the country and which in the last instance, might hinder the development of national unity and sport. For instance, Charlie Power of Newfoundland said "as you get out of the periphery of Canada you're going to find less emphasis on professional sport and more emphasis on amateur sport, for sure...From Newfoundland's point of view, it's very difficult now for any of our amateur teams to be able to travel around the country which I think hurts national unity. It doesn't give our

young people a chance to travel once those subsidies get reduced" (Sub-Committee on Sport, Nov.17, p. 4). The problems faced by those "peripheral" provinces, such as Newfoundland, were identified by Dennis Mills, the chairman of the Sub-Committee, as "creat[ing] an isolationalist environment there. It seems to me that if we don't address that imbalance of opportunity, especially at the amateur level, then you're never going to have a premier athletic system, because your premier athletes are going to be forced to leave home in order to get to the next level"(Sub-Committee on Sport, Nov. 17, p.4).

This logic and intuitive feeling that sport can help create cultural and national unity was also expressed by the witnesses from the Canadian television industry. Daniel Asselin, the director of sports programs for Radio-Canada, said "sports represents one of the strongest cultural links uniting all Canadians and from its foundation the French-language network of the CBC has been an outstanding medium enabling people to share the exploits of the professional and amateur athletes they admire" (Sub-Committee on Sport, March 25, 1998, p. 1). Mr. Asselin goes on to speak of how programs such as "La Soirée du hockey" have become traditions which show the importance of sport to approximately a million francophones through their portrayal of the Montréal Canadiens and players such as Maurice Richard, Guy Lafleur and Patrick Roy. According to Asselin, programs such as "La Soirée du hockey" provide francophone role models who succeed in the world of sport. Alan Clark, the head of television network sports with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), not to be outdone by Radio-Canada notes "it's an important part of our culture, and the CBC plays a critical role in reflecting our culture by producing quality sports programming that is predominantly and distinctly Canadian" (Sub-Committee on Sport, March 25, 1998, p. 5). Jacques Boucher, Vice-President of programming for Réseau des sports (RDS), describes "sport as an extremely powerful expression of culture.

That's why at TSN and RDS we have a responsibility to reflect the unique Canadian sporting experience" (Sub-Committee on Sport, March 25, 1998, p. 11). The witnesses that represented the medium of television sports programming were unanimous in their support of the cultural values of sport.

As was the case with most of the presentations surrounding professional sport given to the Sub-Committee, the National Basketball Association's (NBA) presentation dealt primarily with the economic aspects of major league basketball. Very little of the presentation discussed the promotion of cultural goals and national unity within Canada. The NBA's presentation described basketball as a global game, one which Canada plays a role, but mainly due to the fact that there are two NBA franchises within Canada. The NBA is much more concerned with developing its game at the NBA level and at the grassroots level than in the promotion of Canadian national unity. The NBA logic is sound if unsettling. If the NBA can create interest with Canadian children and youth it stands a better chance of continued spectator interest and growth of the league. It is not surprising that the NBA failed to address cultural concerns surrounding their sport. It is a transplant. There are only three Canadian players, none of whom play on the two Canadian franchises. The NBA is, first and foremost, an American corporation driven by the logic of ever-expanding financial gain. Whether or not, NBA professional basketball could serve to unite Canada in a unique sporting experience is of little importance to those in charge of the league.

Following the lead of the NBA, the main theme of the two presentations by the Montréal Expos and the Toronto Blue Jays was the economics of their respective situations and how the clubs need government assistance in order to continue operations. The presentation by Claude Brochu, the President of the Expos, discussed the history of baseball in Montréal and also

alluded to how important the sport is to Québec. "The sport is very important to people's lives. In Québec, seven out of every ten people follow professional sport. No other activity is followed to that degree. Seven out of ten people follow hockey, and six out of ten follow baseball. Therefore, we are not a society which follows only one sport, hockey. Baseball is followed very closely" (Sub-Committee on Sport, May 5, 1998, p. 4). However, most of the presentation described the economic woes of the Montréal club, well-known to most in the sporting community in Canada.

The presentation by Sam Pollock, the Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Toronto Blue Jays, followed Brochu's logic. Pollock described "sport as being part of the fabric of Canadians" (Sub-Committee on Sport, May 25, 1998, p. 31). The theme of Pollock's presentation is summed up in the following, "we believe and we know that we are an integral component of the Canadian sports scene...Since our inception, our club has built upon the Canadian baseball tradition while creating a new and unique relationship of our own. We are here today not to discuss the sentiment of sport, but rather the challenging financial realities that will accompany the operation of a professional baseball franchise in Canada over the next millennium" (Sub-Committee on Sport, May 25, 1998, p. 2). Pollock goes on to describe the World Series wins of the Blue Jays in 1992 and 1993 thusly, " [they] elevated Toronto and all of Canada to a new plane of recognition in North America...Certainly our country had come of age in the sporting world" (Sub-Committee on Sport, May 25, 1998, p. 3). He then continues by juxtaposing the financial problems faced by American and Canadian clubs in Major League Baseball. Pollock justifies Canadian government subsidies by arguing that professional sport gives many social benefits which are not financially recompensed and, in fact, should be. "The Canadian approach has been different. Sports franchises are not, rightly or wrongly, valued for

their unique contribution to our cultural fabric. Can we imagine Toronto without the Blue Jays or the Maple Leafs, or Montréal without the Canadiens, or Edmonton without the Oilers? The social contribution of these teams to their communities is immeasurable" (Sub-Committee on Sport, May 25, 1998, pp. 4-5). Within the brief that Pollock presented is another example of how the Blue Jays organisation feel that it has contributed to the Canadian sporting scene. "Many Canadians consider Joe Carter's 1993 World Series winning home run to be a defining moment in our country's sports history" (Toronto Blue Jays Brief, May 25, 1998, p. 4).

