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**SPORT POLICY AND MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE
A CASE STUDY OF ONTARIO AND QUÉBEC**

By

MICHELLE ROSE

B.A., The University of Western Ontario, 2003

THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The introduction of the new *Canadian Sport Policy* in 2002 included Enhanced Interaction as one of its four goals. This study examines how interaction between governments and civil society has evolved from the 1990s to the present to determine how the *Canadian Sport Policy* has influenced multilevel governance in sport. Using both semi-structured interviews and a document analysis, this study looked at sport policies from the governments of Canada, Quebec and Ontario and the cities of Montreal and Toronto to identify the nature of their interactions with each other and civil society. Using the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) to examine these interactions and their effects on policy change, the findings revealed that although multilevel governance was long considered a priority for the success of Canadian sport, it was not until the introduction of the *Canadian Sport Policy* that interaction on a multilevel was formalized. Recommendations are also offered to further enhance multilevel governance in Canadian sport and improve policy implementation.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

- Gross Domestic Product (GDP)
- Multisport Organization (MSO)
- Provincial Sport Organization (PSO)
- National Sport Organization (NSO)
- Federal-Provincial/Territorial (F-P/T)
- Federal Provincial Territorial Sport Policy Steering Committee (FPTSPSC)
- Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)
- Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST)
- Vancouver Organizing Committee (VANOC)
- Long Term Athlete Development Model (LTADM)
- Ontario Sport Action Plan (OSAP)
- Sport Funding and Accountability Framework (SFAF)
- National Hockey League (NHL)
- Societe internationale de sport de montreal (SISM)
- Sport Matters Group (SMG)
- Sport Alliance of Ontario (SAO)
- Canadian Olympic Committee (COC)
- Canadian Paralympic Committee (CPC)
- Canadian Olympic Development Agency (CODA)

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Sport occupies a significant part of Canadian society and affects the lives of all Canadians in various capacities. Sport affects Canadian health, personal and social well being, economy, education, and culture. More than 90% of Canadians believe sport has the ability to foster national and community spirit as well as build lifelong skills for young people (Canada, 2001a). Sport affects many aspects of Canadian life. Several scholars (eg. Lavoie, 2000; Sage, 2000; Gratton & Henry, 2001) have examined the economic impact of sport on national and local economies. The Government of Canada (1998) estimates that the Canadian sport and recreation sector produces \$8.9 billion representing 1.1% of Canada's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The Canadian government also indicates that hosting amateur sport events such as the Olympics Games, Commonwealth Games, Canada Games and single sport championship events are critical to the development of Canadian sport and stimulates economic activity within local construction and hospitality industries. This economic activity in turn generates tax revenues for all three levels of government (Canada, 1998).

It is not surprising then, that governments choose to intervene in sport. Several works have examined the reasons surrounding government involvement in sport (see Harvey & Proulx, 1988; Houlihan, 1997; Keyes, 1989; Kidd, 1999). Macintosh and Whitson (1990) posit four principle motives for government involvement. The first such motive involves using sport as a means of nation-building. The federal government has used sport to promote Canadian nationalism and national unity to bridge the division between Anglophone and Francophone populations. The second motive involves using sport to foster international

prestige. Success at international games such as the Olympics serves to promote Canada's image abroad not only as a leading sport nation but to promote other aspects of Canadian society and industry; consequently affecting the sale of Canadian products, services and tourism industries. The third motive involves increasing public motivation for sport participation. Through increased levels of sport participation, governments hope to improve the general health and well being of the nation and develop a pool of athletes that could go on to represent Canada at international competitions. The fourth motive for government involvement in sport is to support the development of excellence as a means to fulfill all of the motives for government intervention in sport. Of particular interest to this study are the latter two motives outlined by Macintosh and Whitson (1990), intervening to increase sport participation and the development of excellence.

Historically, policy debates have centred on the competition between high-performance and recreational sport or elite sport and sport development (Canada, 1992). Recently however, policy debates have focused on the creation of a 'physical culture' where the transition between development and excellence runs along an athlete-centred continuum (Canada, 1992).

The national summit on sport in 2001 focused on developing a sport policy that integrated all levels of government, the sport community, and the corporate sector to ensure an effective sport system that represented the values of all Canadians (Canada, 2001a). The national summit on sport was a culmination of a year conducting consultations and regional conferences involving more than 600 participants in the sport community to determine the views of Canadians, institutions and organizations on sport. The consultations and regional conferences yielded many common themes, ideas and observations regarding the future

direction of amateur sport along with recommendations for its improvement (Canada, 2001a).

Observations on the Canadian amateur sport system included the inefficiency of Canadian sport institutions and the need to promote physical activity, physical education and sport in schools. Participants in the consultation process indicated the need for national sport organizations (NSOs) and provincial sport organizations (PSOs) to promote sport participation and remove barriers to underrepresented and marginalized people in the sport system. Participants also indicated that the efficiency of Canadian sport institutions would improve by coordinating resources and facilities to integrate sport in education systems.

Consequently, participants also noted the lack of co-ordination among those involved in the sport system and indicated that collaboration between all levels of government, sport organizations, sport clubs and educational institutions would significantly improve sport delivery programs. Collaboration between NSOs and PSOs in particular, would strengthen partnerships and prepare athletes for the transition into high performance sport. The transition from development to elite sport participation was a common recommendation among participants in the consultations and regional debates.

The national summit on sport noted several challenges to the formulation of a Canadian sport policy to represent all Canadians, notably, social and economic barriers to sport participation, physical education in schools, support for athlete development and coaching.

The proposed Canadian sport policy noted that a continuum that bridges participation and excellence in sport contributes to the creation of an environment conducive to broad based participation at the community level. The national summit on sport identified that a

sport continuum breaks down barriers to participation by making sport more inclusive and promotes the development of sporting potential and talent identification that would lead some athletes into elite sport programs (Canada, 2001b).

The national summit on sport identified several principles for sport in Canada to guide the policy decision-making process:

- (a) sport must be inclusive and offer every Canadian an opportunity to participate regardless of age, race gender, language, sexual orientation, disability, religion, region or economic circumstance;
- (b) sport must be accessible for all Canadians depending on personal needs, interests, aspirations and abilities;
- (c) sport must promote fair play and discourage the use of banned substances, cheating, harassment and abuse;
- (d) sport includes the pursuit of excellence through fair and ethical means;
- (e) everyone involved in sport should be respected for their unique contributions; and
- (f) policies and programs should be developed through collaboration, and consultation with the sport community and account for the responsibilities of the federal and provincial/territorial governments in public policy development for sport (Canada, 2001b, p. 21).

In April 2002, Sport Canada introduced the new *Canadian Sport Policy* in an effort to improve the efficiency and inclusiveness of the Canadian sport system. The new vision of the Canadian sport policy is to have in place by 2012:

A dynamic and leading-edge sport environment that enables all Canadians to experience and enjoy involvement in sport to the extent of their abilities and interests and, for increasing numbers, to perform consistently and successfully at the highest competitive levels. (Canada, 2002a, p. 4)

The new sport policy is comprised of four goals to help achieve this vision: *Enhanced Participation, Enhanced Excellence, Enhanced Capacity and Enhanced Interaction*. Central to this study is the inclusion of *Enhanced Interaction* as one of the tenets of the policy. *Enhanced Interaction*, according to the *Canadian Sport Policy* involves increasing the levels of collaboration, communication and cooperation among all levels of government, the sport community and the private sector in the hope of achieving an effective and efficient sport system. Federal-provincial/territorial governments, as part of the implementation of the policy will strengthen and develop relationships between governments and individuals to promote the benefits of sport. Governments will also work to promote relationships between sport organizations and schools to realize mutual interests in sport participation and development by coordinating the availability of coaching and facilities (Canada, 2002a).

The successful implementation of the policy and its goals is dependent upon the federal-provincial/territorial committee for sport, fitness and recreation, the harmonization of federal and provincial sport policies, and bilateral agreements between governments and civil society. The Federal-Provincial/Territorial Priorities for Collaborative Action has also outlined initiatives to increase efforts to achieve the objectives set forth by the Canadian sport policy. This initiative involves increasing collaboration between governments and sport communities using four models of action plans: (a) a federal government action plan; (b) individual action plans by provincial/territorial governments; (c) a collaborative federal-provincial/territorial government action plan and (d) action plans by sport communities (Canada, 2002b.). According to the policy, it is through the facilitation of these action plans that the Canadian sport policy will succeed in achieving its stated goals by fostering an environment that is conducive to enabling governments not only to work together but also to

create opportunities for government specific initiatives toward the goals of the Canadian sport policy (Canada, 2002 b.).

Most recently, the federal government introduced Bill C-12, an Act to promote physical activity and sport, an indication of the federal government's intention to increase sport participation and support the pursuit of excellence by encouraging cooperation among various governments to promote the Canadian sport policy (Canada, 2003). Among the objectives and mandates of the bill include: "[coordinating] federal initiatives related to the encouragement, promotion and development of physical activity and sport...in cooperation with other departments and agencies of the Government of Canada (Canada, 2003, section 5f)" and to "encourage provincial and territorial governments to promote and develop sport" (Canada, 2003, section 5n). Consequently, the 2005 Canadian budget allocated \$140 million in 2005-2006 to Sport Canada to support the pursuits of elite athletes as well as using \$15 million of those funds to ensure opportunities for Canadians to participate in sport at the community level (Canada, 2005).

As the federal government has introduced legislation to improve multilevel governance in sport, it is becoming increasingly necessary to identify patterns of interaction between governments and civil society to ensure that implementation strategies for the new *Canadian Sport Policy* are timely and efficient.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the effects of the new Canadian Sport Policy on the formalization of relationships between different levels of government and civil society. To examine this issue, two specific questions will be studied.

1. *What were the patterns of interaction concerning sport policy and multilevel governance from the 1990s to 2002?*

To examine this question, multilevel governance in sport will be studied involving the federal government, the provinces of Ontario and Québec and the cities of Toronto and Montréal from the 1990s to 2002. The answer to this question will provide information for a contextual comparison of the relationships between policy makers and officials from different levels of government and civil society in the delivery of sport services to Canadians prior to the introduction of the *Canadian Sport Policy*. This information will also identify previous policy implementation strategies for sport among the different levels of government. Examples of practices conducive to the formation and implementation of effective policies will also be evaluated to provide possible frameworks for the successful implementation and delivery of the Canadian sport policy among the three levels of government.

2. *What is the current trend in sport policy and multilevel governance?*

This question will evaluate the current effects of the new *Canadian Sport Policy* on the formalization of relationships between different levels of government and civil society in sport. The main component of analysis will evaluate the effects of the four goals of the new Canadian Sport Policy and the Federal-Provincial/Territorial action plans on the multilevel governance of sport.

These questions will be examined using document analyses and interviews to examine current trends and previous practices in sport policy and multilevel governance. The precise methods for the analysis of each question will be examined in the methodology chapter of this thesis.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

SPORT

Sport as defined by Sport Canada, “involves physical activity and requires learning and training specific motor skills for the purpose of participating in a competition or contest in a regulated and structured context” (Canada, 2004, p. 3) For the purposes of this study sport will encompass both excellence and sport participation programs to evaluate the formalization of intergovernmental relationships.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Intergovernmental relations are defined as structures of interaction between state actors from different levels of government (Cameron & Simeon, 2002). Intergovernmental relations in Canada are driven by a Federal system of government. This federal system is composed of two orders, the federal and the provincial. Local government, or third level of government, derives authority from the delegation of responsibility from the provincial government. Inherent in Canadian federalism are issues of overlapping jurisdictions, shared revenue sources, administrative co-operation and interaction between the Federal and provincial governments. The process of intergovernmental relations involves the creation of mechanisms for resolving differences and reaching agreements among different levels of government (Brooks, 1998).

GOVERNANCE

The concept of governance involves the interaction and co-ordination between organizations such as governments, organizations and communities. Governance involves the variation and co-ordination in formal and informal interactions between the public and private sectors. Similarly, Kooiman (1993) defines governance as “the pattern or structure that emerges in a

social-political system as ‘common’ result or outcome of the interacting intervention of all involved actors” (p. 258). Governance for the purpose of this study is defined as the interaction between the state actors and civil society, namely in the sport community in the creation and implementation of sport policies.

MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE

Multilevel governance encompasses governance systems that involve multiple levels of government or multiple levels of an organization. Multilevel governance includes the complex interaction between different levels of government and individuals towards policy-making and implementation (Meier et. al., 2004).

PUBLIC POLICY

According to Dye (1978) public policy is “whatever governments choose to do or not to do” (p. 7). More specifically however, public policy involves the expression of ideas and values, the structuring of power and influence, processes involving uncertainty, legitimacy and fairness in policy development, the changing nature of human behaviour, the implementation of desired behaviour and a series of decisions and indecisions (Doern & Phidd, 1983).

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study will add to the ongoing research on intergovernmental relationships and governance in public policy. As this study will address the evolution of sport policy and multilevel governance and the effects of the new *Canadian Sport Policy* on the formalization of partnerships, it should contain information useful to policy makers as well as an important addition to the study and analysis of the Canadian sport policy, Canadian public policy and (multilevel) governance. An analysis of sport policies in Ontario and Québec and in particular, the municipalities of Toronto and Montréal will provide insight into two different

forms of governance in sport and will allow for a thorough analysis of intergovernmental relations and the governance of sport policy within these regions.

Second, as this study is associated with a larger study entitled *Multilevel Governance and Public Policy in Canadian Municipalities*, this study will examine the structure of intergovernmental relations based on a tri-level investigation. Specifically, the Major Collaborative Research Initiatives Program funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council will examine multilevel governance and public policy in Canadian municipalities by addressing the role of state actors and social forces involved in the creation of public policy. This thesis will contribute to the larger study through an investigation of how provinces mediate federal-municipal relations in sport policy. Although sport policy is just one policy field, it will provide valuable information into the mechanism of policy formulation and implementation within a larger sphere of public policy in Canadian municipalities.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A preliminary analysis of sport policy and multilevel governance will examine several of the debates surrounding intergovernmental relations and governance. Although this review of literature cannot tackle all of the relevant issues surrounding multilevel governance and sport policy, it examines three issues that broadly affect the topic including: intergovernmental relations in Canada, governance, and sport policy and how the existing debates frame the analysis of sport policy and multilevel governance.

Intergovernmental Relations in Canada

Intergovernmental relations in Canada are complex and adapt to the interdependencies, and overlapping jurisdictions of different levels of government (Painter, 1991). Intergovernmental relations are highly influenced by Canada's federalist state, affecting the legal status, hierarchical character and complexity of these relationships. The legal status of federal-provincial relations is grounded in constitutional law. Provincial-municipal relations on the other hand are grounded in statutory law. The hierarchical character of federal-provincial relations relate to the collaboration of two equals, whereas provincial-municipal relations consist of a superior province and a subordinate municipality. In terms of the complexity of intergovernmental relationships, the federal-provincial and federal-territorial relationships are simple, consisting of one federal government and ten provinces and three territories. Provincial-municipal governments are more complex, involving ten provincial governments interacting with several municipalities of varying size (Graham et al., 1998).

According to Painter (1991) two forms of intergovernmental relations exist in Canada. The first of these two forms is competitive federalism, in which different levels of government keep their distance from each other and provide separate services to the public due to competition for resources and public support. The second type of intergovernmental relations involves collaborative federalism, in which governments co-operate in the provision of public services. In collaborative federalism, provincial governments seek to be closely connected to federal policies that cross into provincial jurisdictions. The type of intergovernmental relations existing in the federal-provincial relationship has traditionally been a combination of both competitive and collaborative federalism. Provincial governments are territorial regarding their jurisdictions, namely the provision of health care and education, and are quite resistant to federal interference in these matters. However, provincial governments do rely on federal funding in the provision of services under provincial jurisdiction and must follow federal policies in order to receive these funds (Painter, 1991). Although provincial governments would prefer to be more autonomous, the inherent nature of Canadian federalism means that provinces must co-ordinate and co-operate with the federal government (Cameron & Simeon, 2002).

Watts (2003, as cited in McIntosh, 2004) argues that there are two important aspects of effective intergovernmental relations:

One is the establishment of *intergovernmental* structures and processes facilitating consultation, coordination, joint decision-making and conflict resolution among governments; the other is the development within each government of *intragovernmental* structures and processes enabling each government to coordinate its own relations with other governments so as to participate effectively in its interaction with other governments (p. 31).

Several researchers have examined the impact of Canada's federal system of government on intergovernmental relations (eg. Cameron, 1995, McIntosh, 2004, Painter,

1991). Cameron and Simeon (2002) examined the evolution of the federalist state on federal-provincial intergovernmental relations. Specifically, executive federalism, is characterized by processes of multi-level consultation and bargaining between policy makers representing Ottawa and the provinces (Brooks, 2003), and collaborative federalism, characterized by a co-determination of broad national policies. In all federalist states such as Canada, complex systems of intergovernmental relations are present in order to deal with overlapping jurisdictional issues. Cameron and Simeon (2002) contend that there is no single pattern of intergovernmental relations. Rather, intergovernmental relations vary according to the level of government and the issue area. In some policy fields relations are cooperative between policy actors, whereas mistrust dominates other fields.

In the twenty years following the end of World War II, intergovernmental relations were focused on the construction of the Canadian welfare state. Federal institutions were interested in intergovernmental relations because most of the policy areas in which the federal government funded and designed lay within provincial jurisdiction. However, few changes to the distribution of power occurred and the federalist system instead adapted to the changing roles of government. Cameron and Simeon (2002) argue that this was a result of federal spending power and the proliferation of shared-cost programs.

During the 1960s, the growth of the public sector on both federal and provincial levels affected the intergovernmental agenda. As a result, governments were more likely to cross jurisdictions and take on overlapping mandates in the pursuit of political ambition. Québec's quiet revolution and growing regionalism in Western Canada also altered the traditional view of Canadian federalism by challenging the validity of the constitution

provincially. Provinces became less prepared to defer to and rely on federal leadership (Cameron & Simeon, 2002).

The Mulroney government of the 1980s shifted intergovernmental relations from executive federalism to an era of more cooperative or collaborative federalism. The beginning of the Mulroney mandate saw close collaboration between the federal government and the provinces on major policy initiatives such as the negotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with the United States as well as consulting with provinces with regard to cuts to national spending. However, toward the end of Mulroney's term, the government made many decisions that contradicted the goals of collaborative federalism. Most political elites had endorsed the Charlottetown and Meech lake accords, yet the public was excluded from debates surrounding these agreements. Governments came under pressure to make intergovernmental relations more open to participation. Due to these constitutional failures governments worked to find solutions to jurisdictional problems through informal adaptation rather than through constitutional change (Cameron & Simeon, 2002).

Changes in political leadership and growing fiscal pressures also have an effect on intergovernmental relations. Cameron and Simeon (2002) attest that there was growing concern from the public and the government about the growing debt of the public sector. Under the Chrétien government, provincial transfers for social programs such as health and education decreased from \$18 billion to \$12.5 billion. Instead, provincial transfers to health and education were put into the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST), which allowed provincial governments to decide the fate of the transfers with less influence from the federal

government. Provincial governments gained a greater sense of autonomy, independence and increased responsibility to decide on provincial interests.

Provincial-Municipal Relations

Intergovernmental relations also occur on a provincial-municipal level. Some scholars (eg. Andrew, 1995, Graham et al., 1998, Dupré, 1968) have described the provincial-municipal relationship as 'hyper-fractionalized quasi-subordination'. Hyper-fractionalization on the one hand refers to the multiple bodies and actors within provincial and municipal governments involved in provincial-municipal relations such as the department of municipal affairs in the provincial government and a variety of agencies, boards and commissions at the municipal level. On the other hand, quasi-subordination refers to limits on the subordination of municipalities such as the election of municipal officials into provincial political parties. The effect of quasi-subordination is the difficulty of municipal government to assert leadership areas in which the province also has a vested interest (Andrew, 1995).

Graham et al. (1998), stress that the provincial-municipal relationship in public policy is more restrictive than permissive. Municipal governments in Canada can only initiate activities specifically delegated to them by their provinces. These restrictions impede municipalities from making independent decisions or changing public policy agendas without provincial approval. Provinces' conditional grants to municipal governments encourage them to conform to provincial priorities. However, Andrew (1995) argues that municipalities do not seek to be completely autonomous from their provinces. Provincial government activity in municipal issues, especially in the financing of municipal services is welcome more often than it is not.

The Commission on the Future of Health Care in Canada (now termed the Romanow report after former Saskatchewan premier Roy Romanow who led the commission) recommended that beginning in 2005-06, the Canadian Health and Social Transfer (CHST) be separated into two transfers: a health care transfer and one transfer for postsecondary education and social policy spending (McIntosh, 2004). Given the unilateral actions on the part of the federal government, McIntosh (2004) argues two resulting consequences. The first consequence involves an increase in the fractionalization of intergovernmental relationships as evidenced by provincial premiers demanding an increase in CHST funds from the prime minister. The second consequence involved the provinces having to plan health and social spending without prior knowledge of the funding associated with federal transfers. McIntosh (2004) further argues that the inability of the federal and provincial governments to commit to a collaborative model of federalism “that respects *both* the division of powers *and* the reality of policy interdependence” (p. 29) threatens the ability of governments to create good public policy in the best interests of citizens.

Governance

The emerging trend towards governance in public policy grew out of the failure of governments to collaborate and meet the needs of citizens (Taylor, 2003). The growing interest in the debate on governance involves the external challenges towards a more participatory form of government. Governance strategies involve maintaining strong public service records through the process of dividing labour and responsibility between the state and civil society (Pierre, 2000). Furthermore, Pierre (2000) argues that the growing interest in governance stems from problems of coordinating actions to ensure that projects initiated by the public sector and civil society share the same objectives and do not contradict each

other. In other words, governance is process that mediates between political and collective interests. The concept of governance according to Kooiman (1993) is predominantly a descriptive and analytical tool to determine how the patterns of a social-political (sub)system work, and which social forces act upon them. Marin and Mayntz (1991, as cited in Kooiman, 1993) state that these social-political patterns are not limited to one individual or group but rather that “political governance in modern societies can no longer be conceived in terms of external governmental control of society but emerges from a plurality of governing actors.” Kooiman (1993) further argues that governance is an expression of the interactions that exist within the social-political system. Several studies (see Paquet and Roy, 1997., Pierre, 2000., and Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003) have examined patterns of interaction in social-political governance. However, Kooiman (1993) best explains the role of interaction in the governance process,

Instead of relying on the state or the market, social political governance is directed at the creation of patterns of interaction in which the political and traditional hierarchical governing and social self-organisation are complementary, in which responsibility and accountability for interventions is spread over public and private actors, but leaves enough autonomy on the micro level. (p. 252)

There is a growing body of literature examining the formal and informal interaction between the public sector and civil society. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003) examined these interactions within the sphere of a network society. A network is characteristic of the break from formal government authority towards “organizational activity, negotiations between sovereign bodies and inter-organizational networks” (p. 3) which blurs the lines that exist between the public sector and civil society. The actors involved in these policy networks congregate with the knowledge that their actions are fundamental to the creation of viable and effective political agreements.

Similarly, Innes and Booher (2003) examined the effects of collaborative policymaking on California's water supply. Although jurisdiction over California's water supplies falls on state and federal agencies, the authors examined how a collaborative policy dialogue works in reality and how it is different from the traditional processes of policymaking. For collaborative dialogue to be successful, Innes and Booher (2003) argue that the legitimacy and the representation of the speaker is critical to successful and meaningful dialogue. The authors concluded that participants in collaborative dialogue developed an understanding of the interdependence of collaborative relationships in the formation of effective policy and this dialogue leads to the creation of policy that is not only effective but is also representative of target populations.

There are obstacles to collaborative policy dialogue and action. While collaborative dialogue may be effective for the creation of good policy, it does not readily fit into the structures found in different levels of government and is thus resistant to acceptance. Innes and Booher (2003) argue that "standard policy institutions tend to categorize public participation as a separate activity for which the responsibilities of public agencies can be met with formal hearings or advisory committees" (p. 50). There remains a distinct separation between the public sector and civil society in formulating public policies.

Knill and Lehmkuhl (2002) investigated in more detail the role of civil society in the public sector. The authors use the term *governance capacity* to describe the "formal and factual capability of public or private actors to define the content of public goods and to shape the social, economic, and political processes by which these goods are provided" (p. 43). While both the public sector and civil society provide public goods, Knill and Lehmkuhl (2002) identified two findings. First, they identified that the challenges global

markets and transnational networks face affect the ability of governments to define and provide public goods. Governments, as a result, try to redistribute powers and resources to other actors especially to accommodate competing interests. Second, inherent in the provision of public goods by civil society is a tension between “individual and collective rationality” (p.44) that can only be resolved through government intervention. The authors conclude that the governance capacity of the public sector and civil society is dependent on strategic groups acting upon a specific policy. Specifically, the “congruence between the scope of the underlying problem and the regulatory structures of the relevant actors; the type of problem; and the institutional context” (p.44) affects the composition and outcome of these strategic groups on a public policy domain.

