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The Role of the Canada Games in Canadian Sport: Canadian Celebration and Political Tool

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Abstract

This study investigates the Canada Games and their role in the Canadian sport landscape. More broadly, this project aims to uncover the role of sport events as institutions within the field. I used an exploratory case study methodology of the Canada Games to achieve this purpose. I collected documents (i.e. policies, archival documents, reports) and completed nine semi-structured interviews with sport administrators to use as data for this research. I used neo-institutionalism and practice theory as bases for interpretation. The results from my research indicate that there are challenges in achieving the strategic objectives of the Canada Games within the current Canadian sport system. Issues of power, resource allocation, and equity in how the Canada Games operate within the organisational field became evident throughout data analysis. The data I interpreted demonstrates critical concerns in the politicization of amateur sport and highlights how sport continues to be an exclusive, power-mediated space.

Keywords: Canada Games, Neo-Institutionalism, High-Performance Sport, Sport Development, Sport Events

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List of Abbreviations

AAUC…………………………………………………Amateur Athletic Union of Canada

CASF……………………………………………….Canadian Association of Sport Federations

CGC………………………………………………………..Canada Games Council

LTAD……………………………………..…..Long-Term Athlete Development (model)

MSO…………..………………………..…………………..Multisport Service Organisation

NACFAS………………………National Advisory Council on Fitness and Amateur Sport

NCCP……………………………………………………National Coach Certification Program

NSO…………………………………..……...………...……. National Sport Organisation

OTP……………………………….……………………………Own the Podium

PTSO…………………………………..……..Provincial/Territorial Sport Organisation

QPP…………………………….…………….Quadrennial Planning Process

SFAF…………………………………….…..Sport Funding Accountability Framework

SSP…………………………………………………………Sport Support Program

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Sporting events have long been a fixture in the Canadian sport landscape as a tool to achieve economic, social, and sport development outcomes (Black, 2008). Sport events have appeared in various government policies and political agendas since the Canadian government first became involved in the sport system in the early 1960s. Government support of sporting events has been demonstrated in particular by the federal policy on hosting international sport events. Given the way sporting events are revered, scholars have been increasingly interested in how they are used to achieve broader development goals (Pringle, 2001; Taks, Green, Misener, & Chalip, 2014). The Canada Games are no different, attempting to develop Canadian sport, communities, and athletes, ultimately strengthening the sport system more broadly. Given their historical significance and government support, the Canada Games offer a unique opportunity to investigate both an institutionalized sport event, and the role of that event within the broader sport system.

The impetus of this study was the lack of literature regarding the Canada Games' role in Canadian sport, as well as the gap in research regarding sporting events as institutions more broadly. The Canada Games are considered to be a large nationwide multi-sport event for Canada's talented young athletes. The Games are prominent in the Canadian sport landscape, as demonstrated by their place in federal policy and funding structures, as well as the culture of sport in Canada.

The Canada Games (as an entity – both winter and summer) provide a unique opportunity to investigate the sport event as an institution within the Canadian sport landscape. Federal and provincial governments, as well as the sport community and host cities around the country, have supported the Canada Games since the inaugural Canada

Games in 1967 (Government of Canada, 1997). As such, significant federal funding and provincial support have flowed towards this aspect of the sport system (Government of Canada, 1997; 2017). The Canada Games Mandate explicitly states that the Canada Games serve to build Canadian sport identity (Government of Canada, 1997). Additionally, the Canada Games aim to develop Canadian sport and foster athletic excellence, "leading to new achievements on both a personal and on internationally comparable levels" (Government of Canada, 1997, p. 16). Unfortunately, and despite such wholehearted support from the sport community and levels of the Canadian government, there is little evidence regarding the role that events such as the Canada Games may or may not have in developing Canadian sport and Canadian athletes.

There is a relatively small body of literature pertaining to the Canada Games. As such, I approached my research questions using an exploratory case study methodology, collecting documents and completing interviews for data analysis. Upon completing data collection and analysis, I found that the Canada Games mimic the high-performance model of sport delivery that has been heavily critiqued at the national-level of Canadian sport. I also investigated the strategic objectives of the Canada Games, and found that there is a gap between how the Games are justified in government policy, and the role the Games play within the Canadian sport landscape. Issues of power and pressure within a government-funded sport system, and how these tensions manifest at the provincial/territorial level of sport by way of the Canada Games became apparent throughout the research process.

This thesis is presented in monograph format and offers pertinent information in six separate chapters. Chapter 1 explains the research context, purpose, and methodology.

In chapter 2, I cover relevant literature and theoretical perspectives used to better understand the data. In chapter 3, I provide an overview of the history of the Canada Games in relation to the Canadian sport system, and therefore provide insight into the context for this research. In chapters 4 and 5, I outline each of the seven over-arching themes that emerged from the data and provide discussion and critical considerations for each. Finally, in chapter 6, I discuss theoretical and political implications of this project, and offer suggestions for future research.

Overview of Research

The purpose of this study was to both examine sporting events as institutions within the broader context of Canadian sport and consider the role of the Canada Games themselves in the Canadian sport system. The Canada Games are the largest nationwide multi-sport event in Canada. Government involvement, governance, and hosting of the Games has evolved since the initial event in 1967, however the Games have remained an institutionalized fixture in the Canadian sport landscape. The Canada Games as an entity (that is, not simply the governing council, or one event) were the focus of the study at hand.

To investigate the aforementioned purpose, I analyzed various government policies and documents related to the Canada Games and the Canada Games Council. I also completed interviews with sport administrators from throughout the Canadian sport system across levels and from varying organisations. I completed data analysis by following Creswell and Poth's (2018) data analysis spiral while constantly discussing emergent themes with my advisor and returning to the literature. Practice theory and neo-institutionalism were used to understand the data and gain a further theoretical understanding of the Canada

Games within the broader context of Canadian sport. The following research questions (RQ) guided the project.

RQ1: What are the strategic objectives of the Canada Games?

    a) How have these objectives evolved over time?

    b) How are these objectives perceived by affiliated organisations?

RQ2: How do the Canada Games fit within the organisational field of sport?

    a) How do different organisations view the Canada Games?

    b) How do various regions of the country view the Canada Games?

Through this research I aimed to contribute to the growing sport event literature by examining the Canada Games as an institution within the field of Canadian sport. As sporting events are often heavily supported by governments and officials, this research is of the utmost importance to understanding the role such entities play in sport development, sporting systems and structures, and society more broadly.

Theoretical Approach

This project was informed by both Bourdieu's (1977) practice theory, as well as neo-institutionalism, as initially discussed by DiMaggio and Powell (1983). These theoretical lenses proved useful in conjunction with one another, given their commonalities in using a critical approach to exploring society. Further, while neo-institutionalism allows researchers to explore notions of power and pressure within organisations and institutions, practice theory enables investigations of such notions of power within society at large by examining individual agents within the system. Skille and Skirstad (2007) acknowledged the applicability of marrying these two theoretical lenses in their chapter within *International Perspectives on the Management of Sport*. Here, the authors used both

theories simultaneously to examine a case of sport participation within a Norwegian Sports City Program (Skille & Skirstad, 2007). Skille (2007) has also used Bourdieu's theory of fields to examine Norwegian sport. Skille (2007) identified a dominant field of sport alongside subfields of sport (e.g. self-organized activities), which does not conform to the conventional description of a sporting field (i.e. comprising of competition and powerful organisations). Both approaches have over-lapping ideologies, and lend themselves to uncovering existing, though perhaps invisible, hierarchies within society, as well as uncovering ways that institutions and organisations may contribute to a more equitable and inclusive society.

Bourdieu's (1984) notion of distinction involves examining how individuals use various forms of power (capital) within society to create or reinforce hierarchy. In particular, Bourdieu (1984) explained how individuals with various forms of capital (e.g. economic, social, cultural, symbolic) possess more power in society than those with less capital. Capital refers to an agent's resources; accumulated by participating in the field (Tomlinson, 2004). As such, those with the most forms of capital within a social field define 'taste', and those with less capital accept the norms that have been set out for them. Field is then described as the setting within which agents and their social positions are situated. Each field interacts with other fields in society, and each contains its own set of rules and customs (Bourdieu, 1977).

When drawing upon practice theory, researchers are required to consider their subject of study as part of the larger social context (Bourdieu, 1988). Here, Bourdieu's sociological theories and neo-institutionalism begin to show similarities. In neo-institutionalism, DiMaggio and Powell (1991) referred to the organisational field, a concept

similar to Bourdieu's social field. Although distinction allows researchers to examine the interaction between agents and the social field, and neo-institutionalism looks more broadly at organisations and institutions themselves. Both theoretical concepts are interested in accepted, or taken-for-granted norms within these structures. For Bourdieu, these norms and rules are referred to as 'doxa', and for neo-institutionalists, these are termed 'myths' (Skille & Skirstad, 2007). For both groups of theorists, there is an understanding that myths and doxa increase the more tight-knit the field and are reinforced by those in power; linking back to Bourdieu's notion of capital and class. Here, the notion of habitus (an individual's field-specific disposition) comes about, as habitus is formed by participating within a field, interacting with its rules and norms, and understanding its core values (i.e. doxa; Bourdieu, 1984; Kitchin & Howe, 2013). Finally, neo-institutionalists describe three ways in which myths are reinforced and spread within the field; coercive, memetic, and normative isomorphism, or pressure. These three types of pressure describe ways in which societal norms and rules are reinforced by various agents (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Edwards, Mason, & Washington, 2009).