It is generally accepted that sports can arouse, within people, passions that are not common in most instances of day-to-day life. The different witnesses from the National Hockey League who were called before the Sub-Committee would be among those who feel that professional hockey, unlike any other sport in the world, generates a passionate fervour in its Canadian fans. In the words of the NHL's Commissioner, Gary Bettman, "for more than 100 years, hockey has played an integral part in Canadian life. For more than 80 years, the National Hockey League has represented the very best in sports and the very best that our sport has to offer...Canada is truly the heart and soul of our league and of our sport worldwide" (Sub-Committee on Sport, April 28, 1998, p. 2). Others described the importance of hockey in relation to national unity. For instance, Harley Hotchkiss, the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the NHL, described hockey as being "in our hearts, and it's a unique common bond that helps identify and keep us together as Canadians" (Sub-Committee on Sport, April 28, 1998, p. 7). Ken Dryden, the President and General Manager of the Toronto Maple Leafs and former standout goalie with the Montréal Canadiens, followed the same line of thinking on the importance of hockey, why it matters to Canadians, and why it should matter.

> It matters because communities matter. Kids matter. Kids, parents, and grandparents matter. Friends matter. Dreams, hopes, passions, common stories, common experiences, common memories, myths and legends, common imaginations, things that tell us about how we were, how we are, and how we might be—they all matter. Links, bonds, connections, young, old, past, present, east, west, French, English, men, women, abled, disabled, things in common, things to share—they all matter. That is why hockey matters... (Sub-Committee on Sport, April 28, 1998, p. 12)

Dryden then continued on to speak of the storybook nature of hockey within the minds of Canadians.

> In the book "Home Game", I refer to hockey as Canada's national theatre. In NHL arenas and minor hockey rinks each night, vivid human dramas get played out. In the uncontrollable circumstances of a game, we discover who is courageous and who isn't, who is generous or greedy, who quits and who doesn't, what we should do and what we shouldn't. With family and friends, we share that experience. We talk about things we otherwise never talk about in ways we otherwise never do. We learn lessons in family cars and over the dinner table that we learn in no other ways. In this theatre, no one plays on a bigger stage than an NHL team. One absolute certainty is that people are going to notice the Toronto Maple Leafs. We are vivid dramatic reference points in their lives. So it matters not just what we do, but how we do it. We are important in ways that much larger companies and entities can never be (Sub-Committee on Sport, April 28, 1998, p. 12).

Ronald Corey, the President and Governor of the Montréal Canadiens, also spoke of the importance of hockey in people's lives but the importance of the Canadiens to Montréal and to Québec. "Montréal is synonymous with hockey. *Sports Illustrated* describes the Montréal Canadiens as one of the three great world dynasties of sport and a 'symbol of excellence in Canada.' Actually, I think that the link between Montrealers and hockey goes far beyond the sport itself. There's no doubt that, in sports and, in a broader sense, in our culture overall, our team is a significant source of pride for Montrealers, Quebeckers and Canadians from coast to

coast. Hockey has fused into cultural life in Montréal" (Sub-Committee on Sport, April 28, p. 13).

The brief that the NHL presented along with their various testimonies contained mostly economic information pertaining to the alleged problems that the Canadian-based teams face. Nonetheless, throughout, the witnesses spoke of the importance of hockey to Canadians and Canadian life. The main theme pervading through the presentations was that hockey IS Canadian and it defines Canadians as Canadian. In order to make their point the NHL spokespersons incorporated passages from books and newspaper articles glorifying hockey. These excerpts came both from the popular culture press and from academic writings. The following, reproduced in full, gives more indication of the themes the NHL were making to the Mills' Committee.

> The passion that Canadians feel for hockey is manifested in many ways. It is evident in the countless parents and children who rouse themselves at ungodly hours on cold winter mornings for games and practices. It is the reason why thousands of Canadians took up the offer of a national brewery during the Nagano Olympics for early morning wake-up calls to watch Canada's men's hockey team. It explains why Saturday-night broadcasts of NHL games on "Hockey Night in Canada"/ "La Soirée du hockey" are a weekly national ritual, and why the fate of the Canadian Teams dominates the media and everyday conversation. And it is apparent simply from the sheer numbers of Canadians who play the game in one form or another (NHL Submission to Parliament, April 28, 1998, p. 5).

> The shared passion that Canadians have for hockey also accounts for the game's unequalled ability to unify the country across regional and linguistic divides. Nothing else, and certainly no other sport, has played such a pivotal role in bringing Canadians together or has formed such an essential part of the Canadian national vision and experience (pp.5-6)

> Hockey's unique ability to unite Canadians was perhaps most evident on September 28, 1972, the day of the eighth and final game of the so-called "Summit Series" between Canada and the Soviet Union. On that day, the story across the country was the same – businesses closed, classes were suspended, and millions of Canadians gathered in anticipation of this decisive encounter. And no one who did so will ever forget where they were when they heard Foster Hewitt's

> voice crackling over the airwaves from Moscow with 34 seconds left to play, "Henderson has scored for Canada". If hockey is a game marked by memory and tradition, this one stands apart from them all. Paul Henderson's goal is a national memory, part of Canadian folklore, one of the things that makes Canada distinct. And given hockey's unique place in this country, it is only appropriate that one of the defining moments in Canadian history should be linked in this way to the "game of our lives" (p. 6).

The script that the NHL presented to the Sub-Committee was perfect for its purpose. The representatives began by playing on the emotions of the MPs, their sense of nostalgia and of longing for simpler times when they would sit around a warm fire and listen (or watch) Hockey Night in Canada or La Soirée du hockey with their families. After this powerful but presumed sense of what it means to be a part of the collective Canada and a Canadian was sufficiently primed, the economic realities, according to the NHL, were presented. The thinking was that if the NHL could portray hockey and the NHL as something that is imperative in order to keep a sense of Canada and things Canadian then the league would have a better chance of receiving financial aid from the government. This strategy was also implemented by the commissioner of the Canadian Football League, John Tory, but with a subtle difference. The following will illustrate how the CFL went about doing this.

The CFL was represented by Commissioner John Tory at the Sub-Committee hearings. There was no brief presented to the members of the Sub-Committee but Mr. Tory did give a presentation to the Mills Committee. The following comes from Mr. Tory's presentation and his responses to the subsequent questions.