Although studies have examined the role of public and civic sector collaboration in the policy process, relatively few studies have examined the impact of policy and social learning that occurs among policy actors and groups. Paquet (1999) offers an insightful analysis of governance and social learning. Using the concept of *distributive governance*, in which a leader’s monopoly over an organization is removed in favour of dispersing power and decision making over a variety of actors and groups, offers the best opportunity for social learning. This learning, for Paquet (1999), is best experienced within a context of decentralization and rapid change, where all actors take part in conversations and contribute knowledge on a given issue from free flowing exchange of ideas. Interaction is a vital component of the learning process and is necessary for the dispersion of knowledge. Although the author describes the process of social learning in governance structures, there is very little application to actual policy situations.

Unlike Paquet (1999), Wolfe and Gertler (2004) examined the role of policy learning on the policy process. While the public sector must learn and adapt to social and economic changes, so too does civil society. Self-monitoring can equip policy actors with knowledge concerning the benefits of their involvement, and allows them to work cooperatively while examining the outcomes and consequences of their actions. Policy learning in this regard, serves to enlighten policy actors to the benefits their actions serve for the policy area as well as inform them of the cost or negative impacts of their decisions. The learning involved in this cost-benefit analysis then has an impact on the decisions and directions of future policy decisions. The effectiveness of policy implementation is dependent upon the capacity for actors involved in the policy process to adapt to policy learning (Wolfe & Gertler, 2004).

There is also a growing body of literature surrounding the relationship between federal policy actors and those within local governments and communities. While there is ample information regarding national-provincial relations, the literature regarding federal-municipal relations is growing, but still limited. This may be representative of Canada's federalist system of government. While local communities serve as the base for social, political and economic legislation, communities are not represented in federal institutions and have thus been neglected among political scholars (Giddens, 2001).

Similar to Paquet (1999), Banner (2001) cites decentralization as a growing factor for communication between governments. Indeed, decentralization has given local governments an opportunity to be heard at federal and provincial levels. As responsibilities for municipal governments grow, so to does their need for intervention from higher levels of government and participation in policy debates. As Giddens (2001) indicates, local governments are not on stable ground in federalist political systems. In Canada, municipal governments are

under the jurisdiction of the provinces and as such do not derive authority unless it is granted from them. Provincial governments can for example choose to amalgamate municipal governments without their consent (Giddens, 2001). However, Giddens (2001) argues that even though municipal governments are under the authority of provincial governments, it is not a constraint on federal intervention in municipal affairs. Tax revenues for example are spent as the federal government sees fit regardless of jurisdictional boundaries (Giddens, 2001). In Canada fiscal intervention in municipal affairs by the federal government is rare. Federal spending is usually directed to the provinces who then delegate funding to municipalities. However, exceptions to this have occurred recently with federal-municipal infrastructure programs (Giddens, 2001). Giddens (2001) concludes that communities and local governments and citizens will be given a larger role in federal political systems, such as Canada, in the near future. With decentralization being a growing concern of municipal governments, the federal government risks losing legitimacy and relevance as a system of government. As such, the efficiency of public policies lies in the balance between the federal government, and the legitimacy and relevance given to it by citizens and municipal governments.

Sport Policy

For Houlihan (1991) the distinguishing attribute of politics is the “use of powers in varying levels of society [and] is derived from the use and control of resources” (p. 4). Houlihan argues that sport is not an exception in this regard. It is affected by dominant ideologies, patterns of social organization and power relations, which are based on hierarchical and class relations that create tension in social settings. Furthermore, he argues that it is difficult to trace the history and evolution of sport policies because of the lack of

coherent policies with strategic objectives. The author states that this has turned many policies into nothing more than idealistic avowals of public service (Houlihan, 1991).

The problems associated with a lack of coherent and strategic policies is further exacerbated by the number of government departments with an interest in sport. Although attention to sport as a policy problem is important, lack of coherence and direction creates problems for coordinating policy development with different government ministries (Houlihan, 1991). This is especially evident in cases where not only multiple ministries within central government have an interest in sport, but also when other levels of government each with their own ministries have an interest in sport and sport policy. This, Houlihan (1991) argues, creates fragmentation in responsibilities and interest in the creation, adoption and implementation of sport policy.

Sam (2005) argues that task forces and commissions of inquiry are established by governments to “investigate, inform report and recommend” (p. 83) when consulting on public policy. This in turn, Sam argues, decreases the levels of fragmentation that exists when consultation is not sought among stakeholders. The composition of these committees consists of members from outside the public sector as a means for governments to seek the input of the public through hearings and forums. While a task force may delay government action as much as it promotes it, a task force can stimulate new ideas and recommendations because of the fact that it reaches out to the community at large (Sam, 2003).

The process of policy inquiries and task force outputs create an environment that is conducive to policy learning. These processes provide opportunities for change and for the creation of insightful, innovative policy options all of which are generated through the sharing of ideas (Bradford, 1999). Sam (2005) suggests that governments establish

taskforces and inquiries for two reasons. First, inquiries are attempts on the part of governments to separate policy issues from political partisanship. The perception of neutrality and objectivity, although problematic given that inquiry members are selected by the governing party, is a quintessential element of the task force. Second, commissions are established to avoid the biases that exist within the ranks of bureaucracy. This is especially important when governments seek to reform bureaucratic structures. Thus, task forces and commissions of inquiry embody the notion of political governance. They represent the willingness of the state to seek the input of civil society on future policies. As noted previously, governments risk losing relevance and credibility through unilateral policy-making.

Within the context of sport policy, the past ten years has seen several governments (e.g. Canada, Australia, Scotland, France, Sweden, Great Britain, and New Zealand) launch inquiries into their sport systems (Sam, 2003). Sam (2003) argues 'that dominant policy ideas are central to understanding how national sport policies are developed and produced (p.191)' and reflect the outcomes that policies should achieve. While examining New Zealand's inquiry into their sport system, Sam (2003) identified the recurrence of three dominant policy ideas: efficiency, competitiveness and leadership. The idea of efficiency refers to the delivery of effective and efficient services in the sport sector, and the sport structure that will deliver the most successful results. Waste and duplication were seen as the most pressing problems that affected the efficiency of a sport program. The New Zealand Ministerial Taskforce on Sport, Fitness and Leisure deemed that the most efficient sports systems were the ones that possessed coordination, unity and conformity (Sam, 2003). The idea of competitiveness represents the debates surrounding sport for all and elite sport while

leadership represents the public's desire to have the state lead in sport delivery. However, these ideas were also attempts by the committee to address issues affecting who should lead sport, including jurisdiction, responsibility and authority (Sam, 2003). Of the dominant ideas that are found within the sport policy process, Sam (2003) argues that:

By far, the most persistent considerations concerning these ideas have to do with the power relations they inevitably support and (re)produce. If we accept greater national leadership as a goal of public policy, for example, what does this mean? At issue here is not whether "leadership" would in fact increase participation in physical activity or raise the level of international sport performances, but how that leadership was intended to affect the decision-making powers and autonomies of sport organizations. To adopt stronger leadership as a policy goal inherently suggests that one group is better suited to making decisions than another or that jurisdictions over the governance of sport should change (p. 204).

Policy ideas however do not occur in isolation within ministerial task forces. The sport policy process is influenced by social, economic and political factors. Policy learning not only occurs within the borders of inquiries and commissions, but also within bureaucracies and governments, and the dissemination of sport policies and processes from other countries (Sam, 2003).

Canadian Sport Policy

Although the Canadian federal government did not formally intervene in sport until the 1940s, several scholars (e.g. Wamsley, 1997; Kidd, 1999) have examined the historical evolution of federal government involvement in sport. Kidd (1999) argues that although the British North America Act of 1867 did not mention sports, the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) of Canada assumed that both the federal and provincial governments would assume jurisdiction over it. The AAU recommended that the two levels of government provide annual grants to sports programs. However, neither government was willing to provide these grants because of financial burdens associated with World War I. Similarly, Wamsley (1997)

indicates that although government intervention in sport was not explicit, the federal government promoted national and international competitions as aspects of the formation of the Canadian state and as a means of developing a national identity. The author cites national rifle and lacrosse tours between 1876 and 1883 as examples of international sport competition that were touted to represent Canada's global image.

Keyes (1989) argues that until the 1940s Canada relied heavily on volunteer organizations to organize, administer, coach and fund fitness and amateur sport programs. The National Physical Fitness Act marked the federal government's entry into sport. The act called for the creation of a National Council on Physical Fitness to advise the government on methods most conducive to implementation. This council was responsible for cost-sharing programs for amateur sport as well as lobbying efforts for more funding. The newly formed advisory committee formed between the federal and provincial governments with the National Council on Physical Fitness signalled the demise of the program in 1954 because of the continuous infighting regarding proper funding for amateur sport (Keyes, 1989).

The Fitness and Amateur Sport Act of 1961 and The Proposed Sport Policy for Canadians of 1970 were created mainly as a means to improve Canada's standing in the international sport community and to improve national identity (Harvey & Proulx, 1988; Macintosh, 1990). The focus of the federal government regarding amateur sport was clear, the priority of the Federal government was high performance sport in the hope of improving Canada's standing in international sport and to improve the perception of Canada globally as a strong sporting nation (Macintosh & Whitson, 1990). Kidd (1980) and Macintosh (1987) argue that the federal government's preoccupation with high performance sport resulted in a conflict between the provision of services for sport participation and excellence programs.

Several scholars have examined the discourses surrounding sport participation and elite sport development (e.g. Macintosh, 1987; Harvey, 1988; Whitson & Macintosh, 1989; Beamish, 1990; Whitson & Macintosh, 1990; Bales, 1998; Houlihan, 2002). Kidd (1990; 1995) argues that federal government intervention into elite sport poses a dilemma for the development of democratic and equitable sport services. The Trudeau government in the 1970s encouraged the participation of all Canadians in sport and recreational activities, yet there were inequalities to the accessibility of sport for Canadians in recreational sport because state grants largely went to athletes who had reached a high level of performance. Many Canadians interested in participating in sport for recreation or elite development dropped out due to financial constraints long before they reach levels of competitive excellence (Kidd, 1990).

Macintosh and Whitson (1990) suggest that state intervention in sport creates tensions between high performance and social policy objectives. These tensions are bi-products of the contradictions of the Canadian welfare state. The authors allude to two key contradictions. The first such contradiction, is that equity in citizenship is compromised when it is left to professional bureaucracies that may have contradictory objectives (e.g. national sport governing bodies). The second contradiction is that calls to reduce inequity and increase accountability create the need on the part of service providers to find alternative sources of funding, usually private sources who wish to run sport services like businesses. This in turn restricts access to individuals who cannot afford services (Macintosh & Whitson, 1990). This was especially evident in the 1980s when federal funding for sport decreased and the federal government called on sport organizations to become less reliant on federal sources of funding. National sport organizations and sport governing bodies directed

most of their funds into high performance rather than sport development and turned largely to the private sector for funding (Macintosh & Whitson, 1990). The private sector, primarily interested in maximizing profits, was interested in investing in high performance sport rather than development because of the potential marketability of elite sport. This left community sport and sport development as the responsibility of provincial and municipal governments (Macintosh & Whitson, 1990).

Macintosh, Franks, and Bedeck (1984) argue that there are two aspects of federal government involvement in sport. The authors contend that the federal government should support private enterprise as well as provide for segments of the population that are disadvantaged to promote equal opportunity for all citizens to participate in sport. While governments have allocated funds for the construction and maintenance of sport facilities, this funding has largely supported the private sector. Funding for sport facilities has surpassed that which is spent on program spending (Macintosh, Franks, & Bedeck, 1984).

Kidd (1980) suggests that the federal government devise a sport model that would allow equal opportunity for sport participation. Local institutions such as sports clubs for example, could provide facilities and training for sport leaders. However, the main barrier for equal opportunity in sport is money. Municipal governments and organizations cannot operate sport facilities and programs solely on tax revenues (Kidd, 1980). It is possible for the federal government to fund these programs despite the fact that sport lies outside the jurisdiction of the federal government. Federal funding for community programs and institutions is possible because the federal government is able to distribute funds to provinces on the condition that the funds will go to community sport services (Brooks, 1998).

Provincial and Municipal Government Involvement in Sport

Before the 1930s provincial government intervention in sport was limited except for occasional grants for organizations to participate in the Olympic, Pan-American and Commonwealth Games (Broom, 1984). The first province to be formally involved in sport was British Columbia. The provincial recreation program (Pro-Rec) was established as a relief camp for unemployed men (Broom, 1984).

The passage of the National Physical Fitness Act launched the creation of the National Council on Physical fitness, which advised the federal government on its administration. The council was responsible for the administration of cost-sharing programs, matching grants to the provinces and assist with the development of provincial fitness and recreation programs (Broom, 1984). However, Broom (1984) indicates that provinces were both supportive and cautious. Some used the grants to assist with programs that were already in place. Other provinces used the grants to establish new programs while Québec refused to participate.

However, by the mid 1970s, most provinces and municipalities had in place specific departments concerned with recreation, leisure and physical activity (Broom, 1984). Broom (1984) indicates that the role of provincial governments in sport and recreation was one of facilitation rather than provision. Provincial governments predominantly provided conditional grants to municipalities and PSOs for new infrastructure designed to provide recreation and sport services.

Broom (1984) also states that provincial sport programs provide financial support for Provincial Games and the Canada Games. Provinces saw these games as venues for the promotion of provincial identity. He also argues that some provinces provided their teams

with additional financial support to ensure that their athletes were prepared, competitive and dressed distinctively. Hence, the provinces were willing to fund capital and operating expenses of the Canada games equally with the federal and municipal governments.

Houlihan (1997) identified four features of the pattern of involvement of local governments in recreation services. The first feature is the “conceptual priority of service over representation” (p.121). With few exceptions, provincial governments give priority to the efficient and economic delivery of services rather than effective representation of services for citizens. The second feature is the administrative fragmentation of responsibility for recreation, which is reflected in the overlap of responsibilities for sport and recreation between municipal and provincial governments, as well as the autonomous nature of sport and recreation governing bodies. The third feature of involvement is the problem of strategy development due to the absence of political parties in municipal government. The final feature Houlihan (1997) identifies is the heavy dependence of local authorities on the provincial and federal governments for financial aid and legitimacy. The four features of the patterns of involvement of municipal governments in recreation is an effective and accurate representation of the struggles the local sport and recreation community has in regards to local governance.

Andrew, Harvey and Dawson (1994) conducted a more detailed examination of state intervention and municipal activity in recreation. In this study, the authors contend that the evolution of municipal recreation policy is best understood by examining the state’s role in regulating and controlling the use of recreation while also recognizing that it must take into account the various classes, groups and categories of the population that require the use of services. The authors identified that the consolidation period of the Welfare state is

characterized by an increase in intergovernmental relationships due to the increasing links between recreation and physical activity to other levels of government. The authors further indicate that a proper recreation program requires greater resources and co-ordination than the municipal level alone can provide. The increased need for funding from all levels of government for municipal recreation in conjunction with the desire for services for a broad range of the population created a need for a Welfare state in municipal recreation and physical activity policies. This created competition for funding and competition for recreation and sport facilities.

In a study conducted by Thibault, Frisby & Kikulis (1999), the authors indicated that a trend in municipal recreation departments is to take on a business approach to service delivery. For many municipal governments, financial constraints in recreation and sport services have forced these departments to explore privatization of recreation facilities, joint public-private sector partnerships, an increased reliance on volunteers, and the closure of many recreation facilities. The authors identified that pressures to increase access to sport programs have created a number of challenges for local governments, including economic constraints, increasing calls for accountability and increased demand for public involvement in the decision making process. They further argue that the manner in which municipal governments, and community sport and leisure services respond to these challenges is influenced by the involvement of the commercial sector, the decentralization of programming by community groups, and financial cutbacks to municipal services. The results of the study suggest that the economic, political and social pressures led local government leisure services to develop inter-organizational linkages with the commercial sector, the public sector, and the non-profit sector. In a similar study, Thibault and Harvey

(1997) determined that linkages between organizations also assist with the sharing of resources and the co-ordination of activities in the Canadian sport delivery system.

Returning to the Research Question

This chapter examined four main bodies of literature: intergovernmental relations, provincial/municipal relations, governance, sport policy and Canadian sport policy. While there is ample literature in these areas, the same cannot be said of the literature for sport policy and multilevel governance. One is left to ask if an approach to multilevel governance in Canadian sport exists. More specifically, it begs to be asked what kinds of relationship exists between actors in governments and civil society in sport, and if so, how have these relationships evolved to their current form? The lack of research combining the two areas of study indicates a need for research into sport policy and multilevel governance. This study will address the paucity of literature pertaining to this topic. It is therefore necessary to determine the historical context of multilevel governance in sport policy to develop an understanding into its current processes and structure.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The advocacy coalition framework (ACF) (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994; Sabatier, 1998; Sabatier, 1999) guides the analysis of this study. The ACF was developed to synthesize both top-down and bottom-up approaches to the policy process (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994). A top-down approach consists of higher levels of government making decisions that affect or filter down to lower levels of government. Conversely, a bottom-up approach occurs when lower levels of government influence decisions made by higher levels of government. The ACF guides the research in this study because it encompasses both policy change and the contributions made by public-private relationships in the policy process on a multilevel scale. This chapter examines the formation of the ACF, a description of the tenets of the framework and its application to this study.

From Causal Theory to Advocacy Coalitions: The Formation of the Advocacy Coalition Framework

Developed by Paul Sabatier, the ACF was created in response to dissatisfaction with the literature on policy implementation. Many stage models, although useful in the past for the study of policy formulation and evolution, were insufficient in connecting policy processes between different stages. (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994) The stage models according to Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier (1994) emphasize a top-down approach to policy and largely ignore cycles of interaction between different policy actors. Stage models are characterized as linear representations of the policy process. When one phase of the process is complete, it progresses into the next phase without any interaction between the various stages. As a result, stage models neglect the influence of social forces and relationships from all levels of government on policy formation, implementation and change. The ACF on

the other hand examines policy change over the span of more than a decade and includes the role of policy learning within that time span (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 2004).

The concepts of causal theory used by Sabatier in the formulation of the ACF, involve creating a distinction between the causes and effects of a policy as related to policy success or policy failure. Policy failure occurs when policies are not implemented or do not generate the intended effects. Policy failure according to causal theory is a failure in policy design. The intention of a policy design is to formulate and implement a policy that works through people to produce intended results. The success of a policy design therefore, is dependent on the political, social, cultural and economic factors of the target population. A successful policy design motivates people to produce the intended results of the policy (Nagel, 1990).

Failure to adopt a policy is most often due to a lack of support from interest groups. Even the most praised of policies can become policy failures if opposed or unsupported by interest groups. Nagel (1990) suggests that studying interest groups and their effects is integral to the study of policy because it could shed light on the development of policies that are most likely to be successful.

The advocacy coalition framework uses concepts derived from causal theory while incorporating the involvement of interest groups in the policy process. In particular, the ACF allows for an examination of the causes and effects of policy within the time span of a decade or more while incorporating the importance advocacy coalitions in the success or failure of a policy.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework

The advocacy coalition framework examines the policy process from five assumptions. First is the assumption that theories of the policy process and of policy change must account for the importance of technical information in policy. Such technical information includes problem definitions, causes, and the impacts of policy solutions on policy problems (Sabatier, 1998). According to Kingdon (2004), sources of information come from focusing events that are signs of crisis or disaster. In the case of Canadian sport and for the purposes of this study, the Ben Johnson doping scandal in 1988 is a focusing event in Canadian sport. Focusing events bring attention onto a policy domain to try to explain or rectify their effects. Information is also gathered by receiving feedback from existing programs concerning a policy issue. Policy makers use this information to gain knowledge about the extent of a problem on a policy agenda as well as the possible costs and benefits associated with solutions before investing time and money into solving the problem.

The second premise of the framework concerns an enlightenment function, which is concerned with using a period of ten or more years to understand the process of policy change and the use of technical information. Sabatier (1998) argues that policy analysis focusing on short-term decision-making does not examine a full policy cycle including policy formation/implementation/reformulation, which would provide a more accurate analysis of policy success and failure. An examination of a full policy cycle would also be conducive to evaluating strategies policy actors use over time.

The third premise of the framework is that the most effective way of analyzing policy change involves evaluating a policy subsystem. A subsystem is comprised of actors from public and private institutions who are concerned with, and seek to influence solutions to a

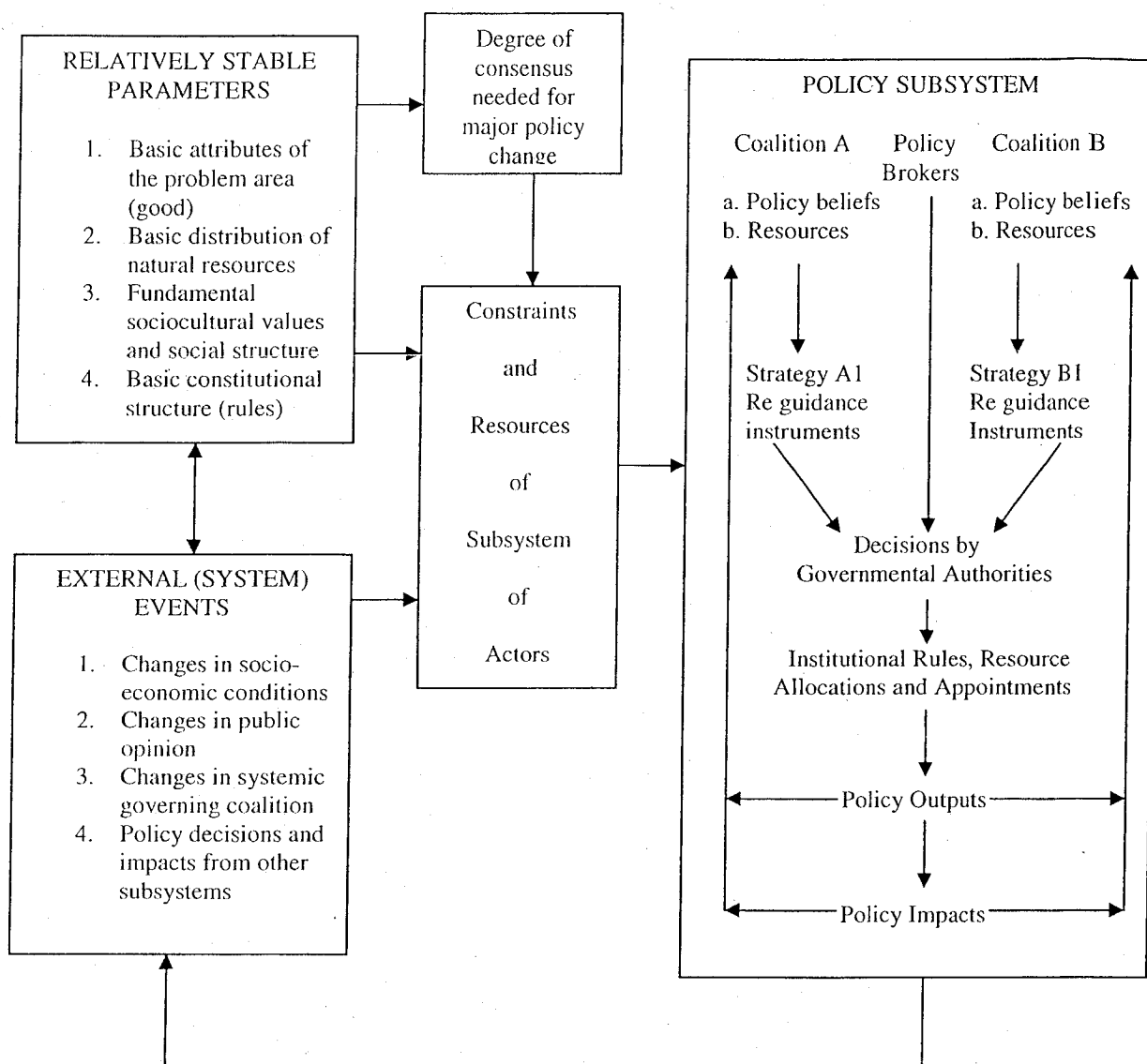
specific policy problem. An examination of policy subsystems also involves the contributions made by actors at all levels of government on the policy process. The most successful subsystems in the policy process involve actors who are specialized in their policy domain and who command influence in their field (Sabatier, 1998).

Fourth, subsystems in the ACF consist of five categories of actors that act on or within advocacy coalitions: administrative agencies, legislative committees, interest groups from all levels of government, journalists, researchers, and policy analysts and actors from all levels of government who are involved in the formation and implementation of policies (Sabatier, 1998).

The final premise of the advocacy coalition framework is that belief systems are conceptualized similar to public policies because both incorporate notions of how to achieve their objectives most effectively. Belief systems include opinions on values, priorities, perspectives, and assumptions about a policy issue. A way to evaluate the influence of actors (government and civil society) over time is to analyze the synthesis of beliefs and policies, and the role of technical information within that synthesis (Sabatier, 1998).

The structure of the ACF (Figure 1) consists of a set of relatively stable parameters and external events that affect the constraints and resources of subsystem of actors. Relatively stable parameters are unlikely to change across coalitions. External events are more likely to change within a period of a decade or more. According to Sabatier (1998), external events are the prerequisites for policy change because they can mobilize action for change. Policy subsystems involve a "group of people interacting regularly over a period of a decade or more to influence policy formulation and implementation within a given policy area/domain" (Sabatier, 1998, p. 104).