In using both Bourdieu's sociological theories and neo-institutionalism, it is possible to holistically examine the subject of study, working to uncover invisible hierarchies in society at the individual and institutional level. As Skille and Skirstad (2007) explained, both approaches "discuss the dialectic between structure and agency" (p. 43), and the use of these approaches together can help to uncover how organisational structure manifests at the individual level. In the case of my research project, I used practice theory and neo-institutionalism alongside one another to ensure a broad understanding of the Canada Games. Neo-institutionalism enabled me to consider the field as a whole, and the

way that organisations evolve and adapt to their environment and other organisations within the field. Practice theory then allowed me to understand how organisations and individuals may interact within the field, gain resources and power, and use those resources.

In using both theoretical approaches I have made some assumptions worth noting. In regard to neo-institutionalism, I assume that organisations can, and do, change based on a number of external, field-level, and organisational-level factors. Further, for the purposes of this project I have conceptualized the organisational field of Canadian sport as including provincial/territorial sport organisations (PTSOs), national sport organisations (NSOs), multisport service organisations (MSOs), government funding bodies, teams, communities, and more. In this vein, the social field that Bourdieu has described, as well as the organisational field that DiMaggio and Powell discussed can be understood as similar concepts originating from two different areas of research. Finally, I discuss Bourdieu's notion of capital in its various forms as a resource that can be gained and/or lost as agents interact and exist within the field.

Delimitations and Limitations

Limitations and delimitations associated with this project are worth discussing here. Limitations included language of interviews, time constraints, and participant willingness to discuss interview questions. Interviews were limited to English-speaking individuals in administrative positions within the Canadian sport system due to the researcher's language abilities. Many regions and sports within the sport system and Canada Games structure were included in the data collected. However, due to time constraints associated with degree completion, not all could be accounted for. As a result, the opinions and

perspectives of individuals working in sport organisations included in this research do not necessarily represent the perceptions of the entire sport system. The interviews were confidential, and questions only involved information regarding the individual's professional capacity. Despite ensuring confidentiality, some participants may have been hesitant to discuss certain aspects of their involvement with the Canada Games, or their thoughts and feelings towards the Games.

Delimitations of this study include the methodology chosen and the individuals contacted to participate. Data collected was unique to the Canada Games given the case study methodology chosen. As such, the applicability of the information collected within this context to other sporting events and systems is not known. Existing professional relationships eased the data collection and interview process. While some participants were contacted based on existing professional relationships with the researchers, others were contacted due to their role within the sport system. This purposive sampling approach allowed the researchers' to target specific individuals, however may have also limited the individuals with whom interviews were conducted.

Research Design

Methodology

I used an exploratory case study methodology for this study (Yin, 2009). As Yin (2011) explained, case study research starts from wanting a detailed understanding of one case, set in its real-world context. The rationale for this approach was that the Canada Games provide a unique case to examine sporting events as institutions within a sport system, and the role that the Games themselves have within the organisational field - the Canadian sport system. The Canada Games are the country's largest nationwide, multi-

sport event. Their place in Canadian policy, their size and reach nationwide, and their historical role in Canadian sport make them a unique and ideal context within which to examine sport events as institutions. Given these details of the Canada Games, and that research regarding their role in Canadian sport has not yet been completed to my knowledge, the Games are a useful and interesting case worthy of further investigation using an exploratory approach (Yin, 2009).

Philosophical Paradigm

I approached this study from a critical theorist perspective. As such, I believe that knowledge is co-created and influenced by each individual's personal experiences in society. In taking a critical theorist approach to this research, I acknowledged that "reality is shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 109). A critical theoretical approach was appropriate for understanding the historical and structural values of the Canada Games which shape their role in Canadian sport today. Critical theorists must be embedded within the research context (Ponterotto, 2005). As such, a case study approach fits well with my philosophical paradigm given the contextual nature of the research (Ponterotto, 2005). The chosen methodology consisted of dialectical and dialogical approaches to ensure consistency with my paradigmatic position as a researcher. A case study methodology allowed for a dialogue to occur between participants and researcher. Given my ontological and epistemological stance, the findings for this study are value-mediated – influenced by the interactions of each individual's values and experiences. The historical, social, and contextual nature of my paradigmatic and methodological approach is consistent with both neo-institutionalism and practice

theory, creating a coherent research approach (Bourdieu, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Tracy, 2010).

With my epistemological and ontological position in mind, my own experiences within the sport system and in academia are important to acknowledge. I have never attended the Canada Games in any capacity, however I do have administrative experience with a national sport organisation that is involved with the Games and consider myself a part of the field of Canadian sport. My interest in this project stemmed from my interest in sporting events in general and their impact on society, in particular the Canada Games.

Data Collection

As per the methodology chosen, two sources of data were used to conduct this research; documents (Canada Games Council annual reports, government policies, and archival documents), and interviews. Relying on multiple sources of data allowed for a more rigorous research process (Tracy, 2010). Western University's Non-Medical Research Ethics Board approved data collection (see appendix B) and research was completed in accordance with the Western University internal ethics policy.

A total of twenty-four (24) relevant government documents and policies were collected from the Canada Games Council website, Government of Canada website, and Library and Archives Canada (see table 1). Documents were searched from 1967 to 2017, representing the years that the Canada Games had occurred at the time of data collection. The 2009-2017 strategic plan, four annual reports, and one policy were collected and analyzed from the Canada Games Council website. Documents from the Government of Canada website were collected by searching the terms "sport", and "Canada Games". Documents included in analysis were dated as early as 1970, and as recent as 2017.

Title of Document	Year	Organisation/Agency
Proceedings from the 19th Annual Meeting of the Canadian Amateur Sports Federation Inc.	1970	Canadian Amateur Sports Federation
Canada Games Handbook: An outline of policies and organizational procedures	1970	Canada Games Council
Proceedings from the 20th Annual Meeting of the Canadian Amateur Sports Federation Inc.	1971	Canadian Amateur Sports Federation
Canada Games Handbook: An outline of policies and organizational procedures	1985	Canada Games Council
National Recreation Statement	1987	Government of Canada
1997 Clear Lake Resolution & Canada Games Mandate	1997	Government of Canada
2002 Canadian Sport Policy	2002	Government of Canada
Evaluation of the SSP: Multi-Sport Organisations	2002	Government of Canada
Physical Activity and Sport Act	2003	Government of Canada
Canadian Sport for Life - LTAD	2005	Government of Canada
Policy on Aboriginal Peoples' Participation in Sport	2005	Government of Canada
No Accidental Champions - LTAD for Athletes with a Disability	2006	Government of Canada
Policy on Sport for Persons with a Disability	2006	Government of Canada
Federal Policy for Hosting International Sport Events	2008	Government of Canada
Actively Engaged - A Policy on Sport for Women and Girls	2009	Government of Canada
Canada Games Council Strategic Plan	2009	Canada Games Council
Canadian Policy Against Doping in Sport	2011	Government of Canada
2012 Canadian Sport Policy	2012	Government of Canada

Canada Games Council Annual Report 12/13	2013	Canada Games Council
Canada Games Council Annual Report 13/14	2014	Canada Games Council
Canada Games Council Annual Report 14/15	2015	Canada Games Council
Grouped Evaluation of Sport Canada Programs	2016	Government of Canada
Canada Games Council Annual Report 15/16	2016	Canada Games Council
Canada Games Council Annual Report 16/17	2017	Canada Games Council

Table 1. Documents

I conducted a total of nine semi-structured purposive interviews (see table 2). Potential interviewees were recruited via e-mail with publicly available contact information. Interview participants included individuals in a variety of administrative positions within the Canadian sport system. Provincial, national, and multisport service organisations as well as winter and summer sports were represented within the group of participants as much as possible. Snowball sampling was also used as a means to recruit participants. All interviews were completed over the phone due to the geographical locations of the participants. Interviews were completed between January 11, 2018 and February 22, 2018. Each interviewee was given my contact information, as well as that of Dr. Misener so that they could contact us with any follow-up inquiries if needed. Verbal consent was obtained prior to beginning each interview. Interviews covered topics pertaining to the operation of the Canada Games, the value of the Games, and each individuals' perceptions of the Canada Games within the Canadian sport system. Once each interview was completed, I transcribed them verbatim and sent each transcript back to the respective participant for review. This process ensured credibility and reliability of the data (Ravenek & Rudman, 2013). Throughout the findings, only pseudonyms and de-identified job descriptors are used when referring to participants.