Mr. Tory's presentation began with his thoughts concerning the importance of sports in general:

> I believe sports is vitally important to both the social and cultural fabric of a country. I'm sure you've heard from many other people who have been here, but I believe sports, whether it's amateur or professional, transcends politics, it

> transcends geography, it transcends language, it transcends age, and many other things. In that sense, I think it's one of those important elements of our society and many other societies. It brings people together and causes people to have a common interest, so I think it is important in that respect (Sub-Committee on Sport, April 21, 1998, p. 2).

Mr. Tory continues his presentation by speaking on his perception of the importance of professional sport with regards to the amateur sporting world in Canada:

> The health and welfare of professional sports, whether it's the CFL or other leagues, is important as a part of the overall sporting world. People will still be active in sports whether there are any professional teams in Canada or not, in any sport, but I think the amateur sports system would be heavily damaged in ways that would be difficult to measure if all the professional teams were to leave (Sub-Committee on Sport, April 21, 1998, p. 3).

The Commissioner then discussed his views concerning the importance of the CFL to the amateur football community:

> If it [the CFL] disappeared, I don't think it would be very long at all before our Canadian college football system disappeared with it. That's because if there isn't a professional league playing the Canadian game, then I'm not sure the Canadian college game would survive for very long afterward. I think amateur football would suffer in communities across Canada as well (Sub-Committee on Sport, April 21, 1998, p. 5).

The main point of Mr Tory's presentation focussed on the assertion that the CFL was a unique part of Canadian sporting life. "I would say the CFL perhaps is first among many in being uniquely Canadian because it is a game played only in this country. It's our game that was invented here, as it were" (Sub-Committee on Sport, April 21, 1998, p. 2). Tory continues this line of reasoning as he describes the CFL as "an institution that's almost as old as the country itself...it's a league that plays our very own Canadian game. It's supported by Canadian fans and widely watched on television" (Sub-Committee on Sport, April 21, 1998, pp. 4-5).

The presentation continued with Mr. Tory speaking on the significance of the CFL's Championship, the Grey Cup, and transposing it with the NFL's Championship, the Super Bowl.

> Frankly, I wish every Canadian could have the chance to attend a Grey Cup, because it's something that's uniquely Canadian...I went to the Super Bowl for the first time this year as well, but the Canadian event, the Grey Cup, has much more of a fan feel to it. It's a little less corporate, and it's distinctly Canadian. You really feel that you're Canadian and you feel proud to be a Canadian when you're there (Sub-Committee on Sport, April 21, 1998, p. 5).

Clearly, Mr Tory's main points were intertwined with the importance and uniqueness of the CFL. It is something truly Canadian, according to the CFL logic. This is not unlike the strategy utilised by the National Hockey League. The CFL portrays itself as essential and vital to the Canadian sporting scene, which plays upon the Sub-Committee member's emotions and patriotic sentiment. Here is where the subtle difference, alluded to earlier, between the NHL and CFL's strategy appears. Whereas the NHL sees the fate of Canadian teams and Canadian hockey in general as dependent upon imperative government assistance, Tory strays from this reasoning:

> The tax break that I've seen talked about in the papers is a big question mark in my mind. I think that you, as parliamentarians, and others in government have to balance what are the difficult optics of appearing to subsidize large corporations and other individuals who own sports teams, which are a business like others, and many of the salaries they pay and so on. And I'm not denigrating athletes who receive those salaries; I'm suggesting it is becoming harder and harder to rationalize the level of salary that we've arrived at and it certainly is making it more difficult for the Canadian teams. The question mark in my mind is balancing those difficult optics against undoubtedly the benefits that I myself have sat here and described, which is that you can keep those jobs, keep that economic activity, keep that stature of being talked about all over North America because you have professional sports teams, and keep the tax revenues by giving some sort of a break. It's a difficult issue....I believe sports is a business. I believe one of the reasons we've been able to get the CFL on the road to recovery is because we're treating it more like a business and running it more like a business. At the same time, I hope you will have a chance to discuss and get advice on how to ensure that sports doesn't completely morph itself, professional sports, into a business just like any other. As much as I would sit here and argue,

> as I have, that it deserves no less favourable treatment, I also think it's something that shouldn't end up as a business like any other, because I think it will take away from what makes it special. It may end up diminishing the kind of example that sports teams and athletes can set for kids (Sub-Committee on Sport, April 21, 1998, p. 7).

After Mr. Tory finished his presentation the Members of the Sub-Committee raised some questions which gave the Commissioner the opportunity to elaborate on his chief points of the presentation. The question raised by MP Louis Plamondon from Québec was "why haven't we taken a big step and made our league strong by ensuring that people watching not be put off by the differences in rules etc., between Canadian and American football?" (Sub-Committee on Sport, Aril 21, 1998, p. 9). Tory replies at length to this key question by stating:

> Canadians actually had a large hand in starting the game of football. I think it was a game between Harvard and McGill that lies at the very roots of the game of football as it's played in North America. I would argue that our rules were first, and furthermore, I think our game is at least as exciting, if not more exciting many times, than the American game. I don't think it's better or worse, but I think it's ours and it's Canadian. I've said repeatedly that if it got to the point where in order to keep this league going you had to give up our rules that we've played by for more than 100 years and that are uniquely Canadian, I wouldn't be mad, but they could find somebody else to implement that change, because I think that would take away the one thing that makes this league uniquely Canadian. I mean, aside from the fact that it has Canadian players and is played in Canadian cities, we play it by our own rules....I think that if we simply put a league in place that was our own version of American football, with scaled-down salary requirements and played in smaller cities and so on, that's what you'd have—a scaled-down version of an American rules football league. I think what we have now is ours. It's uniquely ours; it's going to get back on its feet and succeed. I think we've proven, in western Canada in particular, that you can draw large, enthusiastic crowds to see Canadian football. So much as I respect your suggestion and your comments, my efforts will be devoted to preserving the Canadian game and making it work in cities like Montréal and across Canada—and I hope one day, if we can get the thing stabilized, in Eastern Canada, because then it would be truly national from sea to sea (Sub-Committee on Sport, April 21, 1998, p. 10).