Figure 1. Diagram of the Advocacy Coalition Framework



(Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1998, p. 10)

Within the policy subsystem, policy actors separate into different groups of advocacy coalitions. Advocacy coalitions consist of:

actors from a variety of governmental and private organizations from a variety of governmental and private organizations at different levels of government who share a set of policy beliefs and seek to realize them by influencing behavior of multiple governmental institutions over time (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994, p. 180).

The belief systems of advocacy coalitions are arranged into deep core, policy core and secondary aspects. Deep core beliefs include ontological and normative beliefs that are applied across all policy domains and are not susceptible to change. Deep core beliefs are also characterized by fundamental assumptions on human nature, priority of values, distributive justice and sociocultural identity (Sabatier, 1998).

Policy core beliefs are characterized by positions that are held about strategies for subsystems on achieving core values. Policy core beliefs are more susceptible to change than are deep core beliefs but change can occur if information reveals a need for change. The fundamental principles of policy core beliefs include orientations around value priorities and identifying groups on whom policy effects will be of greatest concern. Empirical principles, based on observation of a policy problem, include a belief about the seriousness of the problem, causes of the problem, distribution of authority among different levels of government, policy instruments, ability to solve the problem and the participation of public and private officials in the policy domain.

Secondary aspects include the decisions and information needed to implement policy core beliefs and usually only affect parts of a subsystem and are thus easier to change. Secondary aspects include assumptions about the seriousness of the problem in different locations, the importance of cause and effect links in different locations, decisions on administrative rules and budgeting, and information on the performance of other policy programs (Sabatier, 1998).

At any given point in time, coalitions undertake strategies involving guidance instruments such as changes in rules, budgets, personnel or information as a means to change the behaviour of governments and organizations to make them more consistent with policy objectives. Conflicts between coalitions can arise from differences in belief systems and strategies. Policy brokers mediate these conflicts and try to find a compromise between coalitions to reduce conflict (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1988).

Resulting from the interaction of advocacy coalitions, policy brokers, belief systems, resources and strategies are policy outputs. Policy outputs result in impacts and side effects on target problems and populations resulting from governmental decisions (or indecisions) as well as information gathered throughout the policy process (Sabatier, 1998).

Another key aspect of the ACF is its interest in policy oriented learning and policy change. Policy oriented learning according to Sabatier (1998) refers to “relatively enduring alterations of thought or behavioral intentions that result from experience and/or new information and that are concerned with the attainment or revision of policy objectives” (p. 110). Policy oriented learning involves the attainment of knowledge around a policy problem and problem parameters and the factors that affect them and is represented as a feedback loop in Figure 1 from the policy subsystem to external (system) events which affects policy change. This learning is important to the policy process because it helps members of coalitions understand how to further their policy objectives. Policy oriented learning is most likely to affect the secondary aspects of a coalition belief system. Coalition members resist information that lies contrary to their deep core and policy core beliefs, and will use policy analyses to gather information that will emphasize those beliefs. Policy change according to the ACF is also affected by socioeconomic factors and government coalitions that can

change the political resources of advocacy coalitions, which would in turn affect policy decisions (Sabatier, 1998).

The ACF has been applied to several studies in several policy fields. Mawhinney (1993) applied the ACF to study change in Canadian education policy for French language education in Ontario. The author applied a qualitative research design to examine key events in the education policy process, the impetus surrounding the events, outcomes, and the core ideas involved in the process using a document analysis of government documents, newspapers, and interest group publications. Interviews and observation of public hearings were also conducted. Results of the study confirmed the stability of advocacy coalitions. The Franco-Ontarian coalition in French language education policy, the Teachers' Association, local parents and the French Language Advisory Committee were active coalitions involved in education policy for French language education. The author also identified that coalitions included participation from all levels of government, which is consistent with the ACF. The federal government and the provincial government of Québec indirectly supported the francophone coalitions.

The ACF was a successful analytical tool for the study of policy change in education. The study concluded that policy change evolves from debates involving core values. The study also identified that policy change directly involved the federal and provincial government, local school boards and several interest groups. The debates involving core values evolved from local involvement to national involvement in the policy debate. Changes to policy were also determined to be a result of changing ideological thought on education policy.

The ACF has also been applied to the study of sport policy change. In a study by Green (2004), the author examined elite sport policy change in Canada and the United Kingdom. The objectives of the study were to determine the existence or emergence of advocacy coalitions for elite sport in Canada and the United Kingdom, what is the effectiveness of advocacy coalitions if they exist, and how useful is the ACF in evaluating policy change. The author used document analyses, and semi-structured interviews to examine policy change from a period of over a decade, which is consistent with the premise of the ACF. The study revealed that advocacy coalitions do exist and affect elite sport policy change. In Canada, advocacy coalitions shifted focus away from elite sport development to sport participation. In the United Kingdom, advocacy coalitions and changing value systems shifted policy focus to elite sport development. The author concluded that indeed, the ACF was a successful analytical tool to the study of sport policy change.

Green (2004) also noted two areas of weakness regarding the use of the ACF. First, the ACF does not address how actors form their social and political environments and it fails to take into account interactions between actors in coalitions. Secondly, the author believes the ACF is over reliant on neo-positivist views on the power of ideas. The author suggests that the lack of analytical discourse on notions of power in the policy process weakens the ACFs capacity for policy analysis. However, despite its weaknesses, Green (2004) believes the ACF to be a sophisticated tool for examining sport policy change by moving beyond static descriptions of policy to a dynamic evaluative tool for the study of policy change.

Several other criticisms of the ACF exist. One such criticism involves the composition of advocacy coalitions. Fenger and Klok (2001) criticize the ACF for focusing on policy structure, content, stability and evolution of policy belief systems. The ACF does

not account for how actors maintain advocacy coalitions. Similarly, a study by Mintrom and Vergari (1996) criticized the ACF for failing to explain changes in the composition of advocacy coalitions.

This study will apply the ACF to the study of multilevel governance in sport. Specifically, this study will use the ACF to study the interaction between actors from all levels of government, organizations, interest groups, administrative agencies and legislators. This study will also evaluate policy change from 1990-2006 to determine the effectiveness and efficiency of advocacy coalitions, to evaluate the occurrence of major or minor policy change in sport, and to analyze conditions most conducive to the multilevel governance of sport. The *Canadian Sport Policy* will be studied in relation to how the involvement of advocacy coalitions affect policy formation as well to determine if policy learning is a factor in current implementation strategies and programs.

Sabatier (1998) argues that many studies involving the ACF did not involve systematically gathering data on actors' beliefs and behaviour. This study will address the concerns of Sabatier by including an examination of the belief systems of coalition actors to determine the degree of coordinated behaviour from shared policy core beliefs.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the methodology employed as well as a brief introduction to qualitative research and analysis. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section will provide literature pertaining to the choices of methodological procedures as well as insight into the advantages and disadvantages of using document analysis and semi-structured interviews as methods of analysis. The second section of this chapter will explain the procedures that were used for data collection and data analysis.

Qualitative Research and Analysis

The decision to use a qualitative method of research and analysis is rooted in the nature of the research questions, to determine the patterns of interaction between policy makers and civil society in sport policy development within Canada's system of multilevel governance. Qualitative research as a method of inquiry consists of using interpretive practices such as fieldnotes, interviews, and document analyses to make sense of the world (Denzin, 2000). Denzin (2000) further indicates, "qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p.3). The nature of qualitative methods permits more flexible and extensive forms of research and yields more detailed results. Similarly, qualitative data analysis is open to produce concepts emerging from detailed description and classification and is open to the identification of patterns, associations and explanations (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

Rationale for Selection of Research Methods

The following section outlines the methodological procedures that were employed in this study by offering explanations as to the strengths and weaknesses associated with using document analysis and semi-structured interviews as methods of research.

Document Analysis

A documentary analysis involves “the study of existing documents, either to understand their substantive content or to illuminate deeper meanings which may be revealed by their style and coverage” (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p. 35). These could include but are not limited to press releases, government documents, minutes of meetings, or financial accounts. A document analysis is especially useful when private and public sources are studied for historical relevance (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

Abbott et. al (2004) indicate that there are several reasons why a document analysis can contribute to a comparative policy study. First, data may not be available in other forms than documents and may provide the only way to gain access to policy processes. Documents provide information about a policy even in its early stages. Furthermore, documents and especially government documents are readily available and inexpensive to collect. A document analysis using policy documents is also easier for conducting comparisons between policies, which can also be done relatively quicker than studying organizational structures, processes and outputs. There are also relatively no issues involving privacy, anonymity and confidentiality and therefore ethical concerns are minimal in conducting a document analysis. A document analysis also offers a non-intrusive method of collecting data whose collection is non reactive because the data, or the documents, are usually prepared before beginning research and are created independent of the researcher.

Therefore, the data collection process does not influence the data itself. Finally, documents can provide information that can be used to contextualize other data collected through other methods such as interviews and can inform other stages of research such as the selection of case studies.

However, a document analysis, especially in policy studies, is likely to be partial and reflect only aspirations and not reality. Due to the limited quantity of detail and debate surrounding policy formulation, a document analysis is only a superficial account. There may be discrepancy between policy intent and implementation (Abbott et. al, 2004). However, this limitation is unavoidable when conducting documentary research in policy. Although policy documents often represent an ideal, they are still useful for the data collection process. These documents “are deliberate and conscious statements of policies and strategies at particular points in time, and can at the very least be regarded as public avowals of commitment to certain objectives and even values” (Abbott et. al, 2004, p. 261).

The documents analyzed in this study include, but were not limited to sport policies dating from 1990 to the present, including *Sport: The Way Ahead* (Canada, 1992), the *Canadian Sport Policy* (Canada, 2002a), policy evaluations, annual reports, websites, written and personal communications, minutes of meetings, briefs and press releases. All available public documents were examined and two internal, private memos found in archives were also used. Documents were obtained from the National Archives of Canada, online database searches, and personal communications. It is important to note that it is entirely possible that not all relevant documentation pertaining to this study was obtained due to the difficulty in collecting government documents that are private and not available for public viewing. For example, it is probable that not all internal memos between departments and ministers in

sport policy were available to the public. All private documentation collected during this study was obtained through personal communication.

When analyzing documents, Abbott et. al (2004) recommend using a data extraction sheet as a means to systematically extract information from the documents. By using the structure of the ACF as the basis for data extraction, a more interpretive analysis is possible. The precise details of the use of a data extraction sheet as it pertains to this study will be discussed in the data collection and analysis section of this chapter.

Interviews

Interviews are probably the most popular methods of qualitative research (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Interviews provide the researcher with a detailed account of an individual's personal perspectives and an in-depth response to complex systems, processes or experience. There also exists an opportunity for the researcher to gain clarification and a more detailed understanding of results from other data collection techniques (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Interviewing is also an important method of research because it allows the researcher to test the accuracy (or inaccuracy) of information collected through other means (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2003).

For this study, semi-structured interviews were conducted. Both structured and semi-structured interviews are most advantageous for obtaining information for a predetermined hypothesis. The semi-structured interview, is designed to ask a respondent specific questions the same way one would in a structured interview, but it also allows for the researcher to probe for further information when the opportunity arises. Probing during interviews is not found within a structured interview, however it is still more limited than what is found in unstructured or in-depth interviews (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

The semi-structured interview guide is useful when conducting an interview. It is a list of topics and issues that the researcher wants to discuss. The interviewer however, will determine the exact sequence and the wording of the questions during the course of the interview. The purpose of the interview guide is to make the process of using interviews as a method of data collection more systematic and comprehensive. Although topics to discuss are determined in advance, pertinent issues and topics that are brought out during the course of one interview may be omitted in others. The flexibility in the sequencing and wording of questions may yield different responses from different respondents and can reduce the ability of the researcher to compare the results of responses (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2003).

For this study, 11 interviews with key actors in sport policy were conducted. These interviews included a policy officer from Sport Canada, senior policy officers from the Governments of Ontario and Québec, a manager of the City of Toronto Parks and Recreation department, and an official from the City of Montréal Arts and Leisure Department. Interviews were also conducted with leaders in organizations comprised of members of civil society including a senior leader of the Sports Matters Group as well as senior leaders of the Sport Alliance of Ontario, Sports- Québec, the Toronto Sports Council, Sports- Montréal and Sport et loisir de l'île de Montréal. Nine interviews were conducted face to face and conducted by telephone. It is also important to note that all interviews conducted with representatives from the governments of Québec and Montréal as well as organizations based in Québec were conducted in French. However, for purposes of clarification, some questions were posed both in French and English. Everyone interviewed for this study was forthcoming and willing to participate, meaning all of the desired officials and public leaders for this study were available for comment.

The interview guide that was used in this study was a modified guide from the larger study, *Multilevel Governance and Public Policy in Canadian Municipalities*. This guide was altered from one created by Andrew (2005), to research the relationships that exist between federal and municipal governments. The guide was altered to be specific to this study and the ACF.

Interviews were necessary in this study in light of the weaknesses associated with using solely a document analysis. The idealistic nature of policies cannot stand on their own. Interviews were needed to determine the actual effects of policies on sport, and in particular the effects of policies on the levels and patterns of interaction between all levels of government and civil society. Care was taken to ensure that actors were not providing information to suit the needs of the researcher and that answers provided an accurate representation of reality. This was prevented through the careful selection of wording and sequence of questions, to ensure that the researcher was not providing lead in questions to provoke the respondent to answer questions in a specific way.

Data Collection and Data Analysis

Using the ACF as an organizational tool for examining policy processes and change, the framework can be broken down into four sections to organize data for analysis and can thus be used as a form of data extraction. The sections to be investigated are relatively stable parameters, external events, policy subsystem and the constraints and resources of subsystem actors (See Figure 1). Compartmentalizing the ACF into four sections allowed for a more systematic methodology in the examination of the multi-level governance of sport in Canada by limiting the scope of study to correspond with the components of the framework. An examination of each component of the ACF involved primarily document analyses and semi-

structured interviews with actors in government and civil society. To examine this issue using the ACF, the methodology took into consideration the first premise of the framework, evaluating policy from a decade or more. This involved examining sport policy documents from 1990 to the present.

The examination of relatively stable parameters in sport policy involved determining the basic attributes of sport policy and multilevel governance. This involved evaluating how multilevel governance affects sport policy in Canada and in what capacity it is effective or ineffective. An evaluation of Canadian sport policies was examined to determine the basic assertions of sport policies from the 1990s to the present and to determine whether the nature of sport policy has changed within that span of time.

Canada's constitutional structure is the most notable stable parameter that affects sport policy and multilevel governance. Document analysis into this structure involved examining the jurisdictional boundaries of sport in Canada. Specifically, the document analysis will involve determining how the federal government intervenes in sport at the provincial and municipal level and how the provincial governments of Ontario and Québec assert their jurisdiction over sport in Toronto and Montréal. The document analysis will examine the existence of multilevel governance in sport, particularly in relation to how the three levels of government and civil society plan to overcome jurisdictional boundaries to achieve policy goals. Semi structured interviews with personnel in federal, provincial and municipal sport agencies as well as civil society were directed to determine how the federal government interacts with the municipal governments of Toronto and Montréal and how actors plan to overcome jurisdictional barriers.

The second set of factors to examine within the ACF are the external events surrounding the formation and implementation of sport policy. External events include changes in socio-economic conditions and changes in public opinion. These changes can affect the level of importance of a policy problem and the urgency needed to fix. In the area of sport policy, changes in socio-economic conditions may affect the importance of sport in public opinion and how the public perceives the importance of sport in relation to other policy areas such as the environment or health care. Changes in public opinion can affect the actions taken by policy makers to facilitate change or determine the positioning of a problem on a government's policy agenda. The effects of public opinion and socio-economic conditions on the sport policy process were examined using semi-structured interviews. Specifically, these interviews were designed to determine the extent to which public opinion and socio-economic conditions affect the sport policy process and how these changes affected sport policy.

The ACF also contends that changes in systemic governing coalitions are external events that affect the policy process. In Canada, this is representative of changes in ruling parties in federal and provincial governments. At the federal level in Canada, the recent change in liberal leadership to conservative leadership could, according to the ACF, affect the nature of the governance of sport in Canada. Changing priorities and values of party leaders could have an impact on the direction of government involvement in sport. Conversely, party leadership in the provinces of Ontario and Québec have changed within the last ten years. Changes in provincial leadership can also have an affect on the governance of sport, particularly in the willingness of the provincial governments to allow federal intervention into their jurisdictions. Different provincial political parties can also have

differing views about the importance of sport in relation to other policy priorities. The effects of changing political leadership at the federal and provincial level on sport policy were examined using both a document analysis and semi-structured interviews. The document analyses involved evaluating government documents such as policies and budgets as well as press releases to determine the values and priorities given to sport by governing parties. Interviews were particularly important in government agencies dealing with sport to accompany the document analysis.

The final external events to have an impact on the policy process, according to the ACF, are policy decisions and impacts from other policy subsystems. This is of particular importance to the study of sport policy because of the growing realization of the interconnectedness of sport and other policy domains such as health and education. Hence, changes to health policies and changes in the beliefs surrounding the health care system and health care delivery have an effect on the governance of sport in Canada. The document analysis revealed whether changes to subsystems such as health care have an impact on sport policy.

The ACF contends that both the relatively stable parameters and external events affect the constraints and resources of subsystem actors. The document analysis and interviews provided information as to the extent to which these exogenous factors affect subsystem actors and how their constraints and resources affected sport policy and multilevel governance in Canada.

The final structural component of the ACF that was examined is the policy subsystem, more specifically, the sport policy subsystem. The sport policy subsystem is comprised of subsystem actors that are divided into different advocacy coalitions. For the

purposes of this research, advocacy coalitions in sport include the Sport Matters Group (SMG), provincial sport agencies in Ontario and Québec, namely the Sport Alliance of Ontario (SAO) and Sports- Québec. These coalitions have been identified because actors within these organizations share normative and causal beliefs and show signs of co-ordinated activity. The principal issue for examination within these advocacy coalitions is the values and beliefs surrounding intergovernmental relations and the multilevel governance of sport policy in Canada. The identification of these beliefs, both deep core, policy core and secondary aspects revealed the intent of advocacy coalitions to focus attention of elite sport development, largely considered a federal responsibility, or grass roots sport development involving a higher degree of multilevel governance (Macintosh, 1990).

The strategies employed by advocacy coalitions to guide policy will also be an important element of investigation. This will be important in determining which policy practices are most effective in inciting change and progress. An examination of strategies used by advocacy coalitions will determine which coalitions have been successful in promoting their visions on the direction of policy, and which have not been successful. Interviews involving members of advocacy coalitions in Canadian sport were conducted to determine the strategies employed by these coalitions and reasons for their success or failure.

The success or failure of policy makers to engage policy makers to adopt their policy goals affects the decisions made by government authorities. Interviews with members of advocacy coalitions were used to determine the perceived success or failure in garnering the attention of policy makers. A document analysis of policies, budgets and acts of parliament examined the success of advocacy coalitions to bring their agendas, goals and beliefs to the level of policy makers. Within an examination of decisions made by government authorities

at all levels, it was important to note the institutional rules, resource allocations and appointments made by government officials to put policies into practice.

Policy outputs measure the amount of resources, both human and financial, put into the Canadian sport system. The determination of policy outputs involved determining where resources were allocated and for what reasons. It was also important to examine how these resources were targeted and how they were used. Interviews with actors within advocacy coalitions were necessary to determine the answers to these questions. Actions made by government agencies towards the allocation of resources determined the level of government involvement in sport policy and the directions of priority given by government authorities. These outputs lead to the positive or negative impacts relating to government intervention. These impacts were investigated by gauging the policy results with policy goals. Interviews with members of advocacy coalitions were conducted to determine the impact of government intervention on policy goals, core beliefs and values.

Data analysis consisted of using Nudist software to organize and code data into the four sections of the ACF: relatively stable parameters, external events, policy subsystem and the constraints and resources of subsystem actors. Using Nudist, data collected from the document analysis and interviews were coded to distinguish themes and processes that were not readily identified without organization and codification. Although the coding of data itself does not constitute an analysis, it was an efficient way to organize large amounts of data collected through the document analysis and interviews. Once the data was organized and coded it was necessary to return to the research questions for analysis. The information that was gathered through the document analysis and interviews yielded pertinent information and trends that illuminated the patterns of interaction in sport policy and

multilevel governance from the 1990s to the present. However, it is important to indicate the weaknesses of the selected research methodology that were encountered during the data collection phase. First, the first tenet of the ACF indicates that to effectively analyze the course of a domain in public policy, one must approach the study from a period of ten years or more. The dilemma this poses for the researcher is that many working within a governing coalition do not have more than ten years of experience working within the subsystem. In fact, in this study only three people interviewed actually had more than ten years of working experience in either a capacity of an advocacy or governing coalition. Hence, much of the information in this study prior to 1998 is based on solely a documentary analysis or what the individual being interviewed *believed* happened. Though, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, such difficulties are often unavoidable when studying public policy. The interviews conducted still provided this study with valuable insight to either corroborate or disprove government policies with their actions. It can be argued that the interviews conducted can show a bias to or against a particular agenda. While this can be true, it nevertheless brings attention to the interviewers reactions to political/apolitical actions in the sport policy subsystem. In this way; the document analysis and the interviews separately do not paint a completely accurate picture, nor in any way a complete picture. However, used together, it is possible to complete that picture accurately and representatively.

The information was then extracted to present the results of the study in the following divisions: the federal government, the governments of Québec and Ontario and the governments of Montréal and Toronto each divided into the periods from 1990-2000 and 2000-present. Furthermore, as argued by Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier (1994) this division illustrates that the policy process does not operate from either a bottom-up or a top-down

approach. Thus, the results as presented in this story are presented in a chronological format, with the ACF informing the events and actions that took place during the periods of investigation.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

This section presents the results for the two research questions of this study. For this reason, the results are divided by two markers in time: the evolution of patterns of interaction in sport policy, 1990-2002, and current patterns of interaction 2002 to the present. In April 2002, the *Canadian Sport Policy* was adopted. It is argued here that this event can be a watershed that governs the current patterns of interaction between governments. The results are presented chronologically first federally and then provincially. The case studies of Toronto and Montréal are included following the examination of provincial sport policies. It is imperative to begin the analysis with the federal government because, although sport is a provincial jurisdiction, the federal government serves as the comparative marker in this study. The analysis of provincial sport policies are compared to the leadership imparted by the national policy. In line with the tenets of the ACF, this chapter, although not always explicitly, examines relatively stable parameters, external events, constraints and resources of subsystem actors and the sport policy subsystem, as well as advocacy coalitions

5.1 Multilevel Governance and Federal Sport Policy

This section covers multilevel governance from the federal point of view. The first subsection covers the evolution of patterns of interaction between governments in the 1990s. The second subsection will discuss the current trends, starting from 2002.

5.1.1 Evolution of patterns of interaction 1990-2002

The Ben Johnson doping scandal at the Seoul Olympics in 1988 was a catalyst for bringing Canada's sport system under scrutiny thus making this the first external sport policy

subsystem event during this period of examination. Resulting from public pressure to examine the prevalence of drugs in Canadian sport, and the extent to which the Canadian sport system was responsible, the government of Canada initiated a *Commission of inquiry into the use of banned drugs and banned practices intended to increase athletic performance* (1990). The commission, (also known as the Dubin inquiry), set out to examine whether pressures on athletes to use drugs and other banned substances existed in the Canadian sport system. The commission of inquiry involved public hearings, yielding 119 witnesses from the medical community, national sport bodies and federations (including their international counterparts), athletes and coaches. The published findings of the Commission began with an overview of the relationship between government and sport in Canada. In his report, Dubin (1990) indicates the evolution of this relationship:

As the country has changed and matured, so has the focus of government involvement in sport. From an early concern with the general health and fitness of Canadians, involvement has gradually been channeled into the more specialized field of competitive sport. Within that field, an even narrower focus has been placed on high-performance sport. With that increased emphasis came, in turn, a corresponding increase in the level of government funding (p. 5).

Dubin (1990) indicates that government funding for sport which began as a measure to increase the health and fitness of Canadians, evolved to promote national unity, culture, identity as well as promote national, international and social policies.

The Dubin report also indicates that the federal and provincial governments historically have cooperated in funding Canadian amateur sport. Specifically the report indicates that provincial governments and municipalities both have vested interests in sport and thus, both contribute to the vitality and sustainability of sport through contributing to the building, maintenance and operations of sport facilities used by athletes of all levels (Dubin, 1990).

While the Dubin report does focus largely on the abuse of drugs and banned substances in sport, it does make several recommendations towards reforming the Canadian sport system. Dubin argues that the provision of funds from the Government of Canada to sport should reflect a commitment to the founding principles on which amateur sport was based, including broad participation and access to sport, encouragement of women, the disadvantaged and disabled and the amelioration of regional disparities in access to sport programs and facilities (Dubin, 1990, p 527).

Furthermore, the Dubin report indicates that the involvement of Sport Canada in the day-to-day administration of sport turned the organization and its mandate into something that it was not intended to be. Dubin indicates that this evolution is neither "healthy nor appropriate for sport" (p. 529) because of the emphasis the organization has put on elite sport and international results. Dubin argues that Sport Canada's close relationship to sport organizations is a critical flaw in the administration of the Canadian sport system. While he argues that it is important for governments to fund sport, he disapproves of Sport Canada being involved in the day-to-day operations of sport organizations. The Dubin report recommends that the federal government create a mechanism that maintains an arm's length relationship between sport governing bodies while still providing them with financial support.