Interviewee (Pseudonym)	De-identified Job Descriptor
Pete	Director, PSO
Meghan	Coordinator, PSO
Roger	Manager, NSGB
Elizabeth	Coordinator, Provincial MSO
Stan	Director, NSGB
Don	Senior Manager, MSO
Stephanie	Senior Manager, MSO
Bob	Senior Manager, OC
Henry	Senior Manager, OC

Table 2. Interviewees

Data Analysis

Document analysis began in October 2017 and continued throughout the interview process. The collected documents were initially read for a general understanding of the topic. This process mirrored what Creswell and Poth (2018) described as memoing and note-taking, the first step in the "data analysis spiral" (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 186). I then moved on to a second read-through of the documents to collect details regarding the Canada Games, Canada Games Council, domestic competition, multi-sport organisation, or similar wording. Next, I made notes regarding how the content in each document was related to other collected documents. In doing so, I was able to understand linkages and further develop areas of interest to explore in the interview portion of the study. Throughout this stage, I conferred with my advisor to confirm my understandings and discuss my perceptions of the data. The content in the documents analyzed helped inform the semi-structured interview guide and how the research was carried out. I referred to the

documents throughout the interview transcript analysis and writing processes for further information and to situate the interview data within the political context.

I audio-recorded each interview and then transcribed the audio-recording verbatim. Once I had completed transcribing the interviews, I began analyzing the data. The data analysis process roughly followed Creswell and Poth's (2018) data analysis spiral. First, I printed the interview transcripts and completed a round of memoing and note-taking to get a general sense of the data. I then proceeded to group similar pieces of the interview transcripts into concepts, and then grouped similar concepts into themes, as described by Corbin and Strauss (2015). Once main themes had been identified, I uploaded the transcripts to the coding software NVivo for ease of organisation. I then went through the transcripts and completed a series of thematic coding, using themes that emerged from the initial round of open coding as well as themes that emerged from the document analysis process. I continuously re-visited existing literature and my chosen theoretical perspectives to guide interpretation throughout the data analysis process. In doing so, I was able to better understand the findings and maintain a connection to the project's guiding theories. Throughout interview data analysis I returned to the archival documents, policies, and reports I had initially analyzed, engaging in an iterative process of data analysis. While I was gaining an understanding of the data, I was able to interpret and visualize the data in the form of mind-maps and flow-charts. This activity, similar to steps in the data analysis spiral (Creswell & Poth, 2018), helped me to further organize key themes and concepts that emerged from the data collected.

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Chapter 2: Literature and Theoretical Framework Review

In order to position my project within existing research, I drew upon literature in the realm of sporting events and their impact in society, sport development, and professionalisation in sport. Upon analyzing the data , I noticed that the theme of national unity was essential to the Canada Games narrative. Therefore, I referred to national unity and identity literature as well. As such, the following section will outline relevant literature from four areas: (a) sport events and sport development; (b) professionalisation; (c) national unity and sport; and (d) the Canada Games.

Throughout the course of my research I used tenets of neo-institutionalism and practice theory as a basis for interpretation. I will provide an overview of these theoretical perspectives and will explain the use of both neo-institutionalism and Bourdieu's practice theory in sport studies research, and how the two theoretical approaches complement each other.

Sport events and sport development

Governmental support of sport events has long been justified due to the supposed positive outcomes of such events (Pringle, 2001). Due to a lack of empirical support, academics often critique whether or not sport events provide the positive outcomes that are touted by supporters (Pringle, 2001). One such positive outcome of hosting sport events is to advance sport development in the host community or host nation (Taks, Green, Misener, & Chalip, 2014). At its simplest, sport development is about increasing participation opportunities and the benefits of sport involvement for community members (Shilbury, Sotiriadou, & Green, 2008; Taks et al., 2014). Participation refers to everything from children playing, to elite or professional sport (Shilbury et al., 2008). The concept of sport

development has been discussed by a number of scholars from various perspectives, including but not limited to sport policy, strategies used to develop sport itself, and how sport has been used to achieve broader development goals (Shilbury et al., 2008).

The most often accepted model of sport development, as discussed by Shilbury and colleagues (2008), is the participation pyramid. Though not empirically derived, this model has been the most widely accepted by both scholars and sport and physical activity professionals alike (Shilbury et al., 2008). The model is based on the assumption that a wide base of participants at the bottom of the pyramid (the base), will translate to a few very talented elite athletes at the top of the pyramid (the peak). According to this model, there are two approaches to growing sport: (1) if you increase the participant base, you will develop champions (bottom-up), and (2) if you develop champions, individuals will be inspired to participate (trickle-down) (Shilbury et al., 2008). While the pyramid model of sport development is popular in the sense that it is simple and easy to understand, there remain a number of critiques surrounding this description of sport involvement. Most notably, the model lacks acknowledgement of the complicated structures within sport systems and ignores the possibility of athletes and participants moving laterally within the system (Green, 2005; Shilbury et al, 2008). Green (2005) further noted how the model is often used by sport administrators and policymakers yet has not been supported by empirical analysis. In their examination of the "trickle-down" effect in Flanders, Belgium, scholars de Bosscher, Sotiriadou, and van Bottenburg (2013) were neither able to confirm nor deny a clear cause and effect relationship between sporting excellence in the region and increased participation, which further demonstrated Green's (2005) argument.

Expanding beyond the pyramid model, Sotiriadou, Shilbury, and Quick (2008) developed three different frameworks, each addressing a distinct stage of sport participation - attraction, retention/transition, and nurturing. Green (2005) described similar versions of these stages of sport participation in relation to the pyramid model, and analyzed the attraction, retention, and athlete advancement in national-level American volleyball. In this example, the author identified each stage (attraction, retention, athlete advancement) as an aspect of the pyramid model, and the main goals of sport policymakers (Green, 2005). Further developed by Sotiriadou et al. (2008), this three-pronged model is much more demonstrative of the development of sport in practice, and how participants navigate the sport system. Most sport systems have been built on the acceptance of the pyramid model, relying mostly on sport events of various sizes and other programming initiatives to produce either a trickle-down or bottom-up effect.

Sporting events of various sizes are supported based on their supposed ability to increase sport participation and positively impact sport development (Taks et al., 2014). As such, academics have investigated not only sport development solely as a concept, but the role of sporting events in moving sport development goals forward. The majority of research in this area has involved sporting mega-events, such as the Olympic Games, and legacy promises regarding increased participation and interest in sport and physical activity as a result of these large events. The areas of legacy and leveraging research are incredibly vast and cannot be fully discussed here. However, the concept that sport events increase participation or have a "participation legacy" (and therefore contributing to sport development) is worthy of noting for the purposes of my thesis. Most Olympic Games bids incorporate some sort of participation legacy in their pursuit of hosting the Olympic Games

(Reis, Frawley, Hodgetts, Thomson, & Hughes, 2017). Reis and colleagues (2017) examined how three different Olympic Games approached growing sport participation in the host community. The authors uncovered two main themes in their study; a divide between elite and mass participation sport legacy, and implementing strategies and measuring outcomes (Reis et al., 2017). Both of these themes echo similar challenges discussed in other literature in the field.

The legacy rhetoric has also permeated smaller-scale events and exists to justify community and government support for events such as single-sport national or world championships (Koenig & Leopkey, 2009). Literature in the area of small- and medium-sized sporting events is emerging but remains less developed than that regarding large scale mega-events such as the Olympics (see Black, 2008; Taks, et al., 2014). These examples provide further context to how smaller-scale events have been investigated, and their potential impact on sport development goals within the host community.

Professionalisation

Professionalisation has been discussed in many ways and in a number of contexts throughout sport studies literature. Dowling and colleagues (2014) reviewed existing literature and summarized the concept of professionalisation into categories. The authors ultimately defined sport professionalisation as "the process by which sport organisations, systems, and the occupation of sport, transforms from a volunteer driven to an increasingly business-like phenomenon." (Dowling, Edwards, & Washington, 2014, p. 527). The authors offered clear descriptions of organisational, systemic, and occupational professionalisation. Professionalisation has also been described in terms of a multi-level framework (Nagel, Schlesinger, Bayle & Giauque, 2015), consisting of causes, forms, and

consequences of professionalisation in sport organisations. The framework discussed by Nagel and colleagues also takes into account internal and external pressures that a sport organisation may face (Nagel et al., 2015). These external pressures resembled the concept of systemic professionalisation that Dowling and colleagues discussed in their work (Dowling et al., 2014).