A question raised by MP David Iftody of Manitoba allowed Mr. Tory to expand on his thoughts concerning the differences between Eastern and Western Canada with regards to the CFL. The

question presented was "why is there this apparent cultural and social difference and acceptance in the Canadian Football League between the east and the west?"(Sub-Committee on Sport, April 21, 1998, p. 14). To this Tory responded,

> I wish I had an explanation for that. I like to convince myself from time to time—and I believe it to be true—that probably the single biggest impact that caused the decline of the CFL in eastern Canada was the image of the league, in that every time we had a business crisis where we looked like we're going out of business, it always happened in the east, and people came to look at us an organization with a bad image and they didn't want to associate themselves with....The second thing that happened in the east was that the quality of teams in a couple of communities, particularly Hamilton and Ottawa, was poor. In some of these cities, particularly Toronto, there's also a great deal of competition, as Mr. Mills and others know, for the entertainment dollar. You have a basketball team and a baseball team and all kinds of theatres and so on that provide stiff competition for entertainment dollars. All of those things have combined to create a sense that the CFL is not seen in the same light. It's not "respected" to the same degree, if I can use that expression, by Canadians in the east as it is by Canadians in the west, where the thing is very much part of the fabric of those communities, as you suggested, in all of the western cities(Sub-Committee on Sport, April 21, 1998, pp. 15-16).

George Proud of Prince Edward Island alluded to the fact that there was no CFL team in Atlantic Canada and asked Mr. Tory to comment. This gave Tory a final opportunity to drive his point of national unity deriving from sport in general, and from the CFL, specifically. "I think this league will only be truly national if it's truly national, and it won't be truly national until it's in Atlantic Canada....I don't overemphasize, and never have, the importance of the CFL, but I think if we can be seen to be strengthening one of these national institutions and see something that is Canadian expanding to become national, that would be a good thing for the country (Sub-Committee on Sport, April 21, 1998, pp. 24-25).

John Tory's main points are important and relevant to the thesis. He spoke of the importance of sport in general which led into his view on the importance of professional sports, specifically the CFL, to the amateur sporting community and amateur football within Canada.

The main thrust of his presentation spelt out what he sees as the uniqueness of the game of Canadian football and the importance of the CFL as a valuable national institution. In responding to his interpretation about the implementation of government subsidies for professional sport, the CFL commissioner was able to expand on issues of national unity—expanding the CFL to Atlantic Canada for example.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

Two main themes emerge from the analysis of the answers to the four specific research questions. These themes, inextricably linked to the description of and portrayal of Canadian nationalism, are Americanisation and regionalism. The former theme has many different faces or descriptions. Indeed within sport sociology, two major threads or definitions of the process associated with Americanisation are apparent. For some, Americanisation reflects a broader globalising force. For others, cultural imperialism manifests itself as Americanisation. The latter theme is discussed later.

Americanisation as an aspect of global processes is espoused in research by McKay and Miller (1991) and Wagner (1990). These scholars argue Americanisation is too limiting for the phenomenon which is occurring. While aspects of American culture may be most pervasive in the world (eg. Hollywood-produced film industry), to solely attribute globalisation to one country is to lose sight of other factors or countries which play complex and important roles in the process. For example, the economic strategy of the National Basketball Association (NBA) with regards to its advancement and development around the world, while American-based, involves more complex processes than those of the United States. Consider the NBA's presentation to the Mills Committee on sport.

In its presentation, the NBA spoke of an over-riding desire to maintain basketball as a global game. As America's closest northern neighbour, it is logical that the NBA would establish itself in Canada. Professional basketball is an "easy sell" in Canada. A Canadian (James Naismith) invented the game. Every year young Canadians enter U.S. colleges on basketball scholarships. And a handful of Canadians play in the NBA. In short the American and Canadian

lifestyle is very similar. The NBA expressed its desire to develop the game in Canada, both at the playing level, from the grassroots up to the national team, and as a spectator sport. The NBA sees Canada as fertile ground to help basketball grow and in turn, help professional basketball grow economically gain prestige and increase its power in the competitive arena of commercialised sports entertainment. The subtle, but definite nuance here is that the NBA, although an American corporation, sees itself as having a global mandate. This is a corporation whose primary purpose is the advancement of the game globally, to expand the sport to worldwide popularity.

There are those who do not recognise this as a global mandate, however. Allen Guttmann (1994) speaks about regionalism within the international sporting community generally, while Kidd (1991) and Donnelly (1996) show its exemplification specifically within Canadian sport. The general argument contends that it is expressly American forces which are shaping the global culture, including the international sporting culture. The evidence that was discovered in this research project provides strong support for the Americanisation position.

The historical indicator uncovered a multitude of examples of Americanisation in CFL football. The rules of Canadian football are always an arena for debate, to make the transition from American to Canadian football, easier for Imports. It goes without saying, that rule changes have a direct influence on the style of play within a game. Despite the relentless drive to Americanise the CFL, Americanisation is not absolute. The CFL is considered a passing league due to the resistance to alter in any way, the dimensions of the field of play. Similarly, Canadian football retains its legacy of unlimited motion, three downs, twelve players and the single point. However, because of the heightened emphasis on passing, the quarterback is critical to the success of CFL teams; and the American quarterback the undisputed choice to fill

this position. Even the damning systemic discrimination uncovered in the Jamie Bone legal case has not changed the circumstances. The American quarterback is recruited, he is played and the Americanisation of the league is further entrenched.

The unquestioned search for the American quarterback has further implications, in that it is generally the Import who is accorded marquee status. Coaches are constantly searching for the best at every position, and it is the "American being the synonym for good" (Cosentino, 1995, p. 19). The empirical evidence conducted to determine the degree of stacking within the CFL demonstrated that almost always it is the Import who is placed in a starting role. Logically, to be accorded marquee status, one must be a primary player. The findings of my research confirms that of previous scholars. Thus Ball (1972) used the theory of centrality, (those players more apt to handle the ball were considered central), to discover that Americans were placed in central positions, such as quarterback, running back and receiver on offense and linebacker, defensive back and defensive ends on defense, more often than Canadian players. These are the playmaking positions. My research suggests that little has changed since 1972. American dominance pervades the CFL. And consequently, arguments for a global face to Americanisation are problematic.