The report also recommends that the measurement of success in sport not be done by medal counts in international events, but rather by measuring the degree to which governments have met social and educational goals for sport (Dubin, 1990). Although the mandate of Sport Canada is to "provide leadership, policy direction, and financial assistance for the development of the Canadian sport system, and to support the attainment of the

highest possible level of achievement by Canada in international sport” (Dubin, 1990, p. 531), the Dubin report stresses that it is “possible to fulfill that mandate while respecting the independence of the sports federations” (Dubin, 1990, p. 531).

While the Dubin report indicates that Sport Canada must let sport organizations take control over their own operations, it does not indicate that communication between them should cease or that Sport Canada should act unilaterally. On the contrary, the report indicates that provinces and municipalities must play a role in funding sport organizations and their athletes. This in turn, Dubin argues, will decrease the sport system’s reliance on international medals in sport in order to be deemed successful. While the report indicates that bilateral and multilateral agreements are important to eliminating banned practices from the Canadian sport system, interaction on this front is not only limited to the issue of drug use. The report recommends that a task force be established to create a sport plan that is representative of the founding principles of the Canadian sport system (Dubin, 1990).

In response to the Dubin report’s recommendations, the policy output resulted in the Minister of State for Youth and Amateur Sport in 1991 establishing the Minister’s Task Force on Federal Sport Policy. One of the goals of this task force was to “examine federal/provincial/territorial relationships as they contribute to the development of sport” (Canada, 1992, p.11). The task force also examined the concepts of shared responsibility and leadership between the federal government and national sport organizations including the roles and responsibilities of national sport governing bodies, governments and civil society in areas such as “policy development, planning, systems design and social responsibility” (Canada, 1992, p. 12). The task force consulted with many actors in the sport policy subsystem, including national sport organizations (NSOs), multi-sport organizations

(MSOs), provincial/territorial sport organizations (PSOs), community sport clubs, provincial/territorial governments, physical educators, athletes, coaches, and the federal government.

Through the various consultations, the task force endorsed the development of a national sport plan for Canada along with a planning framework to guide its implementation. The creation of a successful sport, as indicated by the task force report *Sport: The Way Ahead*, would involve a consultative planning and vertical consultation process including stakeholders from “grass roots to national levels and on a multi-sport basis” (Canada, 1992, p. 48). However, the task force argued that the creation of a single mechanism for consultation would not be able to meet the needs of the sport community. Rather, the creation of new mechanisms of consultation and a modification of existing ones would on the other hand, serve the sport community most successfully. The task force recommended that a new Federal/Provincial/Territorial Secretariat be created “to strengthen the collaborative process between governments... [that] would facilitate the establishment of a sport plan for Canada and harmonize policies and approaches between federal and provincial/territorial levels” (Canada, 1992, p. 48). The primary objective of the secretariat would be to “harmonize federal/provincial/territorial policies to ensure a seamless, barrier-free public policy context for sport” (Canada, 1992, p. 49) while the existing federal/provincial/territorial sport committee would act as an advisor to the new secretariat. In addition to this new secretariat, a community sport advisory mechanism would also be created to “seek the advice of representatives from sport schools, community-centred projects and others at the community level” (Canada, 1992, p. 50).

The creation of a new federal advisory group would also ensure that the interests generated by the federal/provincial/territorial secretariat and community sport advisory mechanisms would help develop government policies and programs. This group would consist of experts representing NSOs, MSOs, athletes and coaches and also representatives from Fitness and Active Living to facilitate collaborative thinking and policy making between sport and fitness.

The creation and modification of collaborative mechanisms would assist in decreasing the gaps and overlaps in policies that were identified through the consultative process of the task force. However, the impetus of the task force for these collaborative mechanisms was to “shift from a dominant federal presence to a strong partnership, based on a sport plan and mutual respect between the federal government and national sport organizations” (Canada, 1992, p.10). In response to the Dubin report’s conclusion that the federal government is too involved in the day-to-day operations of sport organizations, the task force recommended that collaborative mechanisms be fostered not only to decrease the amount of government intervention in sport administration, but to decrease the reliance of sport organizations on the federal government. The task force report indicated that “the issue of government involvement is not whether or not governments should be involved in sport, but the extent and nature of that involvement” (Canada, 1992, p. 187).

The impact of the federal Minister’s Task Force report resulted in the creation of the federal-provincial/territorial Sport Policy Steering Committee (FPTSPSC) to review the vast array of opinions and recommendations generated through the various reports, consultations and analyses (Canada, 1993a). At their meeting in Regina in March 1993, the federal/provincial/territorial Ministers responsible for sport and recreation created a

Foundation Themes document as the framework from which the Sport Plan for Canada should be developed (Canada, 1993a). Included in the Foundation themes is the proposed sport plan for Canada. The federal-provincial/territorial Ministers for sport agreed that:

The development of a seamless sport system comprised of key partners including governments, sport organizations and education, demands joint planning, collaboration and harmonized policies, programs and delivery mechanisms. There has never been a sport plan for Canada through which priorities for sport development across the country could be established and resources focused (Canada, 1993b, p. 1).

In association with the Foundation themes, the federal/provincial/territorial ministers for sport agreed that success factors for the Canadian sport plan should involve regular communication between those developing the sport plan and their constituencies on significant issues in sport and that there be a commitment to the harmonization of policies and programs by all the stakeholders (Canada, 1993a).

Similarly, the federal government's response to *Sport: The Way Ahead* included an initial action plan to build on, and improve the Canadian sport system. This proposed action plan involved collaboration with key stakeholders in the national sport system, including the federal-provincial/territorial Ministers responsible for sport and recreation. Along with provincial and territorial governments, the federal government agreed to work with the sport community at large through such associations as the Canadian Sport Coalition. The federal government also promised to begin implementing a sport plan for Canada as recommended by the Minister's Task Force for Federal Sport Policy and the Foundation Themes for an Emerging Sport Plan for Canada, and as endorsed by the federal/provincial/territorial ministers responsible for sport. The result would be the first sport plan for Canada, as well as the establishment of a process for continuous planning (Canada, 1993b). The sport plan would include the establishment of a national planning table, creating an agenda for

collaborative action, harmonizing public policies from all levels of government and consolidating the national active living infrastructure from seven programs into one body, Active Living Canada, to create an integrated sport and physical activity system (Canada, 1993b).

Within a month however, changes in the systemic governing coalition of the federal government under the new leadership of Conservative Prime Minister Kim Campbell, resulted in a downsizing and restructuring of the system of the federal government itself and the relatively stable parameters of the sport policy subsystem. In essence, the restructuring involved decreasing the number of departments from 32 to 23 where eight new departments were created or redesigned, three received new mandates and fifteen others were merged or broken up (Office of the Prime Minister, June 25, 1993). The significance this had for Canadian sport is that all Minister of State positions, including the Minister of State for Fitness and Amateur Sport, were abolished and Cabinet was restored as the forum for decision-making. More specifically, amateur sport moved into a newly created Canadian Heritage portfolio while Fitness remained in the Health and Welfare portfolio. Consequently, mechanisms for integrating policies between fitness and amateur sport were terminated, and more significantly, the loss of a federal sport directorate dismantled the Canadian Sport Coalition, shattered links between sport organizations, and terminated the efforts underway for a national sport plan. This move drastically affected the constraints and resources of the actors within the sport policy subsystem as sport was transferred to the Department of Canadian Heritage; a department with a very different outlook on the direction of Canadian sport in the future with an emphasis of sport promoting Canadian heritage and national identity.

This re-organization was seen as two-fold within the sport community. Some believed that this was an indication that the federal government would decrease its levels of interference in matters of sport, as advocated in the Dubin report and *Sport: The Way Ahead*, others believed this was a sign that the new government did not consider sport to be high on a list of priorities for the country (Sport Forum, 1993). Interestingly, neither scenario was accurate. In 1995, the Sport Funding and Accountability Framework (SFAF) was introduced by the federal government to help National Sport Organizations (NSOs) achieve *elite* sport policy priorities, namely increasing Canada's medal counts in major international competitions. In a news release, the federal government stated:

The SFAF is a comprehensive, objective tool to ensure that federal funds are allocated to NSOs that contribute directly to the achievement of federal sport objectives and priorities. As announced by the Minister of Canadian Heritage in November 1994, the over-arching policy objective is the achievement of excellence through fair and ethical means. Athletes and the programs that directly support them constitute the government's first policy priority to achieve this objective (Canada, 1995, p. 1).

The implementation of the SFAF essentially increased the level of accountability of NSOs to receive federal funding by focusing on elite success rather than broader social objectives. Consequently, amidst the cost cutting measures of the Chrétien government in other policy subsystems, Sport Canada's budget decreased by roughly 17% from \$85 million in 1992-1993 (Houlihan, 1997) to \$46 million in 1997-1998 (Canada, 1998).

In 1998, Director General of Sport Canada, Dan Smith spoke of the impact of the SFAF:

This was a system to allow us to decide on which sports we would focus, and essentially we chose to focus based on the achievements of those sports in the international arena. So if they have been able to produce champions, if they are producing strong teams, if they are producing success, we're working with them. That has allowed us to go to the 38 national organizations we are supporting now, as opposed to 58 before we developed this strategy and focus (Canada, Subcommittee Meeting December 1, 1997).

This essentially meant that sports that previously relied exclusively, or for the most part on federal sport funding, and had not achieved the levels of excellence that met the government's requirements were stripped of federal assistance. This scenario not only created tensions within sport organizations to maintain high levels of excellence, but also forced them, both at the national level and provincial levels to direct funding towards high-performance sport leaving the task of sport development exclusively the responsibility of provincial and municipal governments, individuals, and local sport clubs. Inherently this division created distension between organizations receiving funding and those that did not. As a result it created a competitive lobby effort rather than a cooperative one and therefore affected the ability of subsystem coalitions to exact change and influence on governmental authorities

This situation was only emphasized when the federal government, wishing to cut spending further, abolished the National Sport and Recreation Centre (NSRC) in 1995. The NSRC housed NSOs and administrative staff, and promoted an environment of collaboration among sport organizations and leaders. The abolition of the NSRC meant that NSOs now had to spend money for their own administrative services further pressuring them to spend what few funds they had on elite sport objectives (Green and Houlihan, 2005). Both of these events further affected the constraints and resources of actors in the sport policy subsystem

The loss of the Winnipeg Jets and Québec Nordiques National Hockey League (NHL) franchises, diverted the country's attention away from amateur sport and onto professional sport and marks another system event to affect the sport policy subsystem. In 1997, NHL Commissioner Gary Bettman met with mayors from small Canadian sport market teams, warning Canadians that the future of the NHL in Canada would be grim without government

subsidies and tax breaks to compete with American markets (Whitson, Harvey & Lavoie, 2001). Coupled with mediocre results at the 1994 and 1996 Olympic Games and public opinion for the federal government to improve the Canadian sport system, the federal government agreed to assess the nature and extent to which sport affects the Canadian economy to justify their intervention. Furthermore, as a matter of national identity, it was also the interest of the department of Canadian heritage to examine the vitality of professional sport, especially hockey in Canada. In 1997, the *The Sub Committee on the Industry of Sport in Canada of the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage* was established to measure the economic impact of sport both nationally and regionally, to examine the contribution sport makes to national unity and to determine the scope and rationale for federal involvement in promoting amateur sport in Canada (Canada, 1998). To accurately reflect the status of the sport industry, the Sub-Committee collected testimony from 41 groups and individuals, responses to a questionnaire submitted to 215 sport organizations, briefs submitted by organizations, individuals and academics and a comparative analysis of international sport systems (Canada, 1998).

Despite the efforts of the sport community to focus attention back onto sport development and sustainable sport infrastructure, the overwhelming emphasis of the sub-committee debates clearly focused on elite sport and more particularly, professional sport. This was emphasized further by the NHL's submission to the subcommittee that Canadian NHL teams are not on a level playing field with teams in America because of the low Canadian dollar, and higher taxes for public facilities (Whitson, Harvey & Lavoie, 2001).

Dan Smith, speaking to the sub-committee explained the federal government's responsibility for sport in Canada:

The federal focus on sport is primarily, almost exclusively, on amateur sport. What we're trying to do is develop a policy framework in which sport can flourish. Obviously we provide financial assistance to sport—we are still a very important funder of sport—but more and more we are working with sporting organizations to find sources of financing elsewhere. We do not have a direct responsibility for professional sport. Because the sport system has strong relationships, we will have relationships with the National Hockey League and the Canadian Football League, but they are not areas in which we have traditionally had a funding relationship or in which we work closely on a day-to-day basis (Canada, Subcommittee meeting December 1, 1997).

In direct response to Mr. Smith's comments committee member Denis Coderre (LIB)

immediately added:

I would like to start by saying, somewhat jokingly, that if you have any influence with the Olympic Games, I would like you to call up the hockey team and see that Mark Messier, Claude Lemieux and Mark Recchi get on Canada's team, and fill the remaining three spots. That might not be a bad idea (Canada, Subcommittee meeting December 1, 1997).

This excerpt indicates that despite Mr. Smith's efforts to revert attention back to amateur sport and away from elite, professional sport, the sentiment of the sub-committee and those of Mr. Coderre remained focused on the NHL. The statement showed that the members of the subcommittee had a preconceived agenda, especially in light of NHL players participating the upcoming Olympics to provide a basis of support for professional sport over that of amateur sport.

A senior policy analyst for the Government of Ontario summarized the agenda of the sub-committee and its implications for intergovernmental relations in Canadian public policy. He stated, "They knew what they wanted to get out of the meetings and there was little we could do or say to change that. We were invited to the table, but really only for lip service" (Interview, G).

Despite the internal debates on prioritizing elite, amateur and professional sport in Canada, the final report of the Sub-Committee indicated that:

The future of sport in Canada depends on strong leadership, partnerships and accountability. It is necessary to create stronger partnerships between the public and private sectors and between the various levels of government throughout this country. The recommendations presented in this report recognize the need for greater intergovernmental consultation, cooperation and partnership (Canada, 1998, p. 1).

The report further recognized that each level of government shares in providing sport infrastructure, funding provincial and national sport bodies and supporting sport events at provincial, national, and international levels. However, as the title of the report indicates, the findings of the Sub-Committee focused largely on the industry of sport, and its impact on employment and the Canadian GDP. The recommendations of the Sub-Committee reflected this sentiment as well. Among these recommendations are a high performance sport tax credit applied to parents of children who are ranked nationally and internationally, a 150% tax credit for small business corporate sponsorship, and a federal capped contribution of a \$100 million dollar sport facility infrastructure program in conjunction with provincial and municipal governments. The report also recommended that Canada bid to host major multi-sport games such as the Olympics or significant single sport games such as the World Cup of Soccer (Canada, 1998).

Given the Sub-Committee's focus on sport as an industry, the potential sale of the Ottawa Senators and their relocation to the United States, focus on the report remained for its recommendations for professional sport, over those for amateur sport. In 1998, finance minister John Manley proposed that the federal government subsidize National Hockey League (NHL) teams in Canada and follow the recommendations set forth by the Mills Report, diverting attention away from amateur sport and amateur sport funding.

While amateur and elite sport did factor in the report substantially, it was for the most part overshadowed by the rhetoric surrounding the subsidization of professional sport in

Canada, despite numerous testimonies arguing that professional sport lies beyond government mandates. The proposed Sport Pact in particular factored highly in the report. The Sport Pact “would embrace a federal strategy aimed at creating a favourable environment for promoting the vitality and stability of professional sport in Canada within the North American market. It would cover all federal action in the field of professional sport” (Canada, 1998, p. 52). In all, federal initiatives in sport included tax credits for professional and quasi-professional teams, tax harmonization for sport professionals and altering immigration policies to allow sport professionals to immigrate to Canada (Canada, 1998).

The fact that amateur sport was second in line of priority amidst the NHL subsidy debate is a testament to the absence of a unified voice for sport in Canada. The senior leader of the Sport Matters Group (SMG) argues that the NHL subsidy debate was a turning point for Canadian amateur and high performance sport and a crucial event in the sport policy subsystem. He states, “we knew there was something wrong with where we were going. If we had a unified system, a unified voice, we could have done something to divert attention back onto amateur sport” (Interview, A). However, because of the public outcry against subsidizing NHL teams, the motion was withdrawn by the government. The SMG senior leader argues “we had an opportunity there, but there was no mechanism in place to take it” (Interview, A).

It was against this backdrop that the SMG was formed. It was “a group [of sport leaders] that got together to create a voice for sport to ensure that we had in place where we could all get together and talk about the future of Canadian sport” (Interview, A). Formed in 2000, the SMG is

a voluntary group of individuals who have come together to talk about the important contribution that sport makes to society and to collaborate on various sport policy issues on an ad hoc basis. What is noteworthy about the SMG is the way that it operates. Participants come to the group to contribute their ideas and views, to share their concerns, and to discuss activities of common interest. The Group is very informal in nature, and does not represent the sport community (nor does it say that it does). It has from time to time taken positions and expressed views on what it considers to be in the best interest of sport (Sport Matters, 2006).

While many advocacy coalitions such as the COC and AthletesCan¹ were in existence prior to the formation of the SMG, it did mark the first broad based sport advocacy coalition that comprised members of the entire sport community. As the senior leader of the SMG indicates:

This marked the first time everyone had a voice. Not just a group, but everyone coming together, coordinating our actions, getting people out there to voice their opinions. As a group we were able to coordinate our efforts and make our message stronger, unified. We wanted to make sure that the National Sport Summit was a success and that everyone was represented (Interview, A).

In 2000, Secretary of State (Amateur Sport), Denis Coderre launched a series of pan-Canadian consultations that consisted of six regional sport conferences held across the country as well as issue specific roundtables involving topics such as high performance sport and aboriginal sport. The goal of these conferences was to lay the groundwork for the National Summit on Sport and eventually the creation of a Canadian Sport Policy. The focus of the regional sport conferences was to identify the gaps and weaknesses in the Canadian sport system and develop solutions to address those weaknesses. The discussion paper for the regional conferences indicated that political and governmental structures in Canadian sport are not efficient. The regional sport conferences yielded the following four observations: (1) partnerships between governments in the area of sport need to be strengthened because they are currently perceived as being weak and not homogeneous; (2)

there is no real coordination between the provincial and federal governments in this area; (3) dedicated sport departments in sport are virtually non-existent; and (4) there is a lack of overall vision in sport (Canada, 2000a).

In addressing these weaknesses, the National Summit on Sport discussion paper indicated that:

All elements of the sport system – individuals, communities, organizations, institutions and governments – have their own roles and functions, and share a responsibility for sport. This results in a dynamic and multi-faceted partnership upon which the overall effectiveness of the sport system depends. The framework for governing and managing sport in Canada is based on a complex and decentralized system that cuts across sport organizations and jurisdictional lines. While this system allows for far-reaching networks and opportunities for innovation and customized approaches at all levels, it presents challenges with respect to concerted and coordinated efforts (Canada, 2000b, p. 4).

Participants of the National Summit on Sport highlighted the need for capacity building between individuals, communities, and governments for a successful sport system to achieve the desired outcomes of increasing participation and national and international excellence. Building capacity in this regard involves building sustainable sport infrastructure by combining resources from a number of different sources, be it public or private, to implement a sport infrastructure program.

Among the immediate actions proposed after the sport summit was the creation of a federal inter-departmental committee representing departments of Health, Justice, Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Human Resources Development Canada, and the Solicitor General to discuss how to integrate their efforts to improve sport participation in Canada. In addition, in association with the provincial/territorial departments responsible for amateur sport, the Government of Canada would work to develop the *Canadian Sport Policy*

and modernize existing federal legislation to reflect the Government's new role in sport (Canada, 2001).

5.1.2 Current Trends in Sport Policy and Multilevel Governance 2002-present

The following section will examine patterns of interaction arising after the creation of the new *Canadian Sport Policy* and how the policy has affected the nature of relationships between the federal government and civil society.

In April 2002, the *Canadian Sport Policy* was introduced after being approved by the federal-provincial/territorial ministers. According to the *Canadian Sport Policy*, this policy, as compared to previous policies, is unique in that it represents the shared vision and goals of 14 governmental jurisdictions and stakeholders and emphasizes formal communication to set targets with their sport communities through bi-lateral, multilateral and complementary action plans (Canada, 2002a).

In enhancing collaboration between governments, ministries and the sport community, enhanced interaction was included as one of the four key pillars of the policy. *Enhanced Interaction* "seeks to increase collaboration, communication, and cooperation amongst the partners in the sport community, government and the private sector, which, in turn, will lead to a more effective Canadian sport system" (Canada, 2002a, p. 19).

In keeping with this goal, the Canadian Sport Policy was released in conjunction with a document entitled *Federal-Provincial/Territorial Priorities for Collaborative Action 2002-2005*. This document outlines specifically how the federal and provincial governments plan to work together to create a seamless sport system that is both representative and integrative. Specifically, "the current priorities are driven by the vision of the four goals, and the

commitments contained in the *Canadian Sport Policy*" (Canada, 2002b, p. 2). The goals set the foundation on which a renewed and strengthened sport system can be built.

Table 1. Sport Participation and Multilevel governance

Sport Participation	
Priorities	Action
Increase participation in sport Increasing sport and physical activity in schools	Develop collaborative strategies to increase the public's understanding of and participation in sport for all by collecting information on barriers to participation and establishing targets and indicators to increase participation. Participate with the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport and Physical Activity and provincial/territorial counterparts where possible in the development and implementation of a Canadian strategy on women and girls in sport and physical activity Undertake initiatives to increase the opportunities in coaching, officiating, and volunteer leadership for women, persons with a disability, Aboriginal peoples, and visible minorities by compiling information on coaching barriers

The Federal-Provincial/Territorial (F-P/T) priorities are designed to achieve the vision of the *Canadian Sport Policy* through various initiatives including: (1) calling for the same actions by all governments towards a commonly agreed target; (2) government-specific actions towards a commonly-agreed target and; (3) actions by one or more provincial/territorial governments with the federal government, or between and amongst provincial/territorial governments to achieve a common target expressed in a bilateral agreement (Canada, 2002b).

The *F-P/T priorities for Collaborative Action* are structured around the four pillars of the *Canadian Sport Policy* and include specific F-P/T priorities and actions to achieve those

goals. To enhance participation the F-P/T committee goals involve communicating among different jurisdictions and coordinating actions (see Table 1).

Within the pillar for *Enhanced Excellence*, the F-P/T priority is to enhance athlete and sport system performance by establishing measurable targets to evaluate athlete performance, developing F-P/T initiatives with key stakeholders to enhance the role of sport science and competitions, and evaluate the roles of National Sport Centres and their contributions to the goals set forth by the *Canadian Sport Policy* on a jurisdiction by jurisdiction basis (Canada, 2002b).

The enhanced capacity pillar is unique in that it encapsulates the true need for inter-sectoral, and inter-ministerial communication and collaboration between members of the sport community. Increasing infrastructure, enhancing the efficiency of facility management, and improving the experience of volunteers and coaches involves creating a collective action plan that is reflective of the wide segment of the population that the pillar affects (see Table 2).

Upon examining the enhanced participation, excellence and capacity pillars, it is easy to see the importance of creating mechanisms of interaction between all levels of government and the sport community. The pillar of enhanced interaction therefore is paramount to the success of the *Canadian Sport Policy* and the F-P/T collaborative action plans. The F-P/T committee outlined specific priorities and actions to ensure that regular communication exists between sectors, groups and individuals in the sport system (see Table 3). While it is still too early to assess the success/failure of the *Canadian Sport Policy* and its goals, many of the tasks and actions recommended within the policy have been achieved or are currently being undertaken.

Table 2 – Enhanced Capacity and Multilevel Governance.

Enhanced Capacity	
Priorities	Actions
Implement the Competency Based Education and Training (CBET)	Develop an implementation plan for CBET that identifies the roles and responsibilities of all partners
Develop a sport event hosting strategy	Assess the feasibility of a governmental hosting strategy with stakeholders
Improve sport and recreation Facilities	Consult provincial and territorial governments, municipalities, and universities to maximize the economic benefits of sport tourism
Implement the “Canadian Strategy on Ethical Conduct in Sport”	Implement the Canadian Strategy on Ethical Conduct in Sport with the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport
Foster the Diversification of the Resource Base of Sport Organizations at all Levels	Compare international funding models for sport
Aboriginal Sport Development	Develop a multi-party funding agreement to establish a support mechanism for hosting the North American Indigenous Games (NAIG) when hosted in Canada
	Conduct a biennial survey of f-p/t government initiatives to promote aboriginal sport development.