Within the Canadian sport context, scholars have most often attributed professionalisation to federal government involvement in sport funding. Researchers have explored Canadian government involvement in sport from a policy level, as well as from the perspective of change occurring within national sport organisations (Whitson & Macintosh, 1989; Green, 2004; Thibault & Babiak, 2005). Whitson and Macintosh (1989) discussed the implications of professionalisation on sport policy-making in Canadian NSOs. Their work highlighted how professionalizing and centralizing Canadian sport delivery to focus on elite performance privileged larger, wealthier, metropolitan areas of the country. Issues of inequity and challenges between funding elite sport and achieving broader social goals have been discussed at length in relation to sport policy and funding in Canada. Macintosh and Whitson (1990) brought to light how issues of access and inequity often came second to the needs of high-performance sport.

Green (2004; 2007; 2009) has contributed similar work on issues of power, professionalisation, and sport policy in Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom (UK). The involvement of each country's federal governments in the national sport system has provided many opportunities to compare policy positions, financial contributions, and government agendas for sport and physical activity over the past decades. Examples of power and professionalisation in other national sport systems offer insight to how federal

governments may use sport as a means to achieve broader political agendas such as equity and inclusion and build a sense of national pride. In his 2004 paper, Green discussed elite sport development and political priorities in both Canada and the UK. The keen interest that these two governments had on elite sport, while neglecting mass participation, was highlighted. Similarly, Green (2007) explored sport policy priorities in Australia, Canada, and the UK in the years 1960-2006. Here, advocacy coalition frameworks and how these affect policy change within national sport systems were discussed. Green (2009) analysed sport policy priorities under changing governance in the UK. Again, similar trends were evident in terms of the tensions and struggle between the federal government's goals for elite sport, and the need to focus on mass participation and grassroots development (Green, 2009). Green and Houlihan (2006) focused on governmentality, and how the actions of national sport organisations in the UK and Australia were manipulated by their federal government's involvement in the sport system, further demonstrating how sport can be used as a political tool.

Dowling, Denison, and Washington (2015) looked at the effects of larger sociopolitical shifts (e.g. modernization and professionalisation) within national sport organisations by exploring Athletics Canada, and how the creation of OTP affected Athletics Canada. The authors found that Athletics Canada prioritized OTP-related projects and favoured those over other programming areas (Dowling et al., 2015). The authors also highlighted tension in the organisation between high-performance development and how grassroots programming and relationships with provincial/territorial and community-level organisations were managed (Dowling et al., 2015). Challenges with resource allocation and capacity at the provincial/territorial level of sport come as no surprise, considering

previous research on the policy environment and federal support of NSOs more broadly. It is clear that the complex challenge of balancing elite sport and grassroots development exists throughout Canadian sport.

National Unity and Identity

National unity and national identity are separate, though overlapping themes evident across a variety of sporting contexts. National identity has been defined as "[a] collective sentiment based upon the belief of belonging to the same nation and sharing most of the attributes that make it distinct from other nations" (Guiberneau, 2007, p. 11). National unity has not been as readily defined as national identity, however is most often used in sport literature to describe a sense of 'together-ness' within a country, often attributed to international sporting success (Harvey & Proulx, 1988; Kidd, 2013). Scholars have discussed these two concepts in a variety of ways across contexts. In Canada, national identity is often described in relation to hockey. In other countries, sports such as soccer and cricket are the supposed sources of a national identity. Further, sport policy scholars have discussed how governments may use sport as a political tool to unify their nation or create a sense of belonging.

Harvey and Proulx (1988) discussed the need for improved Canadian unity and identity after the end of the second world war. The authors indicated that rapid globalisation, the Americanization of the economy, and the internationalization of sport were what drove the Canadian government to strive for national prestige through sport (Harvey & Proulx, 1988). In striving for increased nationhood, the government increased funding and support to Canadian sport organisations in the hopes of producing favourable outcomes on the international stage. Government involvement in Canadian sport delivery

and resulting professionalisation of the sport system moved forward from this initial objective (Harvey & Proulx, 1988).

With sport systems similar to that of Canada, countries such as Ireland, Britain and Australia have also used sport to improve national identity (Houlihan, 1997). In a number of countries, governments are able to manage their country's national identity through their involvement in sport (Houlihan, 1997). In this way, sporting success has been used to mask societal issues such as poor health, crime rates, and low tourism (Houlihan, 1997). Unfortunately, as others have stated, sport is inherently exclusive, and therefore its use in promoting 'together-ness' is fraught with challenges (Maguire, 2011; Rowe, McKay, & Miller, 1998; Vincent & Crossman, 2015).

Rowe, McKay, and Miller (1998) discussed the role of the media in creating a sense of national identity through televising and covering sporting events. The authors described how international sporting events provide governments with the opportunity to broadcast symbols of national identity (e.g. flags, country colours, national anthems, etc.) and create a sense of community (Rowe et al., 1998). As with other scholars in the field, Rowe and colleagues (1998) discussed the role of globalization in the pursuit of national identity. Globalization is often considered as one of the reasons that states continue to pursue creating a national identity through sport (Harvey & Proulx, 1988; Lechner, 2007; Maguire, 2011; Rowe et al., 1998).

The Canada Games

There remains relatively scarce literature regarding the Canada Games and their place in the Canadian sport system, despite being a part of the Canadian sport landscape since 1967. Often, the Canada Games have been used as a convenient sample for studies

within various areas of inquiry (e.g. sports medicine, volunteerism). Although important research in its own right, scholars have provided little insight into the Canada Games themselves and their role as an institution in Canadian society, and Canadian sport development.

Sport medicine scholars have used the Canada Games as a sample of the athlete population for many studies. One such example is that of Lee-Knight, Harrison, and Price (1992), who studied the incidence of dental injuries at the 1989 Canada Summer Games. A further study was conducted at the 1985 Canada Summer Games investigating sports medicine coverage at an event of this level (Lebrun, Morrell, & Sutherland, 1986).

Doherty (2003) investigated event volunteerism at the 2001 Canada Summer Games in London, Ontario. Cleave and Doherty (2005) then used the Canada Games to understand volunteer and non-volunteer constraints and the decision-making process in applying to volunteer at special events. An additional study was also completed by Doherty (2009) that evaluated the post-event volunteer legacy of a large sporting event. In this case, Doherty (2009) used post-event survey data from the 2001 Canada Summer Games.

Koenig and Leopkey (2009) examined six different events, including two Canada Games, and their legacy goals. The authors deduced that four literature-based legacy types were present in the data analyzed, and that sport development legacies often occurred as a result of these four legacy types (Koenig & Leopkey, 2009). Other thesis projects have begun to uncover Canada Games legacy rhetoric as well. Smith (1993) completed research regarding legacy claims of the Canada Games and individuals' perceptions of each claim. The author identified five claims of legacy – facilities, equipment, officials, community spirit and pride, and sport development (Smith, 1993). Smith (1993) concluded that legacy

claims were too general and were used to justify continued funding and support for the Games. Following Smith's (1993) initial inquiry into the Canada Games, Koughan (2002) studied sport development in Prince Edward Island specifically. In her thesis, Koughan (2002) found that there was support overall for the Canada Games as a sport development tool. However, the author concluded that often this development was described as 'development by default' (that is, development by simply attending or taking part in the Games) (Koughan, 2002). Further, Koughan (2002) noted that there seemed to be a shift in the province from seeing the Canada Games as participatory, to seeing the Games as an elite competition opportunity.

A number of scholars in sport studies have mentioned or acknowledged the Games' place in the Canadian sport landscape. Whitson and Macintosh (1989) acknowledged the Canada Games as a space for provinces to compete against one-another, where the 'have' provinces can assert their dominance and demonstrate a system similar to that at the federal level. The authors mentioned performance-driven pressure existing at the provincial level of sport within Canada as well as this type of pressure seen at the National-level (Whitson & Macintosh, 1989). Prior to Whitson and Macintosh's (1989) discussion of the Canada Games, Gruneau (1972) explored patterns of socioeconomic status of Canada Games athletes in his dissertation, further demonstrating the pervasiveness of the Games within Canadian sport. Foundational publications such as Thibault and Harvey's (2013) book *Sport Policy in Canada*, and Macintosh's (1987) *Sport and Politics in Canada* have also mentioned the Canada Games as an aspect of the Canadian sport system. Finally, in her 2009 paper regarding Canada's first national policy on sport and fitness, McCloy (2009) discussed the 1967 Canada Games as one of the instigators for the federal government's

initial policy on hosting sport events. McCloy (2009) mentioned the Canada Games as "the focal event for using sport as a vehicle for national unity and identity and also for building sport facilities in all regions of Canada" (p. 1161). McCloy's (2009) findings further emphasized how the Canada Games may have not only been shaped by, but have also played a role in shaping, the current Canadian sport system.

Theoretical Perspectives

I used both Bourdieu's practice theory and neo-institutionalism to understand the role of the Canada Games within the Canadian sport system. Considering sport events as institutions within the larger organisational field, scholars can begin to understand the role that such entities occupy in society as a whole. Neo-institutional theory and core tenets of Bourdieu's practice theory align well to provide a well-rounded view of how the sport event as an institution fits into the broader tapestry of Canadian sport, and society at large. Skille and Skirstad (2007) demonstrated the use of combining both institutional theories and Bourdieu's social theories regarding sport participation in a sport club in Norway. Using these two approaches in conjunction with one another allows for a thorough contextual analysis of the data collected (Kitchin & Howe, 2013). My thesis research extends upon current literature by utilizing neo-institutional theory in conjunction with Bourdieu's sociological theorization.