But there are other examples of American dominance in the CFL, namely the ubiquitous presence of the American coach. Frank Shaughnessy's "conference system" innovation and his many American-based tactics helped construct the logic that coaches are American. Again the empirical evidence is overwhelming. CFL football is controlled by the American coach the cycle of American dominance sustained throughout time. And my research confirms exactly the argument that Lavoie (1998) has made about francophone players in the NHL. The francophone is at a distinct disadvantage by the magnitude of Anglophone coaches and scouts within the

league. Where my evidence needs to be qualified in relation to that of Lavoie, is in the rule structure of the CFL. Canadian players, because of the Import / Non-Import designation must occupy positions in the CFL. The NHL has no such designation for citizenship or ethnicity. In other words, because of the Import / Non-Import quota, the roster spot for Canadian players is assured. However, systemic discrimination still exists. Canadians invariably are placed in backup roles. If one was to summarise the empirical evidence it would indicate that the top decision makers are American, the American player is placed in starting positions and the American is promoted as the marquee player. Finally, there is a good deal of similarity between the plight of the Canadian player in the CFL and that of the francophone player in the NHL.

What does this Americanisation of the Canadian sporting world, in general, and the CFL, in particular, mean? Many would argue that it has no effect at all on Canadian football. The CFL is an exciting brand of football and the nationality of the players has very little to do with the on-field product. The underlying premise of this argument is troubling. If American players are assumed to start in the CFL, if they are the acknowledged "stars" and if the coaches are American, there are cultural and social ramifications. All things American are desirable and better than Canadian. This can be seen with the CFL's failed attempt to expand to the United States. Then-Commissioner Larry Smith argued that the U.S. market needed to be tapped if the CFL was to survive. In order for the CFL to achieve success, it had to succeed in the United States. That was the ultimate goal. But the expansion failed. Americans did not accept the CFL as an equivalent to American football. And again the globalisation argument is brought into question. Global processes assume two-way directional activity. Failure of the CFL to expand southward implies resistance to globalising influences.

This can also be seen within the NHL. Expansion to the United States was seen as the road to glory for the NHL. But at what cost to the Canadian sporting landscape? Two Canadian NHL franchises have relocated to the United States in the past decade, with the Winnipeg Jets moving to Phoenix to become the Coyotes and the Québec Nordiques travelling to Denver to become the Colorado Avalanche.

While this thesis is not directly concerned with professional hockey, there are important observations to be made. With regards to expansion, the NHL's mandate seems to be to expand only into those markets that would increase the potential for a lucrative television deal. But synonymous with "lucrative television" is American-based networks. Thus, the NHL vetoed the transfer of the St. Louis Blues to the city of Saskatoon in the 1980's. Saskatoon is situated in what could be described as Canada's hockey heartland, the Prairies, it has sent countless players to the NHL, and the potential owner of the Saskatoon franchise, Bill Hunter, had already secured close to 18000 pledges for season tickets. No matter, as Gruneau & Whitson (1993) speculate: "in the eyes of U.S. NHL governors, even if Saskatoon could sell out all the seats in its arena, and even if the management was wealthy and the franchise stable, such a move stood to hurt the league in its quest for national stature in the United States and access to a U.S. national television market" (p. 230). Indeed, expansion and movement of franchises in the NHL has occurred rapidly in the past decade, yet only one of these new franchises, the Ottawa Senators, has been located in Canada. This is not globalisation for there is little evidence of forward and backward linkages (cf. Sklair, 1991) and the Ottawa franchise is an anomaly as far as Gruneau & Whitson (1993) are concerned:

> the Senators' bid had going for it the owners' apparently deep pockets, the national capital's greater 'name recognition' among Americans than other Canadian cities (such as Hamilton or Saskatoon), and its airline connections with many U.S. cities. It also worked to Ottawa's advantage that the league's $50

> million franchise fee and the requirements for a suitable arena had deterred once promising bids from more 'desirable' locations, including Miami and Seattle (p. 232).

The cities that the NHL has entered into in the past decade have been mostly located within the southern United States, such unlikely hockey vistas as Arizona, Texas, California and Florida, along with two franchises situated into traditionally strong hot beds of hockey in the North of the U.S, close to the Canadian border, the Minnesota Wild and the Columbus (Ohio) Blue Jackets. But geographical location is irrelevant for a winter sport moved indoors. The primary incentive is "growing audiences of affluent, specialty-television subscribers. Florida is particularly central in this strategy because it features one of the largest and fastest growing television markets in the United States" (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993, pp.231-232). Increased Americanisation can and does lead to the perception that achieving success in the United States is the pinnacle of achievement. In fact achievement requires uni-directional movement to the United States. This, in turn, can spell the demise of things Canadian. The Winnipeg Jets are not exactly the Phoenix Coyotes. The Québec Nordiques are not exactly the Avalanche despite the heroics of Patrick Roy. Location can and does impact upon cultural forms. In fact, Kidd (1991) argues that "Americanization exerts a heavy burden on Canadian sportspersons by greatly restricting their ability to fashion meanings and activities in their own experience" (p. 180).