Table 3 – Enhanced Interaction and Multilevel Governance

Enhanced Interaction	
Priorities	Actions
Increase Awareness of Sport Within Governments	Present evidence on the benefits of sport participation to such government departments as health, justice, education and social services.
Regular Communication with the Sport Community	
Enhance Collaboration Between Sport Organizations	Assess the feasibility of collaboration on funding and accountability frameworks for sport organizations to encourage collaboration
Negotiate Bilateral Government Agreements to Advance the Canadian Sport Policy	Collaborate on initiatives to encourage NSOs and PSOs to increase participation in their sports with a focus on women, children and youth, people with a disability and visible minorities
	Initiate bilateral agreements between governments to achieve the goals of the Canadian Sport Policy
	Report on the bilateral agreements and results

In association with the F-P/T ministers for sport and recreation the Government of Canada was able to modernize the existing legislation for fitness and amateur sport. In 2003, the Canadian House of Commons approved Bill C-12, the Physical Activity and Sport Act, replacing Bill C-131, the Fitness and Amateur Sport Act. The significance of this legislation rests in its provision of equal standing to both physical activity and sport within the Government of Canada, meaning that by Canadian Law, sport participation and sport development stand in equal priority to high performance sport (Canada, 2003).

In 2004, the Cities of Vancouver and Whistler won the rights to host the 2010 Olympic Games. In conjunction with the awarding of these games, the government of Canada partnered with the COC, the Canadian Paralympic Committee (CPC), the Canadian Olympic Development Agency (CODA), all 13 National winter sport federations, and the Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games (VANOC) to pursue the collective goal of making Canada the number one medal nation at the Games. The Own the Podium program “marks the first time Canada's winter sport organizations have come together with their sport partners to map out a comprehensive plan that, if fully implemented, would give Canada's athletes the required financial and infrastructure support to help them perform at their highest potential” (Canadian Olympic Committee, 2004). Specifically, the goal of the Own the Podium program is to provide Canada's high performance sport system with additional resources and programming to help achieve those goals.

In 2005, the *Federal-Provincial/Territorial Priorities for Collaborative Action* reached the end of its quadrennial plan. To date, bilateral agreements between the federal government and eleven provincial/territorial governments have been signed. More

specifically, these agreements have been directed at improving sport participation through cost-sharing agreements. In addition to splitting \$10 million annually through Sport Canada's annual budget, provincial funding for sport participation initiatives is matched on a dollar-by-dollar basis by the federal government (Interview B, 2006).

Similar to the bilateral agreements made with provinces to enhance sport participation, in 2005 the federal government entered into negotiations with provinces to enhance excellence through the Long Term Athlete Development Model (LTADM). While still in its initial stages, regional meetings with provincial governments are being held to develop a comprehensive, standard sport development model ranging from initiation to high performance sport development. Bridging together the investments made to enhance sport participation, the regional conferences highlighted the need to create a unified sport system that enables all sport participants to achieve the level of sport development that is suitable for their goals. It is hoped that the LTADM will break down many barriers to sport development including regional and provincial sport system disparities (Canada, 2005).

Due largely in part to the initiatives of the SMG, sport was made a public policy platform throughout the 2006 federal election campaign among all political parties. The election of Stephen Harper's Conservative government has shown considerable promise for sport. Among the promises made by Harper during the election campaign are to give sport 1% of the annual health budget and implementing a child tax rebate for children who participate in sport. Within cabinet, there is also indication that intergovernmental relations and sport are a priority. Minister of Sport, Michael Chong, is also the Minister of Intergovernmental Relations and for the first time, there is also a Secretary of State for the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games (Canada, 2006). This is a significant move because it not only fosters

relationships between ministries, but also separates (politically) the mandates of Sport Canada and the Vancouver Olympic Games. While the Minister can focus its attention on the Olympic Games, Sport Canada can continue its efforts to support broader social policy objectives.

These trends indicate that the *Canadian Sport Policy* has provided the sport community with a stable mode of communication and leadership. The detailed nature of the policy, namely the four goals, has enabled the federal government to create a more streamlined approach to sport policy. Not only has the *Canadian Sport Policy* outlined the priorities of the government of Canada for sport, but it has also formally enabled the government to direct its attention on four aspects of the Canadian sport system: participation, excellence, capacity and interaction. This way, the government has been able to decrease some of the fragmentation that many in the sport community claimed was a serious weakness of the Canadian sport system, through an established and specific sport policy. Bilateral agreements are also measures characteristic to the current trends emanating from the effects of the *Canadian Sport Policy*. Through the leadership of the federal government and a sport policy endorsed by all provinces, the government of Canada is able to coordinate the efforts of provincial governments to create a sport system that is (or strives to be) uniform by negotiating bilateral agreements that re-enforce the goals of the *Canadian Sport Policy*.

Similarly, advocacy coalitions have benefited from the increased specificity and goal-centred nature of the *Canadian Sport Policy*. Much like the provincial governments have a Canadian framework from which to direct their own provincial policies, advocacy coalitions such as the SMG have been able to concentrate their efforts on the actions of governments in relation to the *Canadian Sport Policy*. Rather than advocating for sport within a multitude

different directions, the *Canadian Sport Policy* has provided advocacy coalitions with a base to work from and co-ordinate their efforts.

5.2 Multilevel Governance and Québec Sport Policy

The following section examines Québec sport policies from 1990 to the present. Pertinent to this section, like the federal study is the patterns of interaction between the government of Québec, the government of Canada, and civil society.

5.2.1 Evolution of Patterns of Interaction in Québec Sport Policy 1990-2000.

Similar to the actions taken by the federal government in the wake of the Ben Johnson doping scandal, the province of Québec undertook an assessment of its own sport system thus the scandal is also an external system event that affected the sport policy subsystem in Québec. In 1992, the governing liberal party of Québec gathered representatives of the sport community to determine the future of sport in the province, namely the values and objectives that should comprise their provincial sport plan. The results of the consultations indicated that the future of sport in Québec should respect the interdependencies of initiation in sport, recreation and competition to the development of sport excellence (Québec, 1992). Within this structure, the government recognized the importance of communication between governments, government sectors, and sport sectors, namely municipalities, education and sport associations. As such, the province of Québec created a provincial harmonization table within the Ministry for Leisure, Hunting and Fisheries, for sport and physical activity comprising elected and permanent members, similar to the recommendations made in *Sport the Way Ahead*. Specifically, the table consisted of members representing sport associations municipalities, education, and the provincial government as follows:

Sport Associations – Four delegates from Sports-Québec (3 elected, 1 permanent), one regional sport delegate, and four metropolitan sport delegates.

Municipalities – Two delegates from l'Union des municipalités du Québec (one elected, one permanent), one elected delegate from l'Union des municipalités régionales de comités du Québec, one permanent delegate representing Regroupement québécois du loisir municipal and one elected delegate from Communauté urbaine de Montréal – Communauté urbaine de Québec.

Education – Two delegates from the Federation des commissions scolaires du Québec (one elected, one permanent), two delegates from Federation Québécoise du sport étudiant (one elected, one permanent), one elected delegate representing colleges and universities. (Québec, 1992, p. 20-21)

Provincial Government - One representative from the Ministry of Leisure, Hunting and Fisheries.

The purpose of the harmonization table for sport and physical activity was to exchange ideas of common interest within the following five mandates:

Coordination – Establishing a consensus on subjects of common interest.

Harmonization – Coordinating practical solutions to those interests.

Consultation – The table is to consult the Ministry of Leisure, Hunting and Fisheries to produce a response to the solutions.

Information – The table is responsible for exchanging information about common interests and present those findings to the Ministry of Leisure, Hunting and Fisheries

Representation – The table is to take a common position on all issues and solutions to the public (Québec, 1992, p. 21-22).

While the harmonization table was a big step towards creating an integrated sport system in Québec, it was difficult to coordinate their actions. A sport policy analyst within the government of Québec indicated,

While our intentions were good, we didn't have specific plans in place. This made the mandate of the table very hard to achieve. It was very evident that if we wanted this to work we needed to be more specific with what we wanted the table to achieve. As a province, we needed to be more specific with our targets and intentions (Interview C).

In response to the lack of specificity outlined in the previous document, the government of Québec in association with the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, Sport and Leisure (who as the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, assumed direction over sport and leisure in 1994 under the new leadership of the Parti Québécois) released a document entitled *Developing recreation, sport and physical activity: targeting a renewed partnership (1995)*. It is interesting to note that this document coincided with Québec's referendum on its separation from Canada, marking a very significant external subsystem event. When asked about this connection the provincial policy analyst was not as forthcoming at offering this as a possibility:

A: Was this policy influenced at all by the separation movement in Québec at the Time?

B: I don't see why it would be. Yes, the government at the time was very positive about furthering sport in the province, but I don't think it had anything to do with separation.

A: Why not?

B: It is too easy to believe that this new interest was only for the purpose of pursuing an agenda. It could have been a reason, but perhaps only one of many. Making a healthier population, improving international competitiveness were all reasons. (Interview C)

Despite the reluctance of Québec's provincial policy analyst to make this connection, both Harvey (1999) and Green and Houlihan (2005) argue that indeed, this connection is indeed a valid one to pursue.

The document was the first phase of a project to create an action framework to determine the responsibilities and direction of the government in sport and recreation, and how it planned to achieve them (Québec, 1995). This document established the basis for consultations in sport and recreation for the next year and the establishment of an advisory

committee to report on the various consultations. Specifically, the advisory committee directed consultations to examine what citizens wanted the role of government in sport to be, how to make sport representative of equality, accessibility and security in Québec and how to effectively manage partnerships in sport and recreation (Québec, 1995).

In response to the document, the government of Québec received 700 reports and heard 500 testimonies from participants from around the province. In March 1996 a forum was held consisting of meetings between the Minister of Municipal Affairs, Sport and Leisure, and the presidents of the regional consultations to discuss their findings, workshops with representatives from the sport and recreation sector and a plenary session where 87 groups were given the opportunity to share their opinions. In June 1996, a second round of consultations were held with representatives from various sport and recreation associations, municipal, educational and trade sectors, and owners of sports facilities, to determine their reactions to the advisory committee's initial report of consultation (Québec, 1997).

The advisory committee revealed that through the various consultations, participants demanded that the sport community be considered partners and allies with the Ministry, that the Ministry clearly state its goals and initiate flexible and coherent actions that represent the needs of the population (Québec, 1997).

In response to those demands, the Ministry proposed that a framework for action be created that clearly states its aims, is flexible in carrying out its actions and strengthens resources at the local level by rearranging the sport structure at the regional levels and realigning provincial planning to be more conducive to partnerships and complementary action (Québec, 1997).

Subsequently, the government of Québec released their report, *Cadre d'intervention gouvernementale en matière de loisir et de sport*. The report clearly indicated that the government is responsible for “determining the objectives of its actions, encouraging cooperation between the different key players and ensuring that the resources available are used efficiently and equitably in the interests of the public as a whole” (Québec, 1997, p. 17). The ministerial mission regarding sport and recreation involved intensifying recreational sports activities for all citizens by encouraging partnerships between municipalities and schools to share resources such as equipment and facilities (Québec, 1997). This partnership further supports the ACF in assuming that policy decisions from other subsystems will affect the sport policy subsystem.

Among the principles framing the government's action in sport and recreation involves working with sport and recreation associations. The report indicates “associations are one of the major means by which the population may express their needs and their commitment within the fields of recreation and sport” (Québec, 1997, p. 9). As a result, the government's partnership with sport and recreation associations has allowed them to increase their spending because the partnerships allow the government to decentralize responsibilities for sport and recreation in turn expanding the governments funding base. Similarly, existing partnerships with municipalities, and the education sector provide sports facilities and specialized sport equipment to participants, meaning that the government can fund its money into different facets of the sport and recreation system (Québec, 1997).

As partnerships between different sectors grew, the government of Québec offered financial support to regional and provincial sport sectors that support and promote these partnerships. Specifically, the government of Québec proposed that city-regions create

regional sports and recreation bodies and create an effective regional sport and recreation action plan that coordinates the actions of its local partners. The regional sport body will “ensure an equitable support to all areas of activity and to all key players, whether they be in the municipal, educational or association-level sector” (Québec, 1997, p. 13). Similar to the provincial harmonization table, the regional sport bodies were responsible for developing long-term action plans for all citizens, offering administrative services to municipalities, educational institutions, regional and local sport organizations, and administering the regional sport body budget provided by the Ministry (Québec, 1997, p. 13).

To bridge the actions of regional bodies and the government of Québec,

The ministry will set up a panel known as the Table Québécoise de concertation en matière de loisir et de sport. The panel will be presided over by the Ministry and will bring together the regional sports and recreation bodies. It may eventually be expanded to include representatives from the Conseil Québécois de loisir and Sports Québec in the discussion of subjects of a collective interest. On occasions during which specific situations are to be discussed, spokespersons from different provincial organizations may also be invited to attend (Québec, 1997, p. 15).

Moreover, the government of Québec, in keeping with the trend of decentralization, transferred four key responsibilities to Sports-Québec, namely: the Jeux du Québec, training coaches, recognition of the value of athletes and their support staff, and providing financial support of elite Québec athletes. By transferring these responsibilities to a private sport body, the government of Québec would solicit sponsorships from the private sector, something that the government itself could not do. Given their new found responsibilities, Sports-Québec was given the mandate of representing the sport federations of Québec and seeing that they coordinate their actions and cooperate with each other (Québec, 1997).

Through this action framework, the government of Québec indicated its intention towards creating an integrated provincial sport system, by realizing the opportunities that exist outside of Québec. The Ministry,

currently has access to a number of different political and administrative mechanisms which allow it to carry out its responsibilities within the framework of its relations with the federal government and the other provinces and territories, and as such to serve the interests of the general population in the fields of sport and recreation.

Another area in which the Ministry is already involved concerns the cooperation within different levels of government and the development of inter-ministerial agreements in an aim to carry out projects with a common interest (Québec, 1997, p. 17).

While the action framework was considered pragmatic and unique to that of any other province within the sport community in Québec, a representative from Sports-Québec indicates:

The government provided everyone with a framework for action. It worked. It got everyone together working toward a common goal. I can't think of another province that has been able to do that. Bringing together municipalities, schools, universities, federations. It was unique. It still is. But what was missing was a definite action plan. We needed to know exactly what the government intended to do with sport. Specifically what its priorities are, how it plans to do it, how can we help them achieve their goals, our goals? These were questions that we still needed answered (Interview, D).

5.2.2 Current trends and multi-governance in Québec sport policy 2000-present.

In November 1999, changes in the systemic governing coalition within the government of the Parti-Québécois affected the sport policy subsystem. Sports-Québec voiced concerns to the new Minister for Sport and Leisure (now under the leadership of the Ministry Tourism, Sport and Leisure), Gilles Baril. In response, the Minister initiated the creation of a detailed action plan in consultation with Sports-Québec, regional sport associations, municipalities, and the health and education sectors. The result, *Le loisir, le sport, et le plein air : au coeur de nos préoccupations. Plan d'action en matière de loisir et*

d'activité Physique 2000-2003(Québec, 2000) was the first step towards addressing their concerns. The report contains four specific priorities for government action in sport each with their own action plans, namely combating sedentary lifestyles, supporting high performance athletes, accentuating the leadership, visibility and promotion of Québec, and supporting partnerships.

Regarding the latter of the government's priorities, it planned to promote partnerships by ensuring that local and regional goals coincide with those of a larger, global vision for sport. Specifically the government wanted to encourage regional associations to follow the lead of provincial associations in their missions and assuring that all stakeholders share a common vision for the future of sport in Québec (Québec, 2000).

In addition to the government's actions for sport and physical activity on a broad scale, the government expanded its action plan for the development of high performance sport. In *Le québec en quête d'excellence. Plan d'action en matière de développement de l'excellence sportive* the government of Québec set out priorities specifically geared towards the promotion of athletic excellence in five key areas: coaching, competition, sports federations, equipment and peripheral services within both direct and immediate measures.

Among the more general priorities for action in high performance sport include attracting international sport events to Québec by establishing a strategic plan for submitting bids, acquiring international and national competitions and organizing events. Similarly, through hosting events, the government hopes to improve sport infrastructure, improve training conditions in all regions of the province, recruit new talent, acquire alternative financial sources for high performance sport, and create partnerships with all levels of government and government sectors (Québec, 2000).

The 2003-2004 annual report of the Ministry of Health and Social Services – Sport and Leisure indicated that the government of Québec achieved many of its intended targets. By 2004, the Ministry was able to implement many inter-ministerial agreements with health, education, finance, municipalities, tourism and environment (Québec, 2003).

In 2003, the Liberal party replaced the Parti Québécois in provincial leadership with Jean Charest, a former federal secretary of state for sport, becoming the new premier thus marking another external system event to affect Québec's sport policy subsystem. The premier, within the first year of his mandate, transferred sport from the Ministry of Tourism and moved it back to the Ministry of Municipal Affairs. A senior sport policy advisor within the government of Québec indicates,

The new government wanted to move sport away from tourism because it wasn't the best way to achieve the goals set out by the previous government. To meet the expectations of the sport framework, we needed to go to where sport is delivered, where it is administered, in the municipal sector. The previous government focus for a while on hosting sport events. This was successful. We won some major events. We built a lot of new facilities. But we created more partnerships and reached out to more people, made sport more fair when we were located in the Ministry of Municipal affairs. That's why we wanted to move it back there (Interview, C).

The provincial liberal government also increased Québec's level of involvement with the federal government, especially with the release of the *F-P/T Plan for Collaborative Action 2002-2005* thus indicating that the *Canadian Sport Policy* was indeed a system event from another level of government that had a significant impact on Québec's sport policy subsystem. This event not only affected institutional rules and appointments but also the constraints and resources of the actors working within the subsystem as indicated by cost-sharing agreements between the federal government and the government of Québec. In partnership with the government of Canada, the government of Québec signed a bilateral agreement in 2005 to increase participation in sports. Under the agreement, both

governments “will provide \$2.5 million over four years to support initiatives that encourage children, young people, persons with disabilities, and Aboriginal people in the province to do more physical activity and sport” (Canada, 2005, p. 1). In line with the federal government’s initiatives to increase sport participation, the government of Québec transferred responsibilities for sport and leisure to the department of Education. The new Ministry for Education, Sport and Leisure, realizing the potential of aligning the two departments embarked on a mutually beneficial partnership to promote physical activity and sport within the education system.

The mission of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Leisure as stated in their strategic plan for 2004-2005 states:

The Ministry also has the responsibility of advising the government on matters of leisure and sport and ensuring interdepartmental coherence in these fields. Its fundamental responsibility is to support, in partnership with the actors concern, the development of the leisure and the sport within an operational framework, and to promote physically active lifestyles for the entire population (Québec, 2004, p. 3).

As a sport policy analyst within the government of Québec indicates:

This is a great partnership. You hear in the news about how many kids don’t get enough physical activity. How sport programs are being cut in schools. This was a way to address this nation-wide problem in Québec. This way we are achieving our own goals to decrease sedentary lifestyles by providing sport opportunities to targeted groups while still upholding our end of the bilateral agreement with the federal government. We are also supporting athletic excellence by partnering with colleges and universities. Not to mention that the Ministry of Education is a big spender. The fact that we get a piece of their budget is a good thing for sport in Québec (Interview, C).

What is interesting to note about Québec’s most recent sport plan is the absence of the *Canadian Sport Policy*. Despite being approved by all provinces and territories, the government of Québec has not made any sort of reference to the *Canadian Sport Policy* indicating Québec’s position of sport as entirely a provincial jurisdiction. While the

government of Québec, as indicated earlier, enters into agreements with the federal government to implement federal initiatives into provincial sport, namely sport participation, the province has maintained its position about maintaining its independence in matters of provincial jurisdiction.

5.2.3 Case Study # 1: Sport Policy and Multilevel governance in Montréal.

The following section examines multilevel governance and the City of Montréal. The relationships formed by the City of Montréal, the government of Québec and civil society are examined in relation to Québec's sport policies and those of the government of Canada.

5.2.3.1 Evolution of Sport Policy and Multilevel Governance in Montréal 1990-2000

Stemming from the legacy left by the 1976 Olympic Games and a history of sporting traditions, the City of Montréal has in place a very strong sport infrastructure consisting of more than 450 diverse sport facilities. In 1993, resulting from the provincial harmonization table for sport and recreation meetings, the City of Montréal initiated a city-wide policy geared towards improving partnerships between the city and the sport community with a common goal of improving the athletic excellence of Montréal's high performance athletes and creating more opportunities for citizens to achieve athletic excellence. The resulting document, *Politique de soutien à l'élite sportive montréalaise*, originally issued in 1986 outlined the framework through which the City would create and foster those partnerships to achieve its goals within the mandates established by the provincial harmonization tables for sport (Montréal, 1993).

The objective of the municipal policy is to improve the representation of Montréal athletes in provincial, Canadian, and international level sports through improved coaching,

resources and collaboration with stakeholders (Montréal, 1993). Specifically, the policy aims to identify the needs of Montréal's sport system by forming a coordination committee involving local sport clubs, provincial sport clubs and centres schools and universities, establish a mechanism for people to voice their concerns and needs directly to the city of Montréal's department for sport, leisure and community development and attracting national and international sport events by collaborating with the governments of Québec, and Canada and the private sector (Montréal, 1993). Consequently, the city of Montréal conducted annual evaluations of its sport system and its needs in consultation with the sport community and its partners.

While highly specific in its goals of improving high performance sport in Montréal, the city, in partnership with Sports- Montréal established a mechanism to achieve both high performance outcomes and improving sport participation through increased accessibility to facilities and resources. Established in 1990 as an organization geared to improving citizens' access to sport facilities through the Complexe Sportif Claude Robillard (a multisport facility left as a legacy from the 1976 Olympic Games), the group's mission is to offer sport programs, support services to the centre's 13 sport clubs and contribute to the local, national and international identity of the centre. The group entered in a partnership with the City of Montréal as part of the municipal elite sport policy, to assume control over sport development in the city through the Centre and foster partnerships for sport development with local sport clubs and associations. A representative of Sport Montréal indicates, "Yes, the municipal policy was very elite centred. But regardless of that, our job was to focus on sport development. The city supported us on that front and gave us the opportunity to do that" (Interview, F).

Similarly, as advocated in the provincial document *Cadre d'intervention gouvernementale en matière de loisir et de Sport*, the government of Québec called for the creation of regional sport bodies to act as a bridge between local sport and the provincial government. In response, Sport et loisir de l'île de Montréal was created as the regional sport body for Montréal. Sport et loisir de l'île de Montréal an autonomous, non-profit organization brings together public and private organizations which offer a broad range of sport and leisure services. It acts from the dialogues that emanate from collaborative regional and provincial debates with the aim of improving the quality of services in sport and leisure, and contributes to the improvement of the quality of life on the island of Montréal (URLS – Montréal, 2006).

The responsibilities of Montréal's regional sport body include applying multiyear sport action plans, facilitating the harmonization of regional level intervention and offering directly or through agencies, administrative services for regional and local sport organizations with educational institutions and municipalities (URLS – Montréal, 2006).

In concert with the other regional sport bodies of Québec and the provincial government, Sport et Loisir de l'île de Montréal initiated an action plan aimed at increasing collaboration and intervention from both private and public sectors and improving the integration of sport in Montréal and Québec by creating a common vision.

As the major urban centre of the province of Québec, the City of Montréal increased its level of collaboration with both the provincial government and the federal government for direct intervention. In 1999, the city of Montréal lobbied for federal intervention to improve elite sport infrastructure, presenting the Department of Canadian Heritage with *Pour une actualisation et une revitalisation des infrastructures sportives de haut niveau*, a document

aimed exclusively at attracting federal funding for sport infrastructure . After securing the rights to numerous international competition including international rowing regattas (2001), the World Junior Figure Skating Championships (1999) the Gay Games (2006) and bidding to host larger international events such as the World Junior Hockey Championships (2002), the World Aquatics Championships (2005) and the Commonwealth Games (2010) the city needed considerable investment from the federal government. Responding to the recommendations made by the Mills Report, the report indicated that investment in sport infrastructure would stimulate much needed economic activity in the city of Montréal as well as its sport system (Montréal, 1999).

5.2.3.2 Current Trends in Sport Policy and Multilevel Governance in Montréal 2000-present.

Within the next following years, the federal government invested millions of dollars into Québec's sport infrastructure namely improvements to the Centre Claude Robillard, McGill's Molson Stadium, and the sport complex at the Université de Montréal have also benefited from hosting national and international events (Société internationale de sport de Montréal, 2002).

Because of the sizeable investments made by the federal, provincial and municipal governments to Montréal's municipal infrastructure, most sport facilities actually belong to the city of Montréal rather than private corporations. A representative from the city of Montréal indicates:

Because of the fact that our facilities have been built with government investment we are able to control these facilities ourselves. If you look at our facilities that are owned by the private sector, we treat citizens differently. Instead of looking at people as customers, we see people as citizens who have a right to use our facilities as citizens of Montréal (Interview, E).

The City of Montréal also benefited from investments from all levels of government in establishing the Société internationale de sport de Montréal (SISM), an organization created solely for the purpose of attracting international sport events to the city of Montréal . The operating budget for the SISM in 2002 was approximately \$15 million dollars of which the Canadian Government financed 39%, the Québec government 24%, the City of Montréal 13%, tourism Montréal 13%, and private donations 19%. According to the SISM sport events hosted in Montréal generated \$5 million dollars back into Québec's sport system between 1999 and 2004 (SISM, 2002).

In 2005 Montréal hosted the World Aquatics Championships. Although it was an organizational nightmare, the city benefited from tri-level government investment for the creation of a world-class aquatics facility totalling over \$30 million (Canada, 2004).