Practice theory. Bourdieu's practice theory involves three main concepts – field, habitus, and capital – and has previously been used as a tool in the area of sport management research (Kitchin & Howe, 2013). The first of the three concepts is 'field', referring to the setting within which individuals (or agents) and their social positions are situated. Each field interacts with other fields, and each contains its own set of rules and

customs (Bourdieu, 1977; Kitchin & Howe, 2013). 'Habitus' is a field-specific disposition formed by participating in the field, following its intricacies and rules, and understanding the field's core values (Kitchin & Howe, 2013). Finally, 'capital' refers to an agent's resources; accumulated again by participating in the field (Tomlinson, 2004). In accumulating various forms of capital, an agent may improve their position within the hierarchy of the field, gaining power (Bourdieu, 1977; Kitchin & Howe, 2013).

In drawing on Bourdieu's sociological theories, the subject of study, in this case sport, is understood as part of a larger societal context rather than in isolation (Bourdieu, 1988). More specifically, Bourdieu (1988) described that each sport cannot be isolated from the broader sporting context. Further, the larger sporting context cannot be evaluated separate from other institutions in society, just as each sport cannot be studied separate from the others (Bourdieu, 1988). As such, the use of Bourdieu's practice theory to situate the Canada Games in the national sport system and the broader societal context is appropriate. The use of practice theory and the notions of field, habitus, and capital, offer up the ability to provide a full picture, looking at each aspect of the institution in relation to one another (Howe, 2007; Kitchin & Howe, 2014).

Practice theory and notions of distinction, field, habitus, and capital, have begun to emerge in the sport management literature as well. Kitchin and Howe (2013) have suggested combining management theories and sport sociology in a meaningful and useful way; proposing Bourdieu's social theories as a viable option to do so. The authors argued that the use of such social theories allows sport management scholars to better position sport within the broader social context (Kitchin & Howe, 2013).

Neo-institutionalism. There is a dearth of research looking at institutions and entities within the sport world through the lens of institutional theory. The term "institution" has long been used in sport research in terms of sporting organisations, teams, clubs, and 'sport' as a larger social structure, amongst other instances. The following will demonstrate how institutional theory has been used within the sport management literature.

Neo-institutionalism allows researchers to explore notions of power and pressure within organisations and institutions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). A central tenet of neo-institutional theory is the notion of taken-for-granted norms within society and the organisational field. These norms and rules are referred to as 'myths' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). The number of 'myths' within the organisational field increase the more tight-knit the field and are reinforced by those in power. Neo-institutionalists describe three ways in which myths are reinforced and spread within the field; coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphism, or pressure (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Edwards, Mason, & Washington, 2009).

Scholars have investigated organisational change within sport organisations, as well as institutional pressures within broader sport systems. Dowling and Smith (2016) examined how OTP became institutionalized within the Canadian sport landscape. Here, the researchers discussed the role of individual and collective actors in shaping sport, and how OTP itself influenced, and was influenced by, the organisational field within which it operates. Further, Edwards, Mason, and Washington (2009) studied the effect of institutional pressures on provincial sport organisations in Alberta. The authors found

evidence demonstrating the existence of coercive, normative, and mimetic pressures within the Canadian sport system, and explained how those factors impacted the PSOs studied.

Institutional theories are often used to investigate processes of change within organisations, and the factors influencing such change (Washington & Patterson, 2010). In the United Kingdom, O'Brien and Slack (2003; 2004) investigated professionalisation in the English Rugby Union, noting that it was often the values of those in power and decision-making positions that became institutionalized within the organisational field. In the case of the Canadian sport system, it is the values of the federal government that often become institutionalized within the field due to the Government's role as the primary funding agency of Canadian sport. O'Brien and Slack's (2004) work included the normative, coercive, and mimetic pressures exerted upon the English Rugby Union over the course of professionalisation. They discussed how political shifts in expectations at the time drove normative and coercive pressures within the Rugby Union demonstrating how political shifts in government-driven sport systems may impact other actors within the organisational field.

Neo-institutionalism has been used to evaluate and explore organisations and sport systems, as well as the change in language surrounding sporting mega-events. Leopkey and Parent (2012) investigated how legacy became a central concept in Olympic Games governance, bidding, and discourse. Using neo-institutionalism to frame their research, the authors described the process of legacy emerging in Olympic Games rhetoric in terms of three stages; habitualization, objectification, and sedimentation (Leopkey & Parent, 2012).

Sport management scholars have used aspects of neo-institutionalism to describe the process of professionalisation within different areas of a sporting system. Most relevant

to this project is how this organisational theory has been used to understand systemic professionalisation. Systemic professionalisation refers to how some sort of external factor or pressure influences field-level change (Dowling et al., 2014). In this case, systemic professionalisation can help describe how the Canadian government (federal and provincial/territorial) works within the organisational field in relation to other agents.

Due to the complex nature of the Canada Games and the Canadian sport system, I drew upon a number of areas of sport research to complete this project. First, research regarding sporting events and sport development was essential in understanding how events have been used in the past to achieve broader objectives. Throughout data collection and analysis, national unity and identity became apparent as important themes to consider in relation to the Games. National unity emerged as a key element of the Canada Games. My consultation of the literature in that realm helped to provide context for my analysis. Sport studies research about my chosen theoretical perspectives allowed me to understand how these perspectives have been conceptualized and used in the past and have provided me with guidance in how to approach my own research. Finally, research involving the Canada Games gave me a broad picture of where my project fits into the literature regarding these events in particular. Consulting these areas of previous inquiry gave me the necessary context and background within which to conduct my own project. With this information, I have been able to fill a gap in literature regarding sports events and the Canadian sport system.

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Chapter 3: Context and History of the Canada Games

The Canadian federal government became involved in the delivery of amateur sport in the 1960s and remains the main funding agency for sport across the country today. The federal government's involvement in sport was initially due to its need to achieve broader political and social goals (Comeau, 2013). Specifically, in regard to sport and physical activity, the Canadian government in the 1960s was concerned with increasing national unity and identity, improving the overall health of Canadians, and developing Canadian athletes for success on the international stage (Munro, 1968). Sport events are one tool that the government has used to move these agendas forward, with the overarching goals of achieving favourable economic, social, and sport development outcomes (Black, 2008). The Canada Games are a recurring example of one such event.

The following context outlining how the Canada Games came to be, and how the Games fit within Canada's sporting history is essential to this project. Situating the research topic in its broader context allows for a rigorous research process (Tracy, 2010), and is a central tenet of case study methodology (Yin, 2011). Further, context is a foundational aspect of practice theory and neo-institutionalism (Bourdieu, 1988; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The context and history of the Canada Games within Canadian sport is outlined below in three distinct time periods and demonstrates how Canadian sport and politics have been inextricably linked for decades.

1924 to 1967

In 1924, Norton Crow, the secretary of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (AAUC) made a speech at the union's annual meeting highlighting two solutions for Canada's poor performance at the 1924 Paris Olympic Games. Canada had not won a single

medal at the 1924 Games, and Crow suggested that it was time for the country to invest in developing Olympic-level athletes. Crow's solutions included an 'All British Empire Games' (now the Commonwealth Games), and a sort of 'Canadian Olympics' (McDonald & McLaughlin, 1977). The 'Canadian Olympics' were discussed by sportspeople and government officials alike for a number of years following Crow's initial suggestion, however did not begin to come to fruition until the 1960s.

The Duke of Edinburgh raised concerns about the physical activity and fitness levels of the Canadian population in a speech addressed to the Canadian Medical Association in 1959 (McDonald & McLaughlin, 1977). Canada's poor performance at the 1960 Rome Olympic Games and apparent concern of general physical activity levels initiated government involvement in the sporting lives of Canadians (Comeau, 2013). These two events seem to have been the impetus for finally getting a 'Canadian Olympics' off the ground (McDonald & McLaughlin, 1977).

In 1961 the Prime Minister announced the Fitness and Amateur Sport Act and formed the National Advisory Council on Fitness and Amateur Sport (NACFAS). The Fitness and Amateur Sport Act was Canada's governing policy for sport and physical activity for over forty years and marked the first time the federal government became involved in Canadian sport delivery (Comeau, 2013). In addition to implementing NACFAS, the federal government proposed Bill c-131, which outlined federal government funding of $5 million dollars per year to support amateur athletics and raise the level of fitness across Canada.

In 1962, there was strong political support for a 'Canadian sport festival' (McDonald & McLaughlin, 1977). Following the support at the 1962 NACFAS meeting,

a portion of the Quebec contingent formed a committee to begin putting together a proposal for the 'Canadian Olympics', which would eventually become the Canada Games. The First Canada Winter Games did not occur until Canada's centennial in 1967 despite attempts from the initial committee. Financial constraints largely dictated the timing of the First Canada Winter Games.