At this point it is perhaps judicious to summarise the global / regional debates. Scholars such as Maguire (1990) and Kidd (1991) have argued that the regionalised term "Americanisation" is limited in its academic utility. For Maguire, Americanisation presumes only American-based influence. In fact, he argues it is one of many global processes, others being Japanisation and Europeanisation. Kidd concurs guardedly, while still maintaining that Americanisation is a useful term to describe the Canadian situation generally. He does however,

prefer the term "American capitalist hegemony, with its Gramscian connotations consciously chosen" (p. 180). Most Canadian sports sociologists find (Kidd, 1991, Donnelly, 1996, Jackson, 1994), Kidd's term preferable to Americanisation in the context of Canada's sports scene. I would modestly place myself in this group. However, with regards to the CFL, the cultural hegemony approach does not adequately describe the situation. Much of the Americanisation in the CFL is unqualified cultural imperialism. Americans dominate every aspect of the CFL and only because of the Import / Non-Import ratio and the fact that the franchises are in Canadian cities do Canadians play a part in the operations of the league. Some might argue (cf. Cantelon and Murray, 1993, Donnelly, 1996) that the CFL is an example of local resistance to globalising factors, in this case American ones. For example, the CFL has survived in the face of the colossal NFL and its increasing global reach. However, as I noted previously, the agreement between the NFL and CFL served to formalise the CFL as a veritable farm system for the major league NFL, albeit one that plays a different form of football. I would argue that this is not a triumph of the local over the global because the NFL simply does not view the CFL as any real threat. In the collective eyes of the NFL, the CFL plays a peculiar brand of football but the league is competitive enough to season potential NFL players. As well, NFL franchises, in almost all instances, can entice the premier players of the CFL to join the NFL, even when there is no guarantee that the CFL prospect will play regularly. The reason is the astronomically higher financial gains. It has been noted that globalisation is first and foremost, the internationalisation of the market economy (cf. Cantelon & Murray, 1993). However the unevenness of the Canadian sports market in relation to the American one, severely restricts the globalising processes between Canada and the USA. The NFL-CFL relationship attests to that fact.

The second theme which emerged from the thesis research was that of regionalism. Specifically, Canadian society is fraught with regional discontent and these acrimonious tensions also manifest themselves within Canadian sport, in particular the Canadian Football League.

The historical development of Canadian football exemplifies the phenomenon of regionalism. The organisational power base, the C.R.U., was located in Central Canada and retained its considerable prestigious authority through its control of the Dominion Championship, of which the Earl Grey Cup was emblematic. The teams competing in Central Canada were resistant to the forces of change. Conveniently these changes were maligned as American. The development of Canadian football within Western Canada, it is true, was more aligned with the United States than it was with the centrally-based C.R.U. Indeed, the West was first to utilise the forward pass and also was quick to embrace the use of American players and the subsequent professionalisation of the game. However, at the same time the North / South movement of Americans and Canadians for economic reasons was much more usual than in Central Canada. Not all American players were aggressively recruited to play in Canada. Some played because work opportunities brought them north of the 49th parallel. This phenomenon of developing North-South relationships as opposed to the development of provincial relationships is one of the characteristics of regionalism that Hiller (2000) has discussed.

The CFL can also be divided according to regional popularity. Canadian football appears to be a great deal more popular in Western Canada. Fan support of the Saskatchewan Roughriders is legendary with supporters travelling from all across the province to Regina for home games. Many of these same fans also travel to Alberta and Manitoba for Saskatchewan away games. The teams in Alberta, the Edmonton Eskimos and Calgary Stampeders, also enjoy similar support. However, while not to downplay the importance of the CFL within western

Canada, the population of this part of Canada is simply dwarfed by the sheer size of cities like Toronto and Vancouver, cities in which the CFL is, at best a minor-league sport and, at worst, unimportant to the vast majority of its inhabitants. Lack of a team in the Maritimes as well as in Ottawa give further credence to the view that the CFL cannot serve to unite Canada as it is not a truly national sport from coast to coast. In fact, Commissioner John Tory contradicted himself in his presentation to the Mills Committee. While arguing for the national nature of the CFL, Tory admitted the game could not be truly national until there was a team in the Maritimes. The empirical evidence supports this contention. The widely-quoted Bibby Reports of Canadian social trends states, "the CFL has its largest proportional TV following in the West, followed by Ontario; fan interest suffers in the Atlantic region and especially Quebec, places without CFL teams" (Bibby, 1995, p. 22).

In many ways, the theme of regionalism is related to Benedict Anderson's (1991) concept of the imagined community. One of the chief characteristics of the imagined community, Anderson argued, is the sense of unity that spreads across a country. Sport naturally nourishes this national sense of community and is often deliberately used to reinforce this sense of unity. Several presentations to the Mills Committee given by the various professional leagues can be used in support of Anderson.

For instance, Claude Brochu, then president of the Montréal Expos, portrayed the baseball team as being an integral part of the Québec sporting scene. He cited figures that showed 60% of people in Québec followed professional baseball. In other words, part of the imagined community of Québec entails a considerable interest in professional baseball. However, as I have contended elsewhere in this thesis, issues of Americanisation arise in relation to Expo baseball. There recently have been intense rumours that the club may relocate to an

American city, mainly due to financial hardship which is caused, in part, by lack of fan support. There is rarely a sell-out game at Olympic stadium, where the Expos play and the lack of a television contract contributes to decreased fan support. While it impossible within the confines of this thesis to dispute Mr. Brochu's figures empirically, it would appear that if 6 out of 10 people in Québec followed baseball then fan attendance would not be the problem that the Expo organisation finds it to be. Mr. Brochu's presentation made little reference to the importance of the Expos to the rest of the country. Here regionalism is evident. Expos games are rarely seen across Canada except for those occasions when the team meets the Toronto Blue Jays in inter-division competition. Rhetorically then, do the Expos play a secondary role in the Canadian sports world and in Canadian culture itself? Yet, for Brochu, the Expos contribute to a sense of Québec nationalism or what Cronin (1999) describes as imagined nationalism. Certainly NHL hockey believes the game contributes to imagined nationalism.