A representative of the City of Montréal indicates:

We have had great success with creating partnerships. But if the World Aquatics Championships taught us anything is that we need to rethink how we organize our investments. It was not the wisest move giving so much responsibility to one organization. That is not an effective partnership. In the future, we will make sure that a partnership will not be in name and finances only. We need to communicate with each other constantly to ensure our sport system, and investments made in it are efficient and but still effective (Interview, E).

The government of Québec and the City of Montréal have clearly benefited from establishing relationships with advocacy coalitions at the onset of their foray into sport policy. Unlike the relationships that existed between advocacy coalitions and the federal government, the governments of Québec and initiated relationships with partners in Québec's sport system much sooner than their counterparts in the governments of Canada and Ontario. The main difference here is that these relationships were initiated immediately

after the initial consultations between the government of Québec and its stakeholders in sport in 1992.

It is particularly interesting in the case of Québec, the interdependence between advocacy coalitions and the provincial government. The province of Québec delineates many responsibilities to Sports-Québec and thus is highly dependent on a healthy mutual relationship. Sports-Québec on the other hand is still accountable to the province through provincial sport policies and funding arrangements.

Similarly, the city of Montréal, as part of the provincial harmonization tables in the early 1990s and regional sport bodies of the present, has long had stable mechanisms for interaction with other cities, regional sport bodies and the government of Québec. This has enabled the province to create a seamless sport system, one that is representative of the different needs of cities and individuals and to create programs that are uniform across the province. This has ensured that regional disparities between cities and sport are reduced and that cities are given equal representation in the sport policy process which has long been considered a weakness of the Canadian sport system as a whole.

The City of Montréal in particular has taken advantage of its status as an urban centre engaged in regular interaction between the government of Québec and advocacy coalitions in the city namely the regional sport body (URLS) and Sports-Montréal. Particularly with Montréal's reputation as a strong sport city, both professional and amateur and its reputation as a tourist hub, the city has been able to partner with coalitions and the federal government to invest in Montréal's sport infrastructure and numerous sport events. It is the high degree of coordination within Québec's sport system at provincial, regional and municipal levels that has set it apart from the federal sport system.

5.3 Sport Policy and Multilevel Governance in the Province of Ontario

The following section examines the patterns of interaction between the government of Ontario, the government of Canada and civil society.

5.3.1 Evolution of Sport Policy and Multilevel Governance 1990-2000.

Unlike the province of Québec, the province of Ontario did not issue sport policy directives until 1996. Prior to this, the government used the National Recreation Statement to guide its involvement in sport. As part of the government of Ontario's Best Ever Program (1982-1988) the government began transferring sport programs (including coaching development, and safety) to the Ontario Sport and Recreation Centre (OSRC), from 1985 to 1993. The OSRC provides two key services for Ontario sport namely accommodation and administrative services and the delivery of programs to increase the skill level of coaches and sport leaders (Ontario, 1996). A representative of the OSRC indicates,

We really didn't know what to do. Mainly because we didn't know what our role was anymore. The government really didn't give us that information. We were given these responsibilities, it wasn't a bad thing, but we just didn't know what we as a group, we didn't know what the plan was for sport in Ontario. We needed leadership and coordination (Interview, H).

In response to the OSRC's concerns, the OSRC and Sport Ontario (the sport body representing sport organizations in Ontario) launched the *Fast Forward* conference, a landmark external system event to determine each of their roles in Ontario sport. Not only did this event mark the first of its kind in Ontario, but also redefined the relatively stable parameters in the sport policy subsystem in its reorganization of responsibility for Ontario sport. Together, the OSRC and Sport Ontario identified 12 key directions for the future including creating a single common voice for sport in Ontario, developing alliances with

municipalities, health, and schools, redefining their relationship with the government of Ontario (Sport Alliance of Ontario, 1999).

Resulting from the consultations between the OSRC and Sport Ontario the government of Ontario decided to revisit their own role in Ontario's amateur sport system. Proving that the *fast forward* conference was indeed a significant external system event, the government of Ontario released *A Strategy for Amateur Sport in Ontario* in 1996 to determine their goals and priorities for amateur sport. Under the Ministry of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation, the goal of the Ministry's "business plan" for sport was to "contribute to the development of athletic achievement from novice to national levels through strategic support to the provincial sport system and for the Provincial Games" (Ontario, 1996, p. 4). More specifically the government was prepared to:

support only those activities which are consistent with its goals and are provided in an effective and efficient manner, representing value to the taxpayer. This approach to support will also take into account the responsibilities of other stakeholders and participants (Ontario, 1996, p. 4).

To achieve the goals of its strategy, the government of Ontario and its partners would provide strategic support to PSOs, MSOs, and the OSRC by initiating government-wide coordination on issues relating to sport, recreation and fitness, communicating with other provincial governments, the federal government and federal-provincial/territorial committees on sport, fitness and recreation (Ontario, 1996).

The ministry hoped that the amateur sport strategy would increase the levels of partnership between the government and sport organizations to help them become self-reliant and decrease their dependence on government funding by helping to foster partnerships with the private sector (Ontario, 1996).

For the OSRC and Sport Ontario, the only way to achieve the goals set forth within Ontario's amateur sport strategy was to merge into one single organization. The result was the establishment of the Sport Alliance of Ontario in 1998, bringing together representatives from PSOs, recreation (Parks and Recreation Ontario), education, and professional sport administrators to address the needs of all stakeholders in Ontario's sport delivery system (Sport Alliance of Ontario, 1999).

In response to the Mills report in 1998, the Government of Ontario, realizing the impact sport has on the tourism industry, transferred the responsibility of sport and recreation to the Ministry of Tourism. As a sport policy analyst in the government of Ontario indicates:

The Harris government really saw sport as a business more than anything else and because of that the government treated sport as a business. They saw the opportunities of hosting the Olympics and bringing in tourists and in essence their money. In a time where the government was cutting spending and decreasing grants, sport really got caught in the business (Interview, G).

5.3.2 Current Trends in Sport Policy and Multilevel Governance in Ontario 2000-present

Building on the foundation established by the consultation process in forming the *Canadian Sport Policy*, the government of Ontario undertook its own consultations with citizens to determine what they wanted to see in an Ontario-specific sport action plan under the leadership of a new provincial Liberal government. To create an Ontario Sport Action Plan, a steering committee consisting was established consisting of major stakeholders of sport in Ontario.

The vision of the Ontario Sport Action Plan (OSAP) is that

By 2010 Ontario will be a prominent leader of sport development in Canada providing the opportunity for all Ontarians to achieve a level of enjoyment and excellence consistent with their abilities and aspirations. All Ontarians will be able to benefit from having access to quality experiences and development in sport,

recreation and physical activities offered through a supportive and leading edge environment (Ontario, 2003, p. 2).

Indicative of its importance as an important policy decision affecting multiple levels of government, the Ontario Sport Action Plan (OSAP) adopted the same goals as the *Canadian Sport Policy*: enhanced participation, enhanced excellence, enhanced capacity and enhanced interaction. The committee identified that the OSAP needed to address the issues plaguing Ontario sport, namely improving community access to school sports facilities, improving capacity among local, regional and provincial sport and recreation groups and improving collaboration and partnerships within the sport sector (Ontario, 2003).

Under each goal of the OSAP are specific priorities and objectives. To enhance participation, the OSAP involves increasing sport participation in schools at all levels through consultation with the Ministry of Education to implement more sport programs and supportive sport environments. To increase participation, the OSAP indicates that enhanced development of participation in communities as a priority that can be achieved by increasing community access to schools, developing community sport councils and strategies.

The goal of excellence involves coordinating the OSAP with the F/P-T working group on excellence to ensure that there is coordination and consistency with provincial and national objectives for enhanced excellence. In addition, to develop the potential for athletic excellence at secondary and post-secondary institutions, the OSAP recommends that a funding formula be created with the Ministry of Education, the Ontario Colleges Athletic Association, Ontario University Athletics and the Ontario Federation of School Athletic Association.

To enhance the capacity of sport in Ontario, a priority of the OSAP is for Ontario to be recognized as an ideal location to host sport events in Canada. This can be achieved by

developing a sport event hosting strategy in cohesion with the federal sport event hosting strategy, developing public and private partnerships to increase investment in leading sport facilities capable of hosting national and international single and multi-sport events, and establish a sustainable infrastructure strategy to build new facilities and maintain existing ones.

Finally, the priorities for enhanced collaboration include increasing and improving government collaboration to improve the mechanisms for government collaboration in sport.

According to the OSAP:

All three levels of government provide direct support and assistance to the sport sector. These governments develop facilities and provide assistance to participants within the sector. The differing roles of the federal, provincial and local levels of government are maintained through regular interaction among officials at the provincial level. All three levels of government must work together to ensure that objectives, policies and messaging are consistent in all jurisdictions (Ontario, 2003).

It is also important to note that inter-ministerial communication is vital to enhancing interaction in sport, particularly when common policy and program issues in sport are addressed. The OSAP recommends that Ontario increase collaboration with municipal and federal programs, and establishing partnerships and coordination between government ministries especially between the Ministry of Tourism, Education, Health and Long-Term Care and other ministries with common interests in sport. Another priority for enhancing interaction involves increasing the strength of sector partnerships and linkages to create common purposes for national, provincial and municipal organizations especially between PSOs, MSOs, and NSOs.

Interestingly, the OSAP also recommended creating links with other provinces to examine their sport models and establish comparative studies and provincial baselines. As such, the government of Ontario consulted numerous provincial governments with

established track records in sport intervention. A policy analyst within the government of Ontario stated:

When we were developing our sport and physical activity strategy we looked to see what other provinces were doing in the field. We looked at British Columbia, because of the Olympics they have some interesting programs in place and we also went to the government of Québec and developed a partnership with them. They are the model in Canadian provincial sport. It was through consultation with the provincial sport ministry in Québec that we created our carding and funding model. There is this misconception out there that they don't want to share their strategies, but they were nothing but helpful with the Ontario sport and physical activity strategy (Interview, G).

In June 2005, the direction of sport was transferred from the Ministry of Tourism to the newly created Ministry of Health Promotion marking a systemic change in the governing coalition. According to a sport policy analyst in the government of Ontario:

This move was great for sport in Ontario. The new government really sees sport differently than the Harris government did. The focus of sport now is one of health promotion, about healthy living, it's not just a business anymore. I think that's reflected in the new sport and physical activity strategy. It's more in line with what other governments are doing provincially and also more in line with the *Canadian Sport Policy*. The creation of the Ministry of Health Promotion was the first step in the future for Ontario, a new perspective, a perspective that affects more Ontarians directly (Interview, G).

In July 2005, the government of Ontario released *Active2010 Ontario's Sport and Physical Activity Strategy* resulting from provincial sport consultations and the OSAP. The vision of *Active2010* is that "*Active2010* will result in a culture of physical activity and sport participation within the province that directly contributes to healthier Ontarians, stronger communities and reduced health care costs (Ontario, 2005, p. 7)" Specifically,

The sport component envisions that, by 2010, Ontario will be a prominent leader of sport development in Canada, providing the opportunity for all Ontarians to achieve a level of involvement consistent with their abilities and aspirations. All Ontarians will be able to benefit from having access to quality experiences offered through a supportive environment (Ontario, 2005, p. 8)

The specific objectives of *Active2010* are increasing the proportion of the Ontario population, enhancing sport development leading up to the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games and leveraging government resources through partnerships (Ontario, 2005, p. 9). The strategic approaches of *Active2010* are four pronged and involve the development of the sport sector through strengthening provincial and community delivery systems, removing barriers to sport participation, promoting the benefits of sport and initiating a multi-ministry approach to sport and sport development (Ontario, 2005).

Of particular interest to this thesis, the multi-ministry approach involves:

an Assistant Deputy Minister's Steering Committee [that] will co-ordinate government efforts to prevent duplication and maximize results. This multi-ministry approach will ensure that clear roles and responsibilities are defined within government, government leadership is focus towards the achievement of common goals and linking a fragmented sport and recreation sector and create the critical mass to promote population-wide behavioural changes (Ontario, 2005, p. 9).

Like the OSAP, *Active2010* is comprised of the four goals of the *Canadian Sport Policy*.

In enhancing excellence *Active 2010* hopes to support athlete development, fund high performance sport, support coaches, support secondary schools and post secondary institutions, and enhancing entry level participation to high performance competition. Building capacity involves strengthening Ontario's capacity to host international sport events, training competent and accountable sport leaders, and officials at the community level, providing a strong sport environment accessible to all Ontarians and creating a diverse resource base for sport funding. The goal of enhanced interaction for sport in Ontario involves government collaboration at all levels and ministries, creating sport sector partnerships, tracking emerging and existing trends locally, provincially and nationally and enhancing the promotion of the benefits of sport. Finally enhanced participation will involve

enhancing participation in school systems, and increasing community sport programs (Ontario, 2005).

Also in July 2005, the government of Ontario and the federal government entered into a bilateral agreement to increase sport participation, increasing the resources of the subsystem actors. The multi-year bilateral agreement involves a \$3 million commitment from both governments to target the enhanced participation goal of *Active2010* and the *Canadian Sport Policy*. The *Sport for More* program was created from this bilateral agreement. The *Sport for More* program

will support the overall goals of *Active2010* and the *Canadian Sport Policy*. Specifically, the *Sport for More* program will focus on initiatives that enhance sport participation in sport amongst underrepresented groups identified in *Active2010*. These include children and youth from low-income families and other underrepresented populations such as ethnic minorities, women, Aboriginal communities, the disabled and older adults (Ontario, 2005).

The *Sport for More* program involves funding PSO and MSO participation projects, Aboriginal sport initiatives, and *Active2010* sport initiatives (Ontario, 2005). Similarly, the Communities in Action Fund (CIAF) was created in conjunction with *Active2010* as an initiative to enhance sport participation by providing funding to community groups who wish to create innovative sport programs for their communities. To date 300 Ontario communities have received grants to initiate community sport programs totalling a \$5.8 million commitment from the government of Ontario (Watson, February 18, 2006). In March 2006, the Government of Ontario increased the funding for the CIAF by an extra \$5 million thereby increasing the fund's capacity to target underrepresented groups and minorities (Interview G).

According to the Minister of Health Promotion, Jim Watson, the *Active2010* sport and physical activity strategy represents "A holistic approach to health and wellness and a strong

collaborative approach between governments, ministries and organizations such as the Sport Alliance of Ontario (Watson, February 18, 2006).”

5.3.3 Case Study #2 Sport Policy and Multilevel Governance in Toronto

The following section will examine the relationships formed between the City of Toronto, the government of Ontario, the government of Canada and civil society.

5.3.3.1_Sport Policy and Multilevel Governance in Toronto 1990-2000

As Canada’s largest city, the city of Toronto faces many challenges in providing sport services to its citizens. It is surprising then that the city until 2005 did not embark on a municipal sport policy. The responsibility for sport in Toronto belongs to the City of Toronto’s Parks and Recreation department. A representative of Toronto Parks and Recreation indicates:

It really is surprising that we didn’t have a municipal sport policy. For such a large city with a strong history in sporting traditions, it is surprising. However, it is also for that reason that we didn’t have a policy. We were so fixated on being a global city, a world-class city, we focused our attention on the tourism aspect of sport; Meaning professional sport and international sport events, as can be seen with our two Olympic bids. Looking back, it was a real disservice (Interview, I).

Toronto does indeed have a strong tradition in sport and sport is an integral aspect of the city. Each year the city hosts sport events such as the Toronto Indy, is host to five professional sport teams (hockey, baseball, basketball, football and lacrosse) and is home to hundreds of sport facilities providing programs to thousands of citizens. However, despite numerous bids to attract world champion sports competitions to the city failed, namely the 1996 Toronto Olympic Bid. Toronto did host the World Basketball championships in 1997, but has failed to host many national and provincial championships because as a city, it lacked proper infrastructure, which is a testament to Toronto’s preoccupation of being a world-class city. Toronto simply does not have the infrastructure to host smaller scale sport

events (Interview, I). In 1998, the amalgamation of the City of Toronto paired with provincial downloading and cuts in spending created many problems for the Parks and Recreation department. The provincial government's new education funding formula for example left no room to permit inexpensive use of school space and equipment with the Toronto District School Board requesting \$10.6 million in fees for use of their facilities (Toronto, 2004).

An inventory of Toronto's sport facilities revealed that Toronto's sport and recreation facilities (including community centres, indoor and outdoor pools, arenas, fields, tennis courts, and sports pads) are worth over \$6 billion and contribute close to \$70 million to the Toronto Parks and Recreation departments revenue (30% of their total budget) (Toronto, 2004). However, the maintenance of these facilities is particularly troublesome for the city. The audit indicated that "[the] backlog to bring these facilities up to standard is \$201,193,295. We need to spend \$40 million a year for the next ten years just to catch up (Toronto, 2004).

In partial response to this deficit in infrastructure, the city of Toronto, in 1998 bid to host the 2008 Olympic Games. The Toronto Olympic Bid, financially supported by each level of government, namely \$1.5 billion to revitalize Toronto's waterfront and build sports facilities capable of hosting international events for many years to come (A Place for Meeting, October 25, 2000). The loss of the Olympic bid to Beijing however put a stop to the Olympic sport infrastructure projects and proved to be a significant external event that would affect Toronto's sport policy subsystem.

5.3.3.2 Current Trends in Sport Policy and Multilevel Governance in Toronto 2000-present

After Toronto's failed Olympic bid, bid organizers concluded that Toronto needed a collective voice for sport in the city, leading to the formation of the Toronto Sports Council in 2001. A representative of the Toronto Sports Council indicates:

After our bid failed we realized that the Toronto sport community was really fragmented. We really had no forum to express our concerns to the city. In the past it was more of an ad-hoc type of function. Clubs, organizations all went on their own to lobby their concerns. This really isn't the best way to get things done. Toronto would really have benefited from a united front, a collective voice (Interview, J).

In 2004, the Toronto Parks and Recreation department indicated that

Insufficient maintenance of old structures is only half the problem: we have not kept pace with the demand for new ones, either. Athletes range in their achievements from toddlers taking their first steps, to promising amateurs, to Olympians. Our common grounds should offer opportunities for everyone, no matter what their level of achievement. Parks and Recreation has played a large role in the playground-to-podium continuum of sport. In the past, we always managed to provide sport opportunities for everyone, no matter what their dream. But in the last few years, we've lost a lot of ground right across the whole spectrum of sport (Toronto, 2004).

Toronto Parks and Recreation recommended a Sport Strategy Framework be developed in partnership with the Toronto Sports Council to identify the critical role of sport in city building. The plan would set a foundation for working with other sport and recreation agencies to ensure that participants have maximum opportunities to learn, participate, train, compete at all stages of the playground-to-podium continuum (Toronto, 2004)

The department also recommended that standards be established for sport delivery permits, equipment and supplies, that a priority of be placed on sport field development and that the department should work with the Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation and Parc Downsview Park to ensure that recreation opportunities are included in the development of Toronto waterfront projects (Toronto, 2004).

In the spring of 2005, the Toronto Sports Council developed a *Sport Framework for the City of Toronto* using data collected through four methods: a sport community survey, stakeholder interviews, an inventory of sport and recreation facilities (including arenas, gymnasias, and fields), and a survey of community partnership funding models used in other communities surrounding Toronto (Toronto Sports Council, 2005). Through the sport infrastructure inventory, the Toronto Sports Council identified four major types of sport facilities: National, District, Regional, and Neighbourhood (See table 3). The inventory revealed a critical lack of District and Regional sport facilities in Toronto creating overcrowding at the neighbourhood level and creating barriers to sport development. The *Sport Framework* indicates that

Toronto has a severe lack of facilities like multi-pad arenas, multi-field facilities, college and university facilities and premier grade public facilities capable of hosting major competitive tournaments. District level facilities are the practice and training facilities for elite competitions and ranked athletes. The lack of these facilities in Toronto disrupts the sport development continuum and is a constraint on hosting elite events like the Commonwealth Games, the Olympics, and other amateur competitive tournaments (Toronto Sports Council, p. 7).

The report indicates an urgent need to improve the customer service system, namely the coordination between the city, school boards, colleges, universities and owners of private sport infrastructure to ensure that all facilities are used efficiently. (Toronto Sports Council, 2005). The *Sport Framework for Toronto* also revealed the need for funding innovations. The framework noted the need to improve the public sector's capacity to fund a sport infrastructure system and renewal projects using a self sustaining community based funding partnership with municipalities and the sport community pursuing a common goal, and establishing community development corporations to promote economic development and

Table 4: Spatial Hierarchy Report Card

Spatial Hierarchy		Primary Activity	Policy Impact	System Improvement	Grade
National	- Air Canada Centre - Ricoh, Rogers Centre - Rexall centre - National Trade Centre	Olympic/Elite/Amateur /Professional	Sport/Tourism Economic Development	Capital Funding	STRONG
District	- Multi-pad arenas and fields - colleges and university facilities - premier public facilities	Competitive/tournaments	Sport/Tourism Economic Development	Capital Funding	WEAK
Regional	- large fields and community centres - high school facilities	House league and fitness	Social inclusion/Public Health	Operating and Maintenance	WEAK
Neighbourhood	- schools - field houses - small community centres - local arenas	Play and Learn	Social inclusion/Public Health	Operating and Maintenance	STRONG

(Toronto Sports Council, 2005, p. 7)

citizen participation in strategic planning (Toronto, 2005).

In January 2006, the Toronto Sports Summit was hosted to develop a strategy for implementing the recommendations made by the *Sports Framework for Toronto*, bringing together actors throughout Toronto's sport subsystem. Toronto Mayor David Miller, speaking to the Sport Summit indicated:

The Toronto Sports Council was formed at the right time. Our many sports resources are no longer a strength. There is a strong need for partnerships to be formed. Facilities should be accessible to everybody. This is a facilities issue and it is a high priority for the city of Toronto. We need to look to the private sector, to all levels of government to help us with this issue. We will get the resources from Ottawa and Queens Park. We will develop a generation that will excel by implementing a good and fair sport plan. You have my political and personal support on this front (Miller, February 5, 2006).

The overwhelming trend in multilevel governance within the government of Ontario has been its inability to take initiative in sport and sport policy. This is evidenced by the lack of a provincial sport plan prior to 1996 where the province relied on the National Recreation Statement for guidance. While the federal government initiated several sport plans prior to 1996, the lack of leadership at the federal level seem to stagnate any progress within the

government of Ontario. Furthermore, the lack of leadership at the provincial level also seems to have prevented advocacy coalitions from developing prior to 1996 as well. Both Sport Ontario and the OSRC pointed the finger at the government of Ontario for the lack of stability, momentum and leadership to form successful and effective advocacy coalitions in the province.

Unlike the government of Québec, the government of Ontario did not engage in formal partnerships with sport groups, organizations and cities prior to the development of *Active2010*. The fact that the government of Ontario did not initiate formal consultations with the sport community until after the release of the *Canadian Sport Policy* indicates the reliance the province has on the federal government for leadership in sport. Running completely counter to the rhetoric surrounding Québec sport policy, the province of Ontario does not hold sport to be an entirely provincial jurisdiction, explaining (at least partially) Ontario's inability to create a sport policy without the leadership of the federal government.

Similarly, the City of Toronto has not benefited the same way as the City of Montréal in multilevel governance. Because of the inability of the province of Ontario to bring together cities and sport bodies such as community sport councils the city was not able to develop a unified voice to lobby the federal government for investment into sport infrastructure. However, the major problem with the city's inability to attract international sport events to the city was not a problem of a lack of cohesion on the part of sport groups and the government, but rather an inability to get around the cities "World Class" complex. Rather than attracting smaller events such as provincial or national championships, or single sport events to the city, instead the city of Toronto focused its attention on attraction world class sport events such as the Olympics and Commonwealth Games, thereby impeding the

development of sport infrastructure that is publicly funded. This has created an over-reliance on private enterprise to build sports facilities. Unlike the city of Montréal, the city of Toronto does not own most of the city's sports facilities, thereby limiting the availability of these facilities to promote broad based sport participation, or for that matter, amateur sport as a whole.

¹ Both the COC and AthletesCan are considered advocacy coalitions in this study because of their common belief systems, co-ordination and work among all levels of government and a variety of different individuals and groups. The COC, while responsible for Canada's involvement in the Olympic Games, also has a strong history of partnerships with the international Olympic community, national sport organizations and Canadian sport centres. The COC also works closely with Sport Canada and advocates for high performance sport policy (www.olympic.ca/aboutus/mission. Retrieved September 17, 2006). AthletesCan on the other hand is an organization representing all of Canada's national team athletes and is active in the Canadian sport community. The organization advocates on behalf of athletes to influence sport and policy within NSOs and each level of government (www.athletescan.com/about. Retrieved September 17, 2006).