Since the inaugural Canada Games in Quebec City in 1967, the Canada Games have operated with the motto 'unity through sport'. The Canada Games Council (CGC) was initially formed in 1969, and at that time comprised of representatives from the Canadian Amateur Sports Federation (CASF; a group of national sport organisation representatives), the National Advisory Council, the Fitness and Amateur Sports Directorate (federal government representatives), and provincial/territorial departments responsible for fitness and amateur sport (Canada Games Council, 1970). Today, the CGC is a not-for-profit, private organisation, partially funded by the federal government.

1970 to 1990

In the early 1970s, the Canadian government began to prioritize developing athletes for success at the 1976 Olympic Games to be held in Montreal. The Prime Minister at the time, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, believed that improving Canada's international performance at the Games would lead to further pride and unity across the nation (Comeau, 2013). The Canada Games clearly fit Trudeau's political agenda. The Games' motto – 'unity through sport' – further justified the federal government's support of the Canada Games.

The Canada Games and the CGC gained validity in the sport system throughout the early 1970s. In his report at the nineteenth annual meeting of the CASF, the federation's president expressed how the Canada Games had taken up much of the executive's time in

preparation and planning for future events. Further, the CASF president exclaimed that the "permanent policy agency responsible for the Canada Games is the Canada Games Council and is now firmly established" (Canadian Amateur Sports Federation, 1970, p. 7). The CGC began to legitimize and streamline their approach to the Games. The Council published the first 'Canada Games Handbook' in 1970, which outlined general operational guidelines and objectives of the Games themselves (Canada Games Council, 1970).

Following the 1976 Olympic Games, elite sport and athlete development remained a priority for the federal government. However, in the early 1980s, the conservative federal government re-evaluated its funding strategy and decreased overall funding, shifting the onus of recreation and grassroots sport funding onto provincial governments (Comeau, 2013). The federal government further limited their support for sport to elite sport development and improving international excellence. The federal government enhanced the pre-existing Quadrennial Planning Process (QPP) leading up to the 1988 Olympic Games. The QPP required NSOs to develop structured governance practices and to demonstrate systems within their sports that would develop international medal winners in order to access government resources (Green, 2004). Through this funding model, as well as coach and officials' certification processes, Canadian sport continued to evolve towards a professionalised system.

With a shift towards the professionalisation of amateur Canadian sport throughout the 1980s and 1990s, there has since been tension between developing elite Canadian athletes and growing grassroots programming (Green, 2007). This tension is demonstrated in sport literature by the recurring discussion of the pyramid model of sport development, and whether a trickle-down, or bottom-up approach, or neither, is best. Historically, the

government has leaned towards heavily supporting elite-level sport development, in the hopes that a 'trickle-down' effect will occur (Green, 2007).

1991 to Present

The CGC was incorporated in 1991, now consisting of a volunteer Board of Directors, and an office of paid staff responsible for the operations and execution of each Canada Games event. In 1997, the roles and responsibilities of the CGC and each involved government body were formally outlined in the Clear Lake Resolution and Canada Games Mandate. The Clear Lake Resolution (Government of Canada, 1997) document remains the guiding governance document for the Canada Games to present day.

The federal government recognizes the CGC as a multisport service organisation (MSO). According to the Government of Canada, 'multisport service organisations lead or coordinate the delivery of specific services to the national sport community' (Government of Canada, 2017a). Listed as one of these services is the 'franchise holder for major national and international sport events' (Government of Canada, 2017a), which the CGC would fulfill as the governing body of the Canada Games.

The QPP model evolved and eventually became the Sport Funding and Accountability Framework (SFAF) in 1996. The SFAF demonstrates the federal government's approach to supporting sport organisations that are professionalised in such a way that they can meet necessary funding requirements. The CGC is funded in part by the federal government through the Sport Support Program (SSP) and therefore is required to meet SFAF requirements in order to receive SSP funding. Funding from this program goes directly to the CGC to support its operations and responsibilities. Additional funding from the Government of Canada's Hosting Program may be provided to Canada Games

host communities and directly supports the delivery of an individual Canada Games event (Government of Canada, 2017b). In their role of governing the Games, the CGC manages relationships with all levels of government (federal, provincial/territorial, municipal), as well as each NSO and Canada Games host committee. Within the network of Canada Games stakeholders, provincial/territorial governments and the federal government remain involved in Games operations, funding, and decision-making. NSOs are responsible for sport-specific technical standards at each Games, while provincial/territorial sport organisations (PTSOs) are responsible for developing athletes, coaches, and officials for Games participation. The CGC then liaises with each of these involved parties as well as each event host society and municipality to deliver the Games.

Since the inaugural event in 1967, the Canada Games have been held every two years, alternating between summer and winter events. The Games host sports for able-bodied athletes, athletes with a physical disability, and athletes with an intellectual disability. Twenty-one sports are contested at the Canada Winter Games, and nineteen sports are contested at the Canada Summer Games, though the sport program structure has varied over the years. Each Canada Games event is hosted by a different municipality, rotating between provinces and territories as determined by the Clear Lake Resolution and Canada Games Mandate (Government of Canada, 1997). All events are governed by the Canada Games Council. The federal and provincial/territorial Governments' continued financial support of the Canada Games indicates that the Games are perceived to hold an important position in Canadian sport. Canadian sport policy purports that the Games are useful in nation-building, athlete development, providing elite sporting competition, growing Canadian sport participation (sport development), and celebrating Canadian

culture (Government of Canada, 1997). Unfortunately, little is known regarding how these goals have evolved over time, or what the role of the Games in Canadian sport actually looks like in the operation of sport organisations across the country.

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Chapter 4: Strategic Objectives of the Canada Games

Over time, the Canada Games have remained a heavily supported aspect of the Canadian sport landscape. In the previous chapter I outlined how the Canada Games came to fruition in the political context of the 1960s. Across policies and documents I analyzed, a variety of goals and outcomes of the Games were mentioned to further justify the country's need for such an event. In the following chapter, I synthesize the strategic objectives of the Canada Games to further advance understanding of how the Games have been justified and institutionalized within the field. Four themes, or objectives, emerged from the data. These themes were: (a) unity through sport; (b) athlete development; (c) community development; and (d) sport development. I will outline each of these objectives, explain how they have evolved, relevant interviewee discussion, and bring to light critical considerations and theoretical connections of how these objectives may materialize in practice and challenges encountered in realizing these goals.

Unity Through Sport

"Unity through sport" became the motto of the Canada Games prior to the first Canada Winter Games in 1967. McDonald and McLaughlin (1977) described how the motto came to be in their book outlining the first decade of the Canada Games. According to the authors, at one committee meeting prior to the initial Games, an individual in attendance explained how he felt the Games could truly unify the country. The motto 'unity through sport' remains a cornerstone of the Games to this day.

The concept of creating national unity through a multisport festival that promoted amateur youth sport existed a few years before the first Games actually occurred. This notion was likely further strengthened from the political climate at the time of the first

event. Bill c-131 passed in 1961 with support from all regions, demonstrating the importance of sport and physical activity across the country. In 1962, at the first meeting of the National Advisory Council on Fitness and Amateur Sport, Melville Rogers, a past Olympic figure skater and member of the council, stated: "I would think this would be a unifying thing for our Canadian picture" (McDonald & McLaughlin, 1977, p. 3) when referring to a nationwide sporting festival.

Nationwide support of the federal government becoming involved in sport, coupled with a crisis of Canadian national identity (particularly between the English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians) seemingly created the perfect political environment for an event such as the Canada Games to come to fruition. The federal government saw this country-wide sport festival as a way to demonstrate Canada's unity. "The Canada Games, inaugurated in 1967, became a highly visible means of demonstrating the unity of provinces at a time of increasing political tension between French-speaking Quebec, the federal government, and English-speaking Canada" (Morrow & Wamsley, 2013, p. 253). Here, Morrow and Wamsley (2013) acknowledged the political importance of the Canada Games at a particularly divisive time in Canada's history.

Although the political use of sport has shifted somewhat and the focus may no longer be on French/English Canadian divide, "unity through sport" remains in Canada Games Council and federal government policy language. The Clear Lake Resolution (1997) and Canada Games governance documents included wording such as the following, signifying how important unity is to the brand of the Canada Games.

By representing their provincial or territorial community, Canada Games athletes strengthen the fabric that tie the larger society and that the Canada

Games' inter-provincial/territorial team format will be preserved to promote the positive development of contemporary society and the fair inclusion, alliance and solidarity of all athletes, without regard to ability, gender, or geography and to further develop an understanding and cultural sharing among the country's young people from sea to sea to sea. (Clear Lake Resolution, 1997, p. 11)

Today, the motto of "unity through sport" is still paramount to the Canada Games movement. All provincial/territorial governments as well as the federal government remain heavily involved in the funding, staging, and support of each Canada Games. In the Canada Games Council's most recent strategic plan (2009-2017), national unity emerges in the strategic goals of the organisation as outlined below;

Strategic goals:

1. To be widely recognized by Canadians as a unique, premium, nation-building multi-sport event for youth, that creates legacies for the Canada Games property and sport in host communities, provinces, and territories.