Both Harley Hotchkiss, the Chairman of the NHL's Board of Governors, and Ken Dryden, the President of the Toronto Maple Leafs, spoke of the "common bond" that hockey creates among Canadians. In fact, professional hockey is thought to increase unity across regional and linguistic divides. Again, such rhetoric is subject to academic scrutiny. Just as NHL hockey may very well increase unity, it can also conjure up feelings of intense regionalism. For example, the tensions between English Canada and French Canada came to symbolise the rivalry between the Toronto Maple Leafs and the Montréal Canadiens. The media tends to propagate this rivalry for to be Anglophone is to be a Leaf fan. To be francophone is to be a Canadien supporter. In other words, tensions between the two dominant language groups is exploited to centre upon French / English differences rather than the similarities. (Not all anglophones support the Leafs, just as not all francophones support the Canadiens). This two-

sided aspect of sport is what Cronin (1999) calls a force of either creation or reflection. This is not to suggest that hockey in general, and more specifically, the NHL, cannot bring about nationalistic passions and provide solidarity among Canadians. The often-cited Summit Series of 1972, the hype surrounding the selection of any Olympic Dream Team, or even a regular Saturday night production of "Labatt's Hockey Night in Canada" or La Soirée du hockey" the feelings of imagined nationalism can be manifested. I would argue, based on the research conducted for this thesis, that NHL hockey can and does generate feelings of imagined community that have both a positive and negative nature. Neither are absolute, nor does one feeling have precedence over another. One must question any romanticised vision of sport as the purveyor of national unity and identity.

Ken Dryden's presentation is a conspicuous example of this romanticised vision of the power of hockey. Dryden is an articulate author and orator and he presents persuasive arguments about hockey in Canadian society. His view of hockey is replete with nostalgic references to the grandeur of hockey and the magical drama that it creates. Hockey, Dryden argues, aids in the nostalgic creation of the "imagined community". Life lessons, he argues, are learned through hockey; yet these very same lessons could be learned through participation in most sports or countless childhood social interactions. And what Dryden's line of reasoning does not recognise is that many of the lessons learned through hockey are lessons that perpetuate the status quo of middle to upper class, white male dominance of the sport. Hockey is still a sport with significantly less opportunities for females than males, both as players and within coaching and administration. Gender-specific roles are assumed to be the norm and are constantly reinforced. This lack of opportunity can also be seen with regards to minorities within hockey, again both as players and within the coaching and administrative ranks. The brief presented by the NHL also

made nostalgic references to the glory of hockey and the NHL and its rightful place as vanguard in the creation of the imagined Canadian community. There are authentic bonds for all Canadians surrounding early morning wakeups for practices or games, Saturday night rituals of friends and family gathering around the radio, then the television to cheer on their favourite team. All such images from hockey give the sport "vivid dramatic reference points". One of the important observations about nostalgia and the development of imagined communities is that there is embedded in the metaphor, the spectre of truth. For many Canadians, hockey does conjure up significant personal events. I would not wish to diminish the importance that hockey plays and has played in the lives of millions of Canadians. However, the fact of the matter is that there is the converse to the perceived benefits of hockey and a nostalgic view of its importance to Canadian society. Gruneau & Whitson (1993) express this binary opposite eloquently. Nostalgic recollections suggested by Dryden:

> create(s) a kind of cultural amnesia about the social struggles and vested interests – between men and women, social classes, regions, races, and ethnic groups – that have always been a part of hockey's history. Hockey has become something whose lore, traditions, and major organizations themselves seem "natural." This naturalization of hockey, along with its lore, traditions, and major organizations, has been easily manipulated by people with an interest in defending hockey's status quo (p. 132).

This thesis is not about hockey. Nonetheless, it is important to realise that the views expressed by Dryden and within the NHL's brief yearn for an earlier vision of professional hockey, an era where hockey somehow truly mattered to the bulk of the Canadian public. What Dryden and the NHL fail to realise is that Canadian society has changed. In its own right, this is what is so challenging about Anderson's concept of the imagined community; it is constantly imagined in fundamentally different ways. Canada is a much more multicultural society with increased variety of leisure activities. Hockey must compete, not only with other professional

sports, but also with other leisure activities brought about by technological advances, as well as cultural diffusion. In parts of Canada it as likely that the sports metaphor to reflect the community might be cricket or soccer rather than hockey. Hockey itself has changed as well, both at the grassroots and at the highest level. Children have a seemingly endless supply of sporting activities from which to choose. Soccer and basketball may be for many "the" sport to play; hockey merely another sport one might choose to enjoy. Financial and time constraints have also helped to decrease participation in children's hockey. It is simply too expensive for significant numbers of families, many of whom are the responsibility of a single-parent. The imagined community in contemporary Canada may have little to do with hockey, despite the evangelical urgings of spokespersons like Ken Dryden. In fact,Gruneau & Whitson (1993) again provide a succinct statement about hockey and imagined communities:

> this erosion of hockey tradition has been exacerbated by a much broader set of social and economic pressures and limits that have been changing the game – things like the ongoing suburbanization of minor hockey, continued NHL expansion, the large-scale infusion of European players into the NHL, and the growth of women's hockey (p. 280).

The use of nostalgia and romantic yearnings for days gone by and simpler times was not limited to the presentation by the NHL. Indeed, the presentation by the CFL painted itself as the rightful heir to the title "truly Canadian". Like others, Tory emphasised the unifying cement that comes from Grey Cup games. Commissioner Tory also placed great importance on the role of the Grey Cup, the national championship of the CFL, to create this feeling of unity. The Grey Cup exemplifies what Cronin (1999) describes as nationalism within sport as "transient and temporary" as it could be argued that the CFL does not really matter to most Canadians until the Grey Cup is played and even then, the game is secondary to the party atmosphere enveloping the

game. The atmosphere which surrounds the Grey Cup is alive with references to Canadiana and what it means to be Canadian. As Cosentino (1995) notes,

> ...the half-time show was a celebration of Canadianism. A giant Canadian flag was carried out to the field. Tommy Ambrose serenaded and led a spontaneous sing-along of Canadian songs. The sheer eye-misting pride that we all take in this country, whether we cheer for Hamilton or Edmonton, reached a crescendo as folk singer Roger Wittaker belted out his big hit "Canada is" (p. 161).