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

The document analysis of sport policies and interviews from the governments of Canada, Québec, Montréal, Ontario and Toronto reveal two common themes - an emphasis on partnerships in public sport policy and the value of those partnerships under changing political priorities. Responding to the research questions, the content of the results showed that all levels of government indicated that interaction between private and public sectors were vital to the success of the Canadian sport system from the 1990s to the present. However, the credibility of partnerships with broad-based sport advocacy coalitions working at federal, provincial and municipal governments were heavily dependent on the political priorities of governing parties and were thus susceptible to periods of inactivity. The establishment of the *Canadian Sport Policy* however, did much to facilitate multilevel governance in both the structure it provided to the sport community and the leadership that emanated from this structure. It is argued here that it was a major policy decision influencing the sport subsystems of not only the government of Canada, but also the governments of Québec and Ontario, as well as the cities of Montréal and Toronto. The *Canadian Sport Policy* reshaped the constraints and resources of subsystem actors, and impacted other policy subsystems.

The policy analysis indicated that public-private partnerships were priorities at each level of government and figured notably in the content of sport policies along. However, in terms of action, interviews with policy analysts and advocacy coalitions indicated that the extent of those relationships varied according to political priorities. The governments of Canada and Ontario for instance did not actively engage in strong partnerships until the

formation of the *Canadian Sport Policy*. The results indicated that without a specific goal-oriented policy, sport fell along the wayside with few showing initiative in taking leadership in the policy domain. While the Dubin commission and *Sport: The Way Ahead* advocated for bilateral government agreements, and partnerships with civil organizations (e.g. sport clubs), the government of Canada did not actively seek those partnerships. The government of Ontario, lacking leadership from the federal government, did not even initiate a sport plan until 1996. The government of Québec on the other hand recognized the significance of sport from a very early stage and thus actively engaged in partnerships much earlier than the governments of Canada and Ontario and is reflected in Québec's current sport policies.

Partnerships, as indicated by Kooiman (1993), Hajer, and Wagenaar (2003) exist to mediate public policy between public and private entities to ensure accountability efficiency and effectiveness. As such, partnerships enable governments to not only deflect responsibilities outside the jurisdiction of government, but also increase the levels of accountability of the private sector. As a representative of the government of Québec indicated, partnerships with sport organizations like Sport-Québec increased the amount of capital in Québec's sport system, both human and financial.

The Ben Johnson doping scandal certainly brought the nature of partnerships in sport and issues surrounding the Canadian sport system to light at all levels of government. Whitson and Macintosh (1990) argue that "the focus on who did what and who knew what" (p. 136) deflected attention away from what went wrong in the Canadian sport system. While the veracity of this statement is not in question, the results of this thesis indicated that considerable debate arose from the results of the Dubin Inquiry into the Canadian sport system. While the authors may not have known the extent to which the Dubin Inquiry would

affect the nature of Canadian sport (seeing as though the book was released shortly after the publication of the Dubin report), the report did have significant implications on the Canadian sport system, and more central to this thesis, on multilevel governance and Canadian sport policy.

Sam (2005) indicates that task-forces and commissions of inquiry are indicative of a governing body's move towards a form of political governance. Indeed, the Minister's Task Force on Federal Sport Policy was just such an indication. Through consultation with various stakeholders in Canadian sport, both political and civil, at all levels of the political spectrum, the report advocated for a more inclusive sport system politically. The creation of the FPTSPSC did much to facilitate multilevel governance in this regard starting with their document *Foundation Themes*. The document outlined a collaborative framework for a Canadian sport plan involving accountability among partners in sport policy and establishing a policy network consisting of roundtables and regularly scheduled meetings between all levels of government and civil society.

Why then did the work initiated by the FPTSPSC, and the Canadian sport coalition fail when a new governing coalition reorganized the structure of government? The Sport Forum (1994) argued that this was a result of the separation on sport and active living with sport moving into the Department of Canadian Heritage and active living remaining in the Department of Health and Welfare. This however does not explain the failure of the FPTSPSC to facilitate the coordination of a Canadian sport plan between the two ministries. Several scholars (e.g. Abbott et. al, 2004; Bradford, 1999; Brooks, 1998; Cameron & Simeon, 2002) have investigated inter-ministerial relations and agreements involving the ministries of defence and justice, health and environment, environment and agriculture to

name just a few. The authors in each instance found that ministries do have the capacity to coordinate policies and communicate with each other.

This supports the claim made by Abbott et. al (2004), that public policies often only reflect public avowal of action whose intentions are not realized. The recommendations made by the Dubin report, *Sport: The Way Ahead* and the Mills report in increasing and formalizing relationships with government ministries, and stakeholders in the Canadian sport system were not realized prior to the introduction of the *Canadian Sport Policy*. It is for this reason that interviews with government officials and leaders in the Canadian sport system proved to be essential in compiling and analyzing the results of this thesis. While the document analysis reflected only a partial reality, interviews filled in the reasons behind why the recommendations made in government sport policy were not realized. Conversely, while the document analysis of sport policies in Canada and Ontario were partial reflections of their respective sport systems, the document analysis of Québec sport policy was a more accurate reflection. The government of Québec quickly took ownership of sport policy in the province. The recommendations made within their documents corresponded to the action the government took in implementing their policies. One of the reasons the sport community in Québec credits this action is the specificity of their sport policies and the responsibilities of partners in the shared provision of sport in Québec.

The question begs to be asked: why was there a difference in political initiative in sport policy between the governments of Canada, Ontario and Québec? As Green (2004) argues, the political priorities of the governing party determine the direction of public policy. The relative youth of both the FPTSPSC and the Canadian Sport Coalition in the early 1990s could not counter those priorities and were thus bound for failure. Similarly, because of their

close ties to the Government of Canada and their ties to the Minister's Task Force on Federal Sport Policy, the FPTSPSC and the Canadian Sport Coalition did not have the autonomy or the political independence to pursue their interests running contrary to those established by the governing party.

Unlike the government of Canada, the government of Québec did not undergo a similar restructuring of government. As indicated by several scholars (e.g. Harvey and Proulx, 1988 and Macintosh and Whitson, 1990) the government of Québec quickly realized the importance of sport as a priority for public policy. Houlihan (1991) argues that many governments use sport as a means to demonstrate cultural identity, or to promote political objectives. Québec is no exception in this regard. One of the ways that Québec took control of their own sport system was to actively seek and create partnerships with other governments, ministries and private organizations. In essence, the government of Québec created a foundation conducive to partnerships much earlier than the governments of Canada and Ontario did. It would be remiss not to indicate here the importance of cultural identity, citizenship and sport to the Parti Québécois in the mid 1990s leading to Québec's referendum on separation. Is it a coincidence that the Parti Québécois increased funding and created new policies for high performance sport ahead of the referendum? Despite the argument made by Québec's sport policy analyst, it is argued here and argued by several scholars (see Harvey, 1999 and Green & Houlihan, 2005) that sport was indeed used as a political tool to enhance Québec's national identity within the province, in Canada and on an international stage. Much like Pierre Trudeau used sport as a means to unite the country and dispel Québec nationalism in the 1960s, the Parti-Québécois used sport in Québec to unite the province under the umbrella of separation. By ensuring the Québec athletes featured

prominently on Canadian teams, and were successful on an international stage was a means to unite the province, boost national pride, and create momentum ahead of the referendum (Green & Houlihan, 2005).

Ontario on the other hand did not pursue sport as a means to increase citizenship and identity. Instead, during the leadership of the Harris government, sport became a priority only from the perspective of business and tourism. Professional sport, like the Mills Report, became its focus. Indeed, as argued by Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier (1994) and the ACF, many of the government's actions such as cost cutting measures in other departments affected the sport policy subsystem. As Cameron and Simeon (2002) indicate, the Harris government drastically cut spending to health care and education (by as much as 25%). These cuts included the elimination of many programs that affect the sport policy subsystem such as disease prevention programs (eg. obesity) and decreasing the amount of physical education taught in Ontario schools. Instead, money for sport was used to boost tourism to the province by encouraging corporations to build stadiums, and targeting professional sport as a means to attract tourists thereby neglecting mass sport and sport development as an issue in public policy. In essence, Québec used sport policy as a means to build a 'nation' whereas Ontario used sport policy as a means to promote sport.

The establishment of the provincial harmonization table in Québec was far ahead of anything the governments of Canada and Ontario were doing. Although the Canadian Sport Coalition recommended a similar table be created representing sport nationally, the reshuffling of government in 1993 prevented this from happening. While at the same time that the government of Canada was initiating task forces for sport policy, the government of Québec initiated mechanisms for partnerships at the onset of their political intervention in

sport. By engaging communities throughout the province, as well as the ministry of education and school boards, the province of Québec essentially put into action what the Canadian Sport Coalition could not.

As Hajer and Wagenaar (2003) indicate, a network society, like the harmonization table in Québec, congregate not only to break the autonomy of government authority, but also to congregate with common knowledge to move the policy system forward. This creates a policy system that is not only representative of everyone involved, but makes policy decisions more viable for governments and citizens to adopt. However, as Innes and Booher (2003) have indicated, barriers to collaborative policy making do exist, particularly when it is not readily accepted into government structures and encounters resistance as a result. The SFAF was an excellent example of the political failure of the FPTSPSC and other sport advocacy coalitions to overcome the political priorities of the federal government. Completely counter to the recommendations made by the Dubin report, the Minister's Task Force on Federal Sport Policy, and the consultations with the sport community, the SFAF increased the federal government's involvement in the day-to-day operations of sport organizations/federations. While the both the Dubin report and the Minister's task force warned against using medal counts as indicators of success or failure of the sport system, the SFAF essentially reinforced that very notion. By providing funding to those sports that succeeded in international competitions, the federal government not only increased their own direct involvement in the operation of sport in Canada, but as both Houlihan (1997) and Green and Houlihan (2005) argue, largely ignored broader social objectives in sport such as participation and development. While coalitions argued for the development of a seamless sport system facilitating the progression from development to elite sport participation, the

federal government pursued a sport system that focused on supporting success at the highest level of competition, thereby disrupting the development of a seamless sport system.

The effectiveness of NSOs to advocate for Canadian sport was in effect compromised because the implementation of the SFAF forced NSOs to compete against one another for federal funding instead of working cooperatively to increase federal spending for the sport system as a whole. Furthermore, the elimination of the NSRC disabled coordination mechanisms between sport organizations. As NSOs relocated their administrative offices, their respective administrations no longer had the ability to coordinate and communicate on a daily basis and instead had to lobby for their own interests as separate sport organizations. Therefore, contrary to the arguments posed by Green (2004) and Houlihan and Green (2005), Canadian NSOs cannot be considered advocacy coalitions for the Canadian sport system. The very nature of the definition of advocacy coalitions as posed by Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier (1988) indicates that not only must actors from a variety of governmental and non-governmental associations be present, advocacy coalitions must work together to promote a common goal. Therefore, since the introduction of the SFAF, NSOs, worked apart from each other to secure their own viability, and are therefore limited in their potential to further the cause of improving the Canadian sport system, and for this reason are not sport advocacy coalitions. On the other hand, prior to the publication of the Mills report, Québec's harmonization table, regional sport bodies, Sports-Québec and Sport Ontario were viable and legitimate sport advocacy coalitions because they represented groups of sport organizations and involved coordinated action between government representatives and civil organizations.

The Mills report and subsequent Manley proposals signified a turning point in the Canadian sport system, not because of its recommendations for amateur sport, but for the

overwhelming public opposition to funding professional sport at the expense of amateur sport. As Scherrer and Jackson (2004) argued, public discord over the Manley proposals resulted in the immediate reversal of initiatives to subsidize professional sport teams in Canada. It was under this backdrop that amateur sport gained public interest. Moreover, it motivated the sport community to act collectively and create a unified voice for amateur sport in Canada. After the rejection of the Manley proposals, few within the sport community took advantage of public support to increase funding for amateur sport. This was a direct result of the absence of a unified sport community working at the federal level. Similarly, mediocre results at the Olympics (1996-2000) created public outcry among athletes, coaches, media and the general population, however there was limited leadership to fix the problems plaguing the Canadian sport system.

Gertler and Wolfe (2004) indicate that often independent political structures take their own leadership over policy domains when governing structures are inefficient or ineffective. This was found both in advocacy coalitions working at the federal level and in the province of Ontario. The formation of the SMG marked the first time since the creation of the FPTSPSC and the Canadian sport coalition that an organization attempted to unify Canadian sport. The uniqueness of the SMG lies in the fact that it is not associated with the government of Canada, and thus is not under the dictate of government leaders and their priorities. Similar to the arguments posed by Banner (2002), community based quasi-political organizations, including advocacy coalitions, are successful in fulfilling their intended roles because they are not affiliated directly with government. While a good relationship with government is favourable, and partnerships essential to influencing policy, maintaining an arms length distance from the realm of government and the public sector

means that the coalition is not susceptible to government influence or changing priorities. The organization stands a better chance of survival independent of government as its structure for operation is not dependent on government action (Banner, 2002).

The SMG is also unique in its organization as an informal forum for the sport community. Rather than influencing sport policy directly as one group, it is able to mobilize other individuals and groups to lobby collectively for representation at all levels of government. The formation of the SMG confirms the position taken by Gertler and Wolfe (2004). The inability of the federal government to actively seek the partnerships it itself advocated for through the Dubin report and *Sport: The Way Ahead* fuelled the sport community to take leadership in federal sport policy.

Similarly in Ontario, the ineffectiveness of the provincial government to make sport an issue in public policy motivated both the OSRC and Sport Ontario to create a collective voice for sport. The merger of the two associations into the Sport Alliance of Ontario not only signified a break in their reliance on the government of Ontario (as the OSRC had direct ties to the government) but like the SMG, provided an independent forum for the sport community to put constant pressure on the province to uphold the goals set forth in the *Strategy for Amateur Sport in Ontario* (1996).

Unlike the advocacy coalitions found working to influence policy at the federal level and in the province of Ontario prior to the introduction of the *Canadian Sport Policy*, the advocacy coalitions in the province of Québec were visibly more advanced in organization and established in their partnerships with public and private institutions. The government of Québec as early as 1995 established partnerships with not only private institutions and organizations, but also between ministries. By forming partnerships with other ministries

such as education, municipalities, and health, the government of Québec established an environment that was politically cooperative rather than competitive. As indicated by Watts (2003, as cited in McIntosh, 2004) the success of public policy lies in the balance between not only intergovernmental structures, but *intra*-governmental structures both of which are vital to the success of public policy.

The success of the sport system in Québec is due in large part to the effectiveness of its partnerships with advocacy coalitions such as Sports-Québec and regional sport bodies such as the URLS, a system that is unique to the government of Québec. It is through these coalitions that the government is able to create links between the sport system and local governments and sport organizations. In addition, as both Gibbins (1991) and Banner (2002) indicate, associations unaffiliated with government are able to freely seek many other forms of partnership that are unavailable to governments (e.g. corporate partnerships) thus extending the pool of partners available to the sport system.

The success of partnerships in Québec's sport system is evident in its municipal sport structure. The city of Montréal, through consultative structures put in place by the Government of Québec such as the regional sport bodies and harmonization tables was actively involved in sport both at a local level and at the provincial level. As Mowbray (1993) indicates, local governments are not often consulted in the sport policy process and thus many sport policies are not successful because they do not fit into the municipal sport structures. While this was true of Ontario's sport system (and the Canadian sport system by association), the same cannot be said of the sport system in Québec. Regular consultation with cities and municipal sport bodies enabled the government to create policies that not only worked for the province as a whole, but one that also satisfied the needs of

communities. It is for this reason that the city of Montréal issued its own sport policy in 1993 (more than thirteen years before the city of Toronto). The leadership provided by the provincial government facilitated the creation of a municipal based policy that not only worked for the city of Montréal, but also coincided with the directives issued by the province, thus creating a sport system that is both functional and co-ordinated. Both of these characteristics were absent in both Canadian and Ontario sport policies and hindered their capabilities of creating a successful sport strategy.

The *Canadian Sport Policy* was a departure from previous sport action plans and task force reports in that it indicated exactly the roles and responsibilities of all levels of government and for the first time moved towards promoting uniformity in the Canadian and provincial sport systems.

For the government of Ontario, the *Canadian Sport Policy* was integral to the creation of Ontario's sport policy, *Active2010*. The creation of co-ordinated policies, as Cameron and Simeon (2002) indicate, is evidence of a form of co-operative federalism that challenges the traditional notions of federalism by creating agreements to satisfy both provincial and national objectives. The specificity of the *Canadian Sport Policy* in directing the actions of other governments and sport organizations is as Nagel (1990) argues indicative of a proactive policy design. Rather than indicating general strategies and tactics in addressing sport in Canada, a specialized policy design enables all governments and interest groups to focus their actions and activities towards a collective goal.

Indeed, in the province of Québec, this sentiment was echoed very early on in their policy process. Advocacy coalitions, local governments, and ministries all called for more specific policies that clearly indicated the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders.

Similarly, the province of Ontario welcomed the specificity of the *Canadian Sport Policy*, even though it meant more intrusion into their jurisdictions. As Nagel (1990) argues, policies that engage advocacy coalitions and governments alike are more likely to be adopted because of the motivation to achieve specific targets and intended results.

While the government of Québec did not take the same initiative as the government in Canada in using the *Canadian Sport Policy* as a template for their provincial sport policy, it is not indicative of Québec acting unilaterally or not being willing to cooperate with the federal policy. On the contrary, the province of Québec has signed bilateral agreements with the federal government and has worked cooperatively with other provincial governments, especially Ontario. Despite Québec signing bilateral agreements with the federal government, it is still resistant to let the federal government interfere in its jurisdiction. Unlike the rhetoric surrounding the jurisdiction of sport, with both the federal government and the government of Ontario as a shared jurisdiction, the government of Québec firmly contend that sport is a provincial jurisdiction. This guardianship of their jurisdiction explains why the province of Québec is resistant to harmonizing their sport policies with the *Canadian Sport Policy* as was found in Ontario's *Active2010*.

Another reason for the resistance of Québec to acknowledge the *Canadian Sport Policy* within their provincial sport policies rests in the youth of the federal policy. As Sabatier (1998) indicates, policies that are already established and successful will be resistant to change from outside the policy system. In this case, the *Canadian Sport Policy* lies outside of Québec's sport policy system primarily because prior to 2002, a policy for sport in Canada was non-existent. Furthermore, the mechanisms for partnerships and collaboration were already in place long before the F-P/T action plans were established.

The fact of the matter is that prior to the implementation of the *Canadian Sport Policy*, the government of Québec took leadership over sport in lieu of intervention from a federal government that showed high levels of indecisiveness and exhibited fluctuations in the prioritization of sport as a priority in public policy. However, it is also argued here that Québec took leadership over sport more aggressively than the governments of Canada and Ontario, because of an agenda to boost support for Québec nationalism ahead of its referendum in 1995.

The government of Ontario on the other hand took on a more passive approach to sport policy. Not until the federal government showed leadership in sport did the Government of Ontario follow suit.

Similarly, the evolution of partnerships between all levels of government and civil society indicate that the strongest partnerships exist when the government creates policy environments conducive to complimentary actions and stable mechanisms of interaction. Advocacy coalitions in Ontario for example, showed very low levels of success because there was no stable forum for interaction for the sport community. The success of Sports-Québec and much later, the SMG indicate that partnerships are encouraged most when there is a policy in place from which to draw support.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter summarizes the major findings and recommendations on maintaining or improving sport policy and multilevel governance in Canada based on results from a document analysis and semi-structured interviews with representatives from the governments of Canada, Ontario, Québec, Toronto and Montréal as well as the advocacy coalitions in operation within their policy domains. While this thesis largely came about through a larger study on multilevel governance in Canadian municipalities, this study was unique in that it examined the relationships that exist between governments and civil society within a tri-level focus. After undertaking an analysis of results it was evident that there was considerable variation in the formalization of governance patterns within the areas of study. Rather than explaining this phenomenon in isolation, it is imperative within the context of the research questions to situate the results within a tri-level framework.

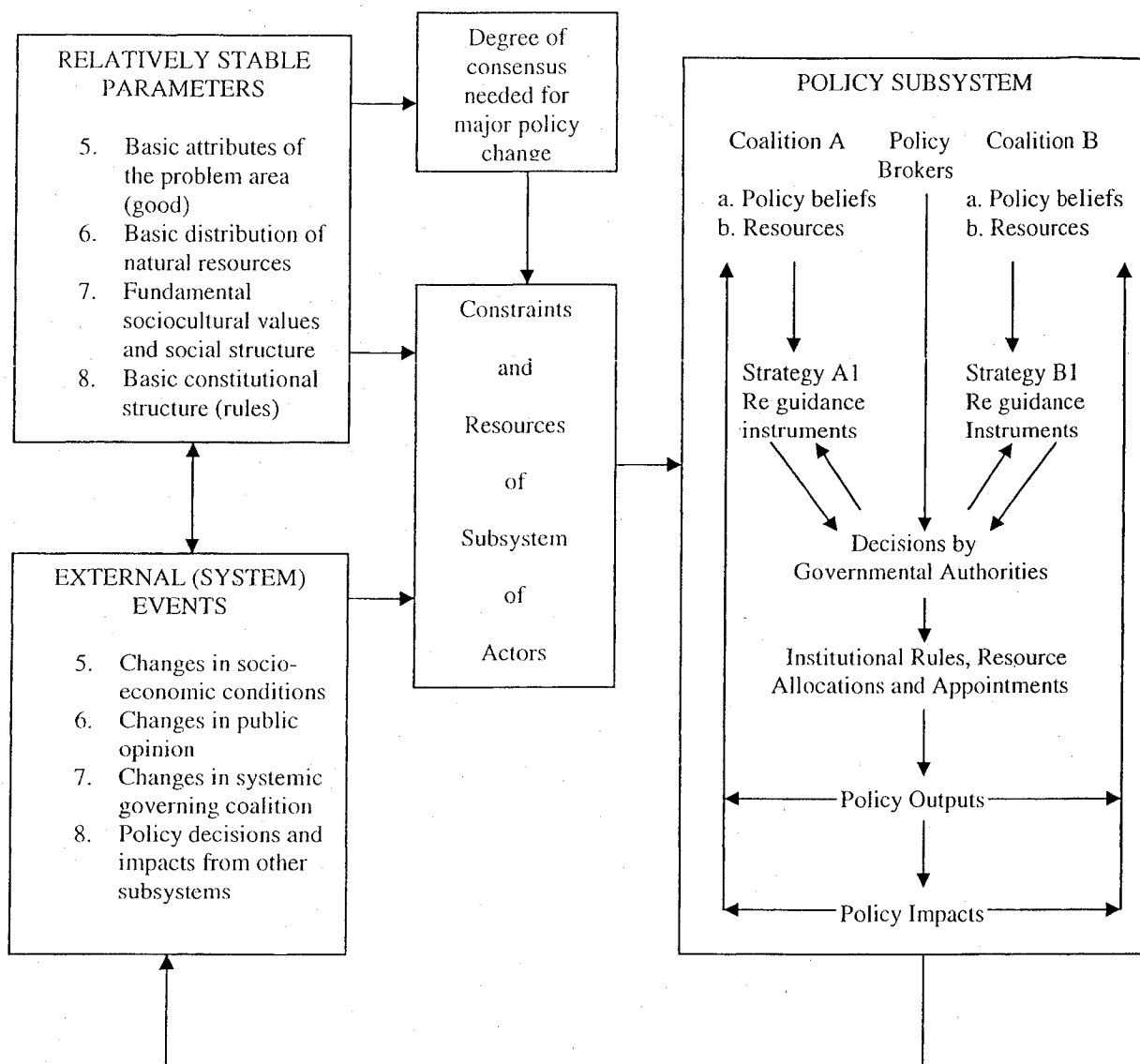
The first question of this thesis sought to examine patterns of interaction in sport policy and multilevel governance from the 1990 to 2002. The results indicate that this period of policy development was characterized by informal partnerships and leadership, lack of policy development and a large amount of disparity between the levels of government under examination. The government of Canada, while active in forming recommendations based on commissions of inquiry and task forces for the most part lacked leadership in the development of a national sport action plan. In the case of Ontario, this lack of leadership federally affected the ability of the province to develop its own sport policy or action plan. Until 1996, the government of Ontario relied on the national recreation statement for direction in the administration of sport. The province of Québec on the other hand actively

engaged in partnerships and agreements with a wide variety of stakeholders in the provincial sport system including education, municipalities and the private sector in providing sport programs and developing strategic sport policies. It is herein where the difference between the governments of Canada and Ontario lay. While there was a lack of leadership in Canada and Ontario, the province of Québec outlined specific strategies and goals for stakeholders in sport. It also established stable mechanisms for interaction between government ministries, schools and municipalities.

Similarly, advocacy coalitions within federal sport policy and Ontario sport policy lacked coordination and leadership. Without government leadership, the results indicated that advocacy coalitions could not develop the momentum nor the physical capabilities to advocate on behalf of sport. Thus, this scenario proves to be a weakness associated with the structure of the ACF. It did not occur during this period that an advocacy coalition worked to influence the sport policy subsystem. Rather, the advocacy coalitions were heavily dependent upon government action. The same is true in the government of Québec. As the government increased their presence in sport policy, it increased the level of partnership in the area, meaning that the relationship was more symbiotic than reliant. Thus it is recommended that the Policy Subsystem section of the ACF be reformulated to reflect this reality (see figure 2)

The second question of this thesis examined current trends in sport policy and multilevel government. The overwhelming trend during this period is the effectiveness of federal sport policy in forming partnerships with other governments and creating a unified sport system for provinces to follow. The National Summit on Sport, the annual

Figure 2 Adaptation of the Advocacy Coalition Framework



(Adapted from Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1998)

federal-provincial/territorial ministers meetings all influenced the formation of the goals of the *Canadian Sport Policy* and its representation for all Canadian provinces to follow the policy. The results of this thesis indicate that the specificity of the federal policy enabled the government of Ontario to initiate for the first time, their own sport policy that is shadowed directly by the goals established by the *Canadian Sport Policy*.

government of Ontario to initiate for the first time, their own sport policy that is shadowed directly by the goals established by the *Canadian Sport Policy*.