2. To maximize the leadership role of the Canada Games in connecting Canadians and increasing the value they place on sport while ensuring the Canada Games is a significant contributor to the Canadian sport system.

(Canada Games Council Strategic Plan 2009-2017, p. 2)

The idea that the Canada Games build the nation and connect Canadians was also prevalent in conversations with interviewees. As such, the Canada Games are not only heavily supported and held in such high regard in policy and document language but are

perceived by sport administrators to achieve these positive outcomes as well. Interviewees refer to the Games' ability to unite the country through sport as one of the major positive aspects of the Canada Games. Interviewees indicated that they perceive that the Games offer a unique opportunity for those who attend each event to connect with individuals from across the country:

> The whole… I mean we used the… as the Canada Games Council do too… that whole brand of unity through sport, so we promoted that a great deal and I think the fact that we showcase every province and territory as a part of our Games was a way to demonstrate that sort of unity in our country and showcase the country through our Games. (Henry, Senior Manager, OC)

Specifically, interviewees credited the cultural aspect of each Canada Games event with unifying the nation. In the excerpt below, one interviewee is describing how the Games celebrate the country as a whole by representing each province and region at each event:

> So that's been a real benefit of tying it to that bringing the nation together. We also have a requirement that they have an expression of… sort of coast-to-coast pan-national culture in the opening and closing ceremonies. So that… we want them to show off the community, region, province, but there needs to be a national element to all the cultural programming. Canadians should see themselves in their Games. (Don, Senior Manager, MSO)

While the idea of national unity is certainly a positive aspect of the Canada Games experience overall, there is little indication apart from anecdotal evidence and the perceptions of these interviewees supporting the claim that the Canada Games unite the nation. The idea that the Canada Games promote national unity likely grew from a political

agenda that was prioritized when the Games first came to fruition and has since become institutionalized within the field of Canadian sport. The notion that an event such as the Canada Games can unite a nation as large as Canada has become institutionalized and taken-for-granted within the sport system. However, sport and sporting events can be incredibly divisive and exclusive. The federal government has had a large part in funding the Canada Games since their inception. Given the federal government's role in funding the Canada Games, the way that 'unity through sport' is so widely accepted can be understood in terms of coercive isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), or field-level pressure from the government. In this way, the Government is able to work towards unification through government funded programming such as the Canada Games. Interviewee responses indicated that national unity may have been adopted as an aspect of the habitus of agents within the field overtime as well. Each interviewee discussed the merits of holding a nation-wide youth sporting event for celebrating Canadian culture, meeting individuals from other provinces, and representing one's own region

Individuals involved within the sport system (and more specifically, sports on the Canada Games program) may claim that the Games promote national unity, however there remains issues in promoting this idea. The Canada Games celebrate a certain level of youth sport, and as such privilege the fraction of Canadian society that can afford to partake in sport and reach the appropriate level for participation at the Games. If the government then says that the Canada Games, which service a relatively small proportion of the population, promote national unity, what message does that send to those who are not able to participate in the Games? Scholars have described a similar concept in relation to national identity. National identity is often produced and reproduced by those in society with power and

resources in place to set such standards (Rowe, McKay, & Miller, 1998). In regard to the Canada Games, a similar argument could be made for national unity. Ultimately, the Canada Games and the positive impacts they may catalyze are only accessible to those who are able to reach such a level of sport, and communities that have the capacity to host.

Athlete Development

The desire for better elite athlete development was the initial impetus of the Canada Games in general. When the idea of a national sports festival was mentioned by prominent sportsperson Norton Crow in 1924, the discussion largely stemmed from Canada's disappointing performance at the Paris 1924 Olympic games (McDonald & McLaughlin, 1977). The idea for a national multisport event surfaced a number of times over the years between Crow's initial idea and the start of the Canada Games in 1967. Canada's performance at the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome spurred the discussion for how the country should be developing athletes for international success. Over time political agendas evolved, and the federal government's use of sport for broader international prestige only grew, further solidifying the need for a country-wide elite sporting competition for Canada's young promising athletes.

Additional incentive for provinces to develop Canada Games-level elite athletes was added to the Games' after their inception. In 1971, the Centennial Cup was added to the Games to reward provinces for improving their results from one Games year to the next (Canada Games Council, 1985; Canada Games Council, 2018). The Centennial Cup is awarded in addition to the Canada Games Flag, which is awarded to the province or territory that has accumulated the most points overall. The Centennial Cup is an example of how the Canada Games may motivate improvement in jurisdictions from one event to

the next, while still valuing performance and competition. The prestige of being recognized as an award winner at the Games may be an incentive for provinces and territories to develop their sport systems and be recognized for improving their performance even if the Canada Games Flag is not attainable. Early documentation about the Canada Games Council demonstrates how athlete development has always been an objective of the events. One of the early Canada Games Handbooks (1985) lists the following key goal and objective;

> Goal: To provide a focus for the growth and development of amateur sport at the provincial level and provide an opportunity for high calibre, national competition for a maximum number of participants from all provinces who have undergone special selection and training. (Canada Games Council Handbook, 1985, p. 8)

> Objectives: To provide a multi-sport competition which, like the Olympic Games, is the culmination of training and competition programs for Games participants. (Canada Games Council Handbook, 1985, p. 8)

Both of these points demonstrate how athlete development and competitive sport were a part of the Canada Games brand in the mid-80s. The comparison between the Canada Games and the Olympic Games is of particular interest, given the caliber of athlete at the Olympic Games juxtaposed with the supposed participatory focus of the Canada Games at the time. Further, interviewees often referred to the Canada Games as a 'mini-Olympics', indicating that elite athlete development is still prevalent in the Canada Games movement today.

The athlete development rhetoric of the Games was particularly prevalent in the 2002 Canadian Sport Policy;

> The Canadian Sport Policy calls for enhancing the contribution of the Canada Games to Canada's athlete development system. For many athletes, the CG provide first exposure to a multi-sport competitive environment…The Games also play an important role in the specific development of young athletes, coaches, and officials... The Canada Games are also an inspiring example of governments' long-standing commitment to sport. (2002 Canadian Sport Policy, p. 10)

This excerpt indicates that there was a clear perception that the Canada Games enhanced the athlete development process and increased the chances of Canadian success in international sport competitions. Most interviewees' perceptions of the Games echoed the tone of the policies and documents in regard to athlete development in general. However, participants also acknowledged the variability of athlete development and how the value of the Canada Games may vary between individuals and sports.

Interviewees often credited the Games with being the impetus for sport system development most broadly, at times forcing PTSOs to develop their coach and official training systems to align with the national certification systems. Most participants saw this coach and official development as one way that the Games helped to develop athletes. Interview feedback regarding the role of the Canada Games within the long-term athlete development (LTAD) pathway was mixed. Some participants recognized that the Games fit well within the LTAD for certain athletes, although this was not the case for all athletes. The value placed on the Games varied between athletes and between sports as well. This

was described well by one participant, who had a perspective spanning multiple provincial-level sports; "[we identified] that the Canada Games was not necessarily part of the performance pathway for every sport, and that there's other competitions that might be more considered high performance…" (Elizabeth, Coordinator, Provincial MSO).

Generally, participants agreed that any given athlete's development pathway will vary, and therefore there is no "one size fits all" approach to successfully develop an international-level athlete. As one interviewee was describing how the Canada Games fit within their sport's pathway, they expressed "I think for some sports [it fits]… what I've heard for other sports is not necessarily, it depends on the athlete" (Meghan, coordinator, PSO). Regardless of the 'fit' of the Games within the athlete development pathway, all participants expressed the importance of the Games as a multisport experience within a young athlete's career.

> I think there's certainly value for athletes to attend, regardless of whether it's part of their pathway or not. I mean, there's very few opportunities to go to a multisport Games, and, yea, I mean the opportunity to represent your province and the reality is that for a lot of athletes whether or not the Games is part of their performance pathway, it's probably the highest level of sporting competition that most people will attend. And so, I think there's certainly value in attending those Games (Elizabeth, coordinator, Provincial MSO)

As with national unity, the Games' strategic objective of athlete development was a product of a government push to develop stronger Olympic athletes. The federal government's financial commitment to the Games and those involved gave them the power to exert influence over the smaller agents within the field. By meeting certification

requirements and performance standards, PTSOs had access to the Canada Games themselves and the resources that participation at the Games made available. Sports that were able to comply to the necessary requirements had access to the symbolic, and therefore economic capital that the Games offered due to their prestige and institutionalized role in the sport system.