When Tory unabashedly spoke of the CFL as a medium for unity within Canada, his unity premise was the basis of his entire presentation. My research findings suggest that Tory's romantic view of the CFL is simply untrue. For the great majority of Canadians, the CFL does not matter. Reginald Bibby (1995), for example, found that a scant 2% and 8% of Québecois and Maritimers respectively saw CFL as their favourite television sport (p. 22). Many consider it to be an inferior brand of football in comparison to the American version played in the NFL. Lack of fan support within Eastern Canada has spelled the demise of the long time franchise located in the nation's capital, the Ottawa Rough Riders. The Toronto Argonauts have had serious problems at the box office in recent years, compounded by the team's lack of on-field success. The Montréal Alouettes are on their way to their third straight season of sell outs but even this significant success story is tempered by the fact that the club moved from the cavernous Olympic Stadium to the much smaller Percival Molson Stadium. Moreover, the Montréal franchise has lives as both the Montréal Concorde and most recently as incarnation of the Baltimore franchise in the era of American expansion. While the Allouettes had to abide by the Import / Non-Import ratio, they brought with them to Montréal a mostly American club with Americans placed predominately in starting positions. In fact with the move to Montréal, the team changed the priority of positions in which to situate Imports. Montréal began playing Americans at the Offensive Tackle position. The result was that the rest of the CFL teams

followed. Canadians who played this position soon found themselves either moved to a new position or relegated to backup status; yet another instance of cultural imperialism.

The simple matter is that the CFL cannot be a uniting force in the country because of the status of the Canadian player. The Canadian player, in general, plays a marginal role in CFL. The marquee positions are almost always the preserve of the Import. The media presents the American as the playmaker. These are the players that fans of the CFL should worship. What does it say about a country if the unifying sport relegates its native citizens to backup status and special teams duty? Is it a true image of Canadians? Is our national identity so fragile and weak that a view which is subordinate or inferior to the United States is an authentic one? If so, then the CFL could be a catalyst in the creation of a fractious nature within the national identity of Canadians.

This game is reckoned to bring together an entire nation of Canadians. How it does with American players as the chief playmakers and American coaches exerting considerable authority remains a puzzle. Kidd (1982) expressed it best. "The so-called national championship Grey Cup is proudly proclaimed by its sponsors as a vehicle for Canadian unity, but the claim is vitiated by the lowly status of Canadian players, and its dependence upon and subordination to U.S. commercial football" (p. 293).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The genesis of this thesis came about as a result of a lifelong relationship with Canadian Football. It was always my contention that Canadian football players, and more specifically those trained within Canada, were not given due credit for their ability within the professional ranks of the Canadian Football League, mostly because of where they were born. This narrow-mindedness was attributed to, not only the thought that those in charge of the CFL, i.e. the coaches, scouts, and general managers, were all American and would therefore be more comfortable with a player with whom they were familiar or at least familiar with their training methods, but the fans of the CFL as well. It was thought that the Canadian public, whether they followed football or not, viewed the NFL as a superior brand of football and the American within the CFL as a superior brand of player. This was the way things were and it was viewed as hegemonic in true Gramscian sense. After undertaking the research set out at the beginning of the thesis, it can be shown that this view is false. Rather than it being a question of hegemony with regards to the superiority of the American player to the Canadian "homebrew" it is unequivocal American domination within the CFL that keeps the American player atop the league hierarchy. This conclusion has been reached through answering the four specific research questions set out at the beginning of the thesis.

The first question was "what are the Canadian specificities?" which dealt with the history of the game of football within Canada. The results demonstrate how American influences have been exerted throughout the history of Canadian football. The four main areas where these Americanising forces have wielded their power are through American coaches and their innovations, the influx of American players, the rule changes which occurred to make the game

more familiar to the renegade American players (i.e. the forward pass rule, the Import / Non-Import ratio, and the size of the ball to name a few), and the subsequent change to the style of play. All of these changes were inextricably linked and acted synergistically to perpetuate American domination within Canadian football.

The results of the second question, "who controls the game?" substantiate the claim that it is Americans who control who plays, where they play, and for how long. Americans overwhelm the coaching ranks and the head scout position within the 1990-2000 time frame studied. They are the key actors and their nationality shapes the game without a doubt. The American coach prefers to have an American player because he consider the American player to be of superior ability in comparison to the Canadian due to the superiority of the training system the American undertook in his development as a football player. Many coaches will tryout players sight unseen simply because of familiarity with the player's college or football background. At the very least the American player is afforded the benefit of the doubt while the Canadian player does not receive such advantage. To a lesser extent this occurs for Canadians trained at American colleges versus the Canadian-trained player.

The results from the third question. "who plays the game?" establish that stacking is occurring with regards to the nationality of the players. Americans are placed unduly at the marquee positions, such as Quarterback and Running back, as well as at high priority positions, such as at Defensive back and Linebacker. Another related item is that this Americanisation of certain positions expands with each successive increase to the number of Imports allowed per team.

The fourth question, "how is the game portrayed?", dealt with how professional sport perceived itself as contributing to national unity, more specifically how the CFL viewed itself as

contributing to national solidarity. The CFL and its championship game, the Grey Cup, are self-promoted as national symbols and as avenues for uniting Canada from East to West. It may be able to arouse feelings of nationalistic passions but the game on the field, for which Canadians are cheering lustily, is under American domination.

The CFL is a perfect example of American cultural imperialism. When reporters ask questions of a coach at the Grey Cup about his player's "Super Bowl" catch, the domination is complete. For as one former CFL general manager stated, "it was the larger playing field, the more exciting playing rules which made the game Canadian, not the players on the field" (Cosentino, 1995, p. 212). The CFL, Radically Canadian? There is nothing radical about a league that paints itself, through its own views and marketing slogans, as creating national pride and passion yet has been Americanised throughout its history and is controlled by, and has as its stars, Americans.

Future directions for study of the CFL should include analysing the impact of the NFL-CFL agreement as its implications have not yet become completely apparent. As well, a study of the impact of the Americanisation of the CFL upon amateur football in Canada would also be a welcome addition to the literature surrounding this topic. With regards to the present study, it would be worthwhile to examine the CFL's rosters for the entire season rather than relying on the opening day rosters. This is because as NFL teams finalise their rosters, nearly three-quarters of the way through the CFL season, there is an influx to the CFL of American players who did not make the final cut in the NFL.

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