Although the government of Québec does not use the *Canadian Sport Policy* to direct its own provincial sport policy, it has increased its levels of interaction and partnership with the federal government, despite sport being a provincial jurisdiction. The bilateral agreement signed by both the government of Québec and the government of Canada is indicative of this pattern.

Furthermore, advocacy coalitions working on behalf of all levels of government policy have benefited by the increased specificity of the *Canadian Sport Policy*. Advocacy coalitions working within the federal government and the province of Ontario have shown increased coordination and leadership because they can direct their attention to the implementation of the four goals of the policy. Similarly, advocacy coalitions working within the government of Québec have used the bilateral agreements signed by both governments to monitor the progress of the agreements (e.g. sport participation funding).

Under this scenario, the ACF proves to be more accurate. Due to the introduction of the goal-based sport policies, advocacy coalitions are able to exert more pressure on governments to live up to their commitments despite fluctuations in government priorities and changes in government. Whereas the patterns of interaction present in the 1990s could not have held up to changes in political priorities, mechanisms for current interaction can withstand these changes.

Future study into sport policy and multilevel governance need to focus more on community based sport policy and work from a bottom-up approach as no studies to date have examined sport policy from the point of view of community directed governance. Also

a study emphasizing the impact of community governance on higher levels of government would yield information on the effects of the *Canadian Sport Policy* on a micro level. While this thesis did examine the cities of Montréal and Toronto and their patterns of interaction in multilevel governance, this study focused on multilevel governance from the perspective of the federal government and the provinces rather than from the perspective of the governance of cities. It was important to first establish a framework for multilevel governance from a national and provincial perspective to lay the groundwork for future study to examine the effects of the *Canadian Sport Policy* at a local level.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF PUBLIC SPORT POLICY DOCUMENTS

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Government of Québec

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Government of Montréal

(1993). *Politique de soutien à l'élite sportive Montréalaise*. Montréal : City of Montréal.

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Government of Ontario

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Government of Toronto

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APPENDIX B INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Guide for Federal Officials in Sport Policy

Relatively Stable Parameters

- How does Canada's constitutional structure affect sport policy?
- Does the Canadian sport policy reflect citizens' sociocultural values and social structure
- How do you determine what these values are?
- Does the distribution of natural resources affect sport policy in Canada?

External (System) Events

- Do differences in ideology or partisan affiliation play much of a role in shaping policy (or in delaying agreements about policy ?
- Do decisions from other ministries and departments affect sport policy?

Constraints and Resources of Subsystem Actors

- What are the challenges that you face in achieving the goals of the Canadian sport policy?
- Have these challenges changed within the last ten years, or since the last Canadian sport policy?
- Today, what resources (ie monetary, structural, bureaucratic) do you use to achieve the goals of the policy?
- Have these resources remained stable?
- Have these resources changed within the last ten years or since the last Canadian sport policy?

Policy Subsystem

- What are the beliefs you hold about sport policy? What do you believe sport policy should reflect in Canada?
- In your work in sport policy do you have much contact with federal politicians?
- who?
- how much?
- Do you have much contact with provincial government officials and politicians?
- Are some policies and programs formed by representatives of all three levels of government working together?
- - Do politicians - municipal, provincial and federal - play much of a role in shaping policy in this field?
- is their influence generally constructive?
- Do public administrators – municipal, provincial and federal – play much of a role in shaping policy in this field?

- Which level of government brings the most resources (people, expertise, money) to policy-making in this area?
- does this allow them to dominate the policy process?
- What were the effects of the Federal-Provincial/Territorial Committee for collaborative action? Did you achieve the goals expressed in your action plans?
- What are the next steps for 2005-2008?
- What do you hope to achieve?
- What were the shortcomings of this committee and their action plans?
- Was this committee able to bring together all levels of government in the sport policy making process and implementation?
- Has the federal government been able to communicate with municipal governments through this committee?
- What have been the challenges?
- Have you had response from municipalities? Encouraged to intervene?
- Is there an urban bias in policy? Who does it favour?
- Do bureaucrats have discretion in sport policy? Has it been tightened up or loosened recently? If there have been changes have they affected policy-making
- What are the important social forces and/or agencies involved in sport policy? Which groups are routinely consulted? Are any groups routinely ignored – if so, why?
- Who are the major stakeholders? How do they represent themselves to the politicians?
- Whose co-operation is essential to making policy?
- How realistic are these groups expectations of policy influence?

Policy Outputs/Effects

- Was the policy formulated in a timely fashion or were there delays?
- Was the policy delivered at an appropriate level to address the issues it aimed to solve?
- Were the policy goals achievable and pragmatic?
- Did it fit well with other related policies and programs?
- Did the policy represent a change in existing practices or is it a continuation of what existed before?
- Was the policy implemented quickly and smoothly or where there problems in delivering it
- Did the provinces accept the new policy or resist it
- Is the policy efficient; are results obtained at a reasonable cost?
- Is the policy equitable? Were all groups treated fairly? Did it help those that are well off or the disadvantaged? How?
- Is the policy optimal? How could it be made better? What are your obstacles
- Has anyone ever asked you what you thought of this policy once it was put in place?

Interviews with Provincial officials in Sport Policy

Relatively Stable Parameters

- How does Canada's constitutional structure affect sport policy in your province?
- Does the Canadian sport policy and your provincial policy reflect citizens' sociocultural values and social structure
- How do you determine what these values are?
- Does the distribution of natural resources affect sport policy in your province?

External (System) Events

- How do changes in political leadership affect sport policy?
- Do decisions from other ministries and departments affect sport policy?

Constraints and Resources of Subsystem Actors

- What are the challenges that you face in achieving the goals of the Canadian sport policy?
- Have these challenges changed within the last ten years, or since the last Canadian sport policy?
- Today, what resources (ie monetary, structural, bureaucratic) do you use to achieve the goals of your provincial sport policies?
- Have these resources remained stable?
- Have these resources changed within the last ten years or since the last provincial sport policy?

Policy Subsystem - Ontario

- What are the beliefs you hold about sport policy? What do you believe sport policy should reflect in Canada?
- In your work in sport policy do you have much contact with federal politicians?
 - who?
 - how much?
- Are some policies and programs formed by representatives of all three levels of government working together
- To what extent are the aims and objectives of the municipality addressed in your ministry?
- Is there a mechanism for eliciting input and co-ordinating policy and program objectives? What is it, or what are these mechanisms
- Do provincial representatives take the initiative in promoting policy development in matters pertaining to intergovernmental co-operation? If yes, how?
- Do politicians from the different levels of government play a role in shaping your policy?
- Is their influence constructive?
- Do public administrators from all levels play a role in shaping your policies?

- Why was Active 2010 created? Was there consultations with federal and municipal governments?
- Where does the funding from this program come from?
- You have decided to bring together the goals of the Canadian sport policy and the healthy living strategy – Why? Purpose? Initiative?
- Is there an urban bias in policy? Who does it favour?
- What is the nature of your Communities in Action Fund? Who does it target? What is the criterion for funding? Where does your funding for this program come from?
- Which level of government brings the most resources (people, expertise, money) to making sport policy?
- Does this allow them to dominate the policy process?
- Do bureaucrats have discretion in this policy area? Has it been tightened or loosened recently?
- In sport policy is there much co-ordination with other local authorities?
- Does this help in relation with the federal and provincial governments?
- Does it improve public policy in sport?
- Does it slow down policy making and implementation?
- What are the important social forces and/or agencies involved in this policy area? Which groups are consulted/ignored – Why?
- Who are the major stakeholders? How do they represent themselves to politicians?
- Whose co-operation is essential to making policy?
- How realistic are these group's expectations of policy influence?

Policy Outputs/Effects

- Was the policy formulated in a timely fashion or were there delays?
- Was the policy delivered at an appropriate level to address the issue it aimed to solve?
- Were the policy goals achievable and pragmatic?
- Did it fit well with other related policies and programs?
- Did the policy represent a sharp change in existing practices or was it a continuation of what existed before?
- Was the policy implemented quickly and smoothly or were there problems in delivering it?
- Did the sport community accept the new policy or resist it?
- Is the policy effective in addressing the problems it set out to address?
- Is the policy efficient; are results obtained at a reasonable cost?
- Is the policy equitable? Were all groups treated fairly? Did it help the well off or the disadvantaged?
- Is the policy optimal? How could it be made better
- Has anyone ever asked you what you thought of this policy once it was put in place?

Policy Subsystem - Québec

- What are the beliefs you hold about sport policy? What do you believe sport policy should reflect in Canada?
- In your work in sport policy do you have much contact with federal politicians?
 - who?

- how much?
- Are some policies and programs formed by representatives of all three levels of government working together
- To what extent are the aims and objectives of the municipality addressed in your ministry?
- Is there a mechanism for eliciting input and co-ordinating policy and program objectives? What is it, or what are these mechanisms
- Do provincial representatives take the initiative in promoting policy development in matters pertaining to intergovernmental co-operation? If yes, how?
- Do politicians from the different levels of government play a role in shaping your policy?
- Is their influence constructive?
- Do public administrators from all levels play a role in shaping your policies?
- Why was your sport policy created? Was there consultations with federal and municipal governments?
- Where does the funding from this program come from?
- Is there an urban bias in policy? Who does it favour?
- Does your policy have any programs that target municipalities?
- Which level of government brings the most resources (people, expertise, money) to making sport policy?
- Does this allow them to dominate the policy process?
- Do bureaucrats have discretion in this policy area? Has it been tightened or loosened recently?
- In sport policy is there much co-ordination with other local authorities?
- Does this help in relation with the federal and provincial governments?
- Does it improve public policy in sport?
- Does it slow down policy making and implementation?
- What are the important social forces and/or agencies involved in this policy area? Which groups are consulted/ignored – Why?
- Who are the major stakeholders? How do they represent themselves to politicians?
- Whose co-operation is essential to making policy?
- How realistic are these group's expectations of policy influence?

Policy Outputs/Effects

- Was the policy formulated in a timely fashion or were there delays?
- Was the policy delivered at an appropriate level to address the issue it aimed to solve?
- Were the policy goals achievable and pragmatic?
- Did it fit well with other related policies and programs?
- Did the policy represent a sharp change in existing practices or was it a continuation of what existed before?
- Was the policy implemented quickly and smoothly or were there problems in delivering it?
- Did the sport community accept the new policy or resist it?
- Is the policy effective in addressing the problems it set out to address?
- Is the policy efficient; are results obtained at a reasonable cost?

- Is the policy equitable? Were all groups treated fairly? Did it help the well off or the disadvantaged?
- Is the policy optimal? How could it be made better
- Has anyone ever asked you what you thought of this policy once it was put in place?

Interviews from Officials Representing Civil Society

Relatively Stable Parameters

- How does Canada's constitutional structure affect sport policy in municipalities in your province?
- Do the Canadian sport policy and your province's sport policies reflect citizens' sociocultural values and social structure
- How do you determine what these values are?
- Does the distribution of natural resources affect sport policy in your cities?

External (System) Events

- Do differences in ideology or partisan affiliation play much of a role in shaping policy (or in delaying agreement about policy)?
- Do decisions from other ministries and departments affect sport policy?

Constraints and Resources of Subsystem Actors

- What are the challenges that you face in achieving the goals of the Canadian and provincial sport policy?
- Have these challenges changed within the last ten years, or since the last Canadian sport policy?
- Today, what resources (ie monetary, structural, bureaucratic) do you use to achieve the goals of the policy?
- Have these resources remained stable?
- Have these resources changed within the last ten years or since the last Canadian sport policy?

Policy Subsystem

- What are the beliefs you hold about sport policy? What do you believe sport policy should reflect in Canada and?
- In your work in sport policy do you have much contact with federal politicians?
- who?
- how much?
- Do you have much contact with provincial government officials and politicians?
- Are some policies and programs formed by representatives of all three levels of government working together?
- Do politicians - municipal, provincial and federal - play much of a role in shaping policy in this field?

- is their influence generally constructive?
- Do public administrators – municipal, provincial and federal – play much of a role in shaping policy in this field?
- Which level of government brings the most resources (people, expertise, money) to policy-making in municipalities?
- does this allow them to dominate the policy process?
- Is there an urban bias in policy? Who does it favour?
- What are the important social forces and/or agencies involved in sport policy? Which groups are routinely consulted? Are any groups routinely ignored – if so, why?
- Who are the major stakeholders? How do they represent themselves to the politicians?
- Whose co-operation is essential to making policy?
- How realistic are these groups expectations of policy influence?
- Are you and your organization involved in the policy making process in sport?
- Do you play a significant role in making policy?
- Do you deal mostly with the municipal, provincial or federal level of government?
- Do you interact with representatives of all these governments at one time, in joint meetings?
- Do you deal with officials, politicians or both?
- Are you involved in any way at the federal or provincial policy design stage or when the policy is implemented?
- Which interest groups would like to influence sport policy? Which groups are most influential?
- When interest groups collide, is there a bias in conflict resolution?
- Does the federal and provincial sport policy represent your needs and represent communities? If not, in which areas are there shortcomings? Resources? Personnel?
- Do you believe that the policy-making process produces legitimate results for communities?
- Is there competition to influence the policymaking process? If so, how intense is it?
- Were the policies (federal/provincial) formulated in a timely fashion or were there delays in communities seeing results?

Policy Outputs/Effects

- Did the policies address the issues facing communities in sport delivery?
- Did the policies fit well with your existing programs or were you able to launch new programs?
- Did the policies change governance practices or did it continue the practices already established?
- Did communities accept the new policies or resist it
- Did the policies address problems of sport delivery in communities?
- Are the policies equitable? Are all groups treated fairly? Did it help the well off or the disadvantaged?

Interviews from Officials in Municipal Government

Relatively Stable Parameters

- How does Canada's constitutional structure affect sport policy in your city?
- Do the Canadian sport policy and your province's sport policies reflect citizens' values?
- How do you determine what these values are?
- Does the distribution of natural resources affect sport policy in your cities?

External (System) Events

- Do differences in ideology or partisan affiliation play much of a role in shaping policy (or in delaying agreement about policy)?
- Do decisions from other ministries and departments affect sport policy?

Constraints and Resources of Subsystem Actors

- What are the challenges that you face in achieving the goals of the Canadian and provincial sport policy?
- Have these challenges changed within the last ten years, or since the last Canadian sport policy?
- Today, what resources (ie monetary, structural, bureaucratic) do you use to achieve the goals of the policy?
- Have these resources remained stable?
- Have these resources changed within the last ten years or since the last Canadian sport policy?

Policy Subsystem

- What are the beliefs you hold about sport policy? What do you believe sport policy should reflect in Canada and?
- In your work in sport policy do you have much contact with federal politicians?
- who?
- how much?
- Do you have much contact with provincial government officials and politicians?
- Are some policies and programs formed by representatives of all three levels of government working together?
- - Do politicians - municipal, provincial and federal - play much of a role in shaping policy in this field?
- is their influence generally constructive?
- Do public administrators – municipal, provincial and federal – play much of a role in shaping policy in this field?
- Which level of government brings the most resources (people, expertise, money) to policy-making in municipalities?
- does this allow them to dominate the policy process?
- Is there an urban bias in policy? Who does it favour?

- What are the important social forces and/or agencies involved in sport policy? Which groups are routinely consulted? Are any groups routinely ignored – if so, why?
- Who are the major stakeholders? How do they represent themselves to the politicians?
- Whose co-operation is essential to making policy?
- How realistic are these groups expectations of policy influence?
- Are you and your organization involved in the policy making process in sport?
- Do you play a significant role in making policy?
- Do you deal mostly with the provincial or federal level of government?
- Do you interact with representatives of all these governments at one time, in joint meetings?
- Do you deal with officials, politicians or both?
- Are you involved in any way at the federal or provincial policy design stage or when the policy is implemented?
- Which interest groups would like to influence sport policy? Which groups are most influential?
- When interest groups collide, is there a bias in conflict resolution?
- Does the federal and provincial sport policy represent your needs and represent communities? If not, in which areas are there shortcomings? Resources? Personnel?
- Do you believe that the policy-making process produces legitimate results for communities?
- Is there competition to influence the policymaking process? If so, how intense is it?
- Were the policies (federal/provincial) formulated in a timely fashion or were there delays in communities seeing results?

Policy Outputs/Effects

- Did the policies address the issues facing communities in sport delivery?
- Did the policies fit well with your existing programs or were you able to launch new programs?
- Did the policies change governance practices or did it continue the practices already established?
- Did your city accept the new policies or resist it
- Did the policies address problems of sport delivery in communities?
- Are the policies equitable? Are all groups treated fairly? Did it help the well off or the disadvantaged?

APPENDIX C
CONSENT FORM



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Consent form

Title of Study: Sport Policy and Multilevel Governance. A Case Study of Toronto and Montreal

Funding Agency: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council

Principal Investigator: Jean Harvey, Director, Research Centre for Sport in Canadian Society, School of Human Kinetics, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5
Tel. (613) 562-5800 ext. 4277 E-mail: jharvey@uottawa.ca

Student investigator: Michelle Rose, MA Candidate, Research Centre for Sport in Canadian Society, School of Human Kinetics, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5
Tel: (613) 562-5800 ext. 2633 E-mail: mrose078@uottawa.ca

I, _____, agree to participate in the research conducted by Jean Harvey, principal investigator, Director of the Research Centre for Sport in Canadian Society, and Michelle Rose, student investigator, Masters candidate of the Department of Human Kinetics at the University of Ottawa. The purpose of the research is to examine the multilevel governance of Canadian sport policy and the changing nature of civil and intergovernmental relationships in this domain. The aim of this project is to examine trends in multilevel governance in sport and determine successful patterns of co-operation for optimal policy outputs.

My participation will consist essentially of attending a maximum of two interview sessions of one hour to an hour and a half in length during which I will be asked to comment on public information regarding sport policy and multilevel governance. I will also be asked to comment on my involvement in the sport policy process and the involvement of my ministry/organization with other levels of government. I understand that the contents will be used only for masters thesis and journal publications, and that my anonymity will be respected but cannot be guaranteed. I understand that I am commenting on public information and the contents of this interview will be used in these publications. I understand that my name will remain anonymous however, the identity of my ministry/organization cannot.

I understand that since this interview involves discussing public information, it will not cause me any personal, emotional or physical risk. I will not be asked to divulge any information that is not available to the public and is otherwise confidential.



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Please choose one of the following options:

I agree to be quoted and to be identified by name in reports and publications. _____

I agree to be quoted but all personally identifying information shall be removed or altered and contents of the quote shall not be revelatory of my identity. _____

I do not wish to be quoted at all. _____

I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, before or during an interview, refuse to participate and refuse to answer questions.

Please choose one of the following options:

If I choose to withdraw, I want that all data gathered from me until the time of withdrawal be destroyed. _____

Even if I withdraw from the study, I accept that the data gathered from me be used for this study. _____

Tape recordings of interviews and other data collected will be kept in a secure manner. Only the principal investigator and the student investigator will have access to the interview transcript. All interview audio recordings transcripts will be kept in a locked cabinet in the Research Center for Sport in Canadian Society offices and thus, these documents can only be accessed by the investigators. All computerized files including transcribed interviews will be kept in files accessed only by a code, of which only the investigators will have knowledge of. The transcription of the interview will be done at a location where privacy will be ensured, meaning, nobody except the investigators will be present during the transcription of these interviews. Data for this project will be conserved for a maximum of ten years. Once the maximum period has elapsed all written documents including transcribed interviews will be shredded by the investigators. All electronic data will be deleted from the hard drives of the investigators' computers.

If I have any questions with regards to the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 159, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5, tel.: (613) 562-5841 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

If I have any questions about the conduct of the research project, I may contact the principal investigator, Jean Harvey at (613) 562-5800 ext. 4277 or the student investigator, Michelle Rose, at (613) 818-1805.

Researcher's signature: _____ Date: _____

Research Subject's signature: _____ Date: _____



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Formulaire de consentement

Titre du projet: La politique sportive et la gouvernance multi-niveaux : Les cas de Toronto et de Montréal

Organisme subventionnaire : Conseil de recherche en sciences humaines du Canada

Chercheur principal: Jean Harvey, Directeur, Centre de recherche sur le sport dans la société canadienne, École des sciences de l'activité physique, Université d'Ottawa, Ottawa, ON, K1N 6N5

Tél : (613) 562-5800 ext. 4277 courriel : jharvey@uottawa.ca

Étudiante chercheuse: Michelle Rose, candidate à la maîtrise, Centre de recherche sur le sport dans la société canadienne, École des sciences de l'activité physique, Université d'Ottawa, Ottawa, ON, K1N 6N5

Tél : (613) 562-5800 ext. 2633 courriel : mrose078@uottawa.ca

Je, _____, accepte de participer à cette recherche menée par Jean Harvey, chercheur principal, Directeur Centre de recherche sur le sport dans la société Canadienne, et Michelle Rose, étudiante chercheuse, candidate à la maîtrise de l'École des sciences de l'activité physique de l'Université d'Ottawa. L'objectif de cette recherche est d'examiner la gouvernance multi-niveaux en ce qui a trait à la politique du sport canadienne et d'examiner les changements dans les rapports entre la société civile et les différents niveaux de gouvernement dans ce domaine. Le but de ce projet est d'examiner quelles sont les tendances dans la gouvernance multi-niveaux dans le sport et de d'identifier les pratiques qui ont de succès et des effets optimaux en ce qui a trait à la politique du sport.

Ma participation consistera essentiellement à participer à un maximum de deux sessions d'entrevue d'une heure à une heure et demi, pendant lesquelles je serai invité à commenter de l'information publique concernant la politique du sport et la gouvernance multi-niveaux. Je serai également invité à commenter sur ma participation dans le processus politique et sur la participation de mon ministère/organisation avec d'autres niveaux de gouvernement. Je m'attends à ce que le contenu ne soit utilisé que pour les fins de rédaction d'une thèse de maîtrise et la publication de textes scientifiques et que mon anonymat sera respecté(e), mais ne peut pas être garanti. Je comprends que je commente de l'information publique et que le contenu de cette entrevue sera employé

dans ces documents scientifiques. Je comprends aussi que mon nom demeurera anonyme. Cependant, l'identité de mon ministère/organisation ne le sera pas.



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Je comprends que cette entrevue est une discussion portant sur de l'information publique. Celle-ci n'engendrera pas de risque personnel, émotif ou physique. On ne demandera pas de divulguer de l'information qui n'est pas publique ou qui est confidentielle.

Veillez choisir une des options suivantes :

Vous pouvez me citer et m'identifier dans des rapports et publications. _____

Vous pouvez me citer mais toute information pouvant m'identifier doit être enlevée ou altérée afin que la citation ne dévoile pas mon identité. _____

Je ne veux pas être cité. _____

Je suis libre de me retirer de la recherche en tout temps, avant ou pendant une entrevue, de refuser d'y participer ou de refuser de répondre à certaines questions.

Veillez choisir une des options suivantes:

Si je me retire de l'étude, je veux que mes données soient détruites et ne soient pas utilisées. _____

Même en cas de retrait de ma part, j'accepte que mes données recueillies soient utilisées. _____

Les bandes magnétiques des entrevues et les autres données recueillies seront conservées de façon sécuritaire. Seulement le chercheur principal et l'étudiante chercheuse auront accès à la transcription des entrevues. Toutes les bandes magnétiques des entrevues seront maintenues dans un classeur sous clé dans les bureaux du Centre de recherche sur le sport dans la société canadienne et ainsi, ces documents ne peuvent être consultés que par les investigateurs. Tous les fichiers comprenant les entrevues transcrites seront conservés dans des dossiers qui pourront être consultés seulement par le biais d'un code d'accès, connu seulement par les chercheurs. La transcription de l'entrevue sera réalisée dans un endroit privé; ce qui implique que seulement les investigateurs seront présents pendant la transcription des entrevues. Quand la période de conservation des données sera venue à échéance, c'est-à-dire dix ans, tous les documents incluant les retranscriptions d'entrevues seront déchiquetés par les chercheurs. Tous les fichiers électroniques seront également effacés des ordinateurs des chercheurs.

Si j'ai des questions se rapportant à la conduite déontologique de cette recherche, je peux m'adresser au Responsable de la déontologie en recherche, Université d'Ottawa, Pavillon Tabaret, 550 rue Cumberland, pièce 159, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5, tél.: (613) 562-5841 ou ethics@uottawa.ca

J'ai reçu une copie de ce formulaire.

Pour renseignement additionnel, je peux communiquer avec Jean Harvey, chercheur principal à (613) 562-5800 ext. 4277 ou Michelle Rose, étudiante chercheuse à (613) 818-1805.



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Signature du chercheur: _____ Date: _____

Signature du participant: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX D
ETHICS APPROVAL