The Canada Games hold particular value and cultural importance for the sports where the Games align well with the athlete development pathway. Interviewees discussed this perceived value and cultural importance for athletes involved in their sport. For those sports where the athlete development pathway and the Canada Games do not align, there remains value in the Games due to their uniqueness as a multisport event, however the value in the athletes' development may end there. For those sports where the Canada Games fit well within the LTAD pathway, access to symbolic capital within the field further increases as their athletes compete at the Games and potentially move on to success at international competitions. With more access to symbolic capital within the field, sports and athletes involved with the Canada Games can further solidify their positions of power in comparison to other actors.

Unfortunately, in the same way that the structure of the Games favours some sports and provinces, the structure of the Games excludes sports whose development pathway does not match the Games. This may be particularly true for athletes with a disability, whose development pathway is not necessarily as linear as that of an able-bodied athlete. If the value of the Canada Games is highest for athletes whose development pathways fit best with the Games, the opposite could be true for those whose pathways do not fit within the structure of the Games. As such, for those sports and athletes who do not see the same

value in the Games as others, their access to symbolic and economic capital within the field may be limited. Herein lies a significant critique of the Canada Games. While the Canada Games' aim is to unite the nation and provide development opportunities, achieving these objectives may be challenged by the inherent exclusionary nature of sport and the current Canadian sport system.

The Games are unique and have become institutionalized because they remain the largest multisport event in the country, having gained a certain amount of prestige within the organisational field of Canadian sport. The Canada Games have further gained prestige and value as a multisport experience because of the success of Canada Games 'alumni' at international sporting events. One participant explained that 60% of Canadian medals won at any given Olympic Games are won by Canada Games alumni (Don, Senior Manager, MSO). With this kind of data to support the important of a multisport experience on future athlete success, there is no doubt as to why the Canada Games have remained institutionalized in the sport system since 1967. However, information regarding the success of Canada Games alumni seems to be one of the few evaluative measures of any Canada Games objective.

The Canada Games attempts to service both grassroots and participatory sport as well as elite-level youth sport. The challenge of balancing all needs within the sport system has manifested as tension within the field for decades and has long been critiqued by sport scholars (e.g. Green, 2007; 2009). On one hand, the Canada Games contributes to community-level sport development in host municipalities (explained further below). On the other hand, the Games require an incredible level of organisation and planning from provincial sport organisations in order to send a team to the Games, including coach and

official certification, and administrative resources, focusing largely on elite-level youth sport. Tension remains amongst how the Games may perpetuate an elite-focused model and disparity between support for high-performance, mainstream sport and grassroots, recreational, or lesser-known sport programming.

Community Development

In general, community development refers to providing individuals with basic needs (e.g. food, shelter), improving equity of resources within organisations and institutions, and fostering positive relationships among people (DeFilippis & Saegert, 2012). However, 'community development' and 'community' itself are highly contested terms particularly in the events space, used in a number of different ways, and meaning different things to different people (Misener & Mason, 2009). Therefore, the information below regarding the Canada Games and community development can only reflect the perceptions of what these terms meant to policymakers and interviewees.

Community development has been a part of the Canada Games narrative since the 1985 Canada Games handbook, however likely emerged as a priority years earlier. The 1997 Clear Lake Resolution outlined how the Canada Games are meant to "provide host communities, and their countless dedicated volunteers, with an event that fosters great pride and lasting cohesion." (Clear Lake Resolution, 1997, p. 11). Community development has been an increasingly important aspect of the Canada Games movement over the years. This is likely because disseminating the idea that the Games help communities grow a) helps to sustain the Games themselves by enticing cities to bid as hosts, and b) helps the federal and provincial governments justify spending money on each

event. The Clear Lake Resolution also points to the importance of community development for sustaining the Games:

> The Canada Games must strive to strengthen the long-term viability of the Games and the Canada Games Movement by furthering the constructive development of communities through sport related legacies and by developing new ways to engage the needed financial and other resources. (Clear Lake Resolution, 1997, p. 16).

The government's stance on the importance of the Canada Games for host communities is further solidified in the Federal Policy for Hosting International Sporting Events (2008). This policy does not directly govern the Canada Games, given the Games are not an international-level event. Nevertheless, the Canada Games are held in such high regard that the policy clearly states that the Canada Games will be "coordinated with the Hosting Policy, given the significance of the Canada Games, its contributions to sport development and the realization of the benefits of hosting…" (Federal Policy for Hosting International Sporting Events, 2008, p. 2). The way that the federal government has incorporated the Canada Games into a policy by which they are not governed is further insight into how the Canada Games are revered and institutionalized within Canadian sport.

Community development and host society transfer of knowledge has become a main priority of the Canada Games Council in recent years. The 2009-2017 strategic plan outlined host society transfer of knowledge as one of their four strategic goals. These strategic goals on the part of the Canada Games Council also align with aspects of the 2012 Canadian Sport Policy. Each level of government contributes a portion of funding to the host city for infrastructure development and facility renovations. Interviewees often

discussed the community development aspect of the Games as one of the overwhelmingly positive outcomes of Canada Games events. Interviewees often described the infrastructure and facility development within host cities as 'catalysts' for increased sport participation and physical activity. In this way, interviewees made connections between community development and the aforementioned strategic objective of athlete development. Generally speaking, interviewees explained how the Games help develop athletes in host cities because of the increased resources and facilities the events bring to such communities.

> It helps the community… And then the sport legacy that we want to make sure that we're developing sport in each community and that ties into the physical legacy. Some cases like, there's still a rowing club in Kamloops. There wasn't one before the 1993 Canada Games. (Don, Senior Manager, MSO).

Further, interviewees described how community involvement in the Canada Games, in the form of volunteerism, local business sponsorship, etc. was another example of how the Games 'unite through sport', as evidenced by the following quote:

> You go to [host community] and I'm telling you that community is changed forever because they were able to host the nation, engage their people and their community. Citizen engagement was phenomenal. Volunteerism, citizen engagement, legacies of infrastructure… (Stephanie, Senior Manager, MSO)

As demonstrated above with various quotes, community development is the most pervasive of the four identified strategic objectives, as it seems to touch upon themes of unity, athlete, and more broadly sport, development, which will be discussed further in the next section.

Community development is often a claim and justification made for hosting large-scale sporting events such as the Olympics (Black, 2008). The Canada Games may provide

an example of this phenomenon in a smaller-scale, national-level event. From investigating the history of the Canada Games and in talking to participants, it seems as though aspects of perceived community development promises for each Games do come to fruition and facilities are used after each event. As one participant described, there is only one example of a new Canada Games facility shutting down (Mount Blackstrap in Saskatoon, a product of the 1971 Canada Winter Games, shut down after a number of years of operation; Don, Senior Manager, MSO). Given the perceived value of the Canada Games, as well as the opportunity to leverage government funding that the Games provide, there is certainly an allure to host. Further, the provincial and territorial governments established a hosting rotation, as outlined in the Clear Lake Resolution (1997), which limits which region hosts each event. This regional rotation makes hosting the Games elusive, further increasing the prestige and allure to host.

In securing the opportunity to host a prestigious and nation-wide event such as the Canada Games, host communities gain access to economic capital (in the form of increased government funding) and may further access symbolic capital within the sport system. If the host community stages a successful Games, the city may then seem more appealing as hosts for future events, thereby gaining access to future symbolic capital as well. However, issues that arise for host communities mimic those that occur in host communities of larger events, and across the sport system as a whole in an event year. By diverting funding to sporting events that require public funding, officials may neglect broader public issues in the host community that could otherwise benefit from funding.

Sport Development

Each of the three strategic objectives outlined above (unity through sport, athlete development, and community development) have had some part in the history of the Canada Games, and remain an aspect of the Games in present day. Sport development is the fourth strategic objective that emerged from the data and encompasses in part each of the previously mentioned objectives. In sport management literature, sport development refers most generally to increasing participation opportunities and the benefits of sport involvement for community members (Shilbury, Sotiriadou, & Green, 2008; Taks, Green, Misener, & Chalip, 2014). Many of the initial "Goals of the Canada Games" (Canada Games Council, 1970, pg. iv) relate to this definition of sport development. For example, the first goal on the list is "to stimulate enthusiasm throughout the country for amateur sports" (Canada Games Council, 1970, pg. iv). The sixth listed goal in the Canada Games Council's 1970 governance document reads that a goal of the Canada Games is "to illustrate that progress is being made in the development of amateur sport at all levels of competition" (Canada Games Council, 1970, pg. iv). In the early days of the Canada Games these objectives likely pointed to developing sport in order to strengthen Canada's performance on the international stage, ultimately increasing a sense of national unity. Today, sport development remains an objective of the Games, however has become increasingly politicized and fraught with tension regarding how best to develop sport.

During the interviews, almost 50 years after the initial Canada Games Handbook was published, interviewees continued to demonstrate wholehearted support and belief in the power of the Canada Games to develop Canadian sport. One participant articulated how

they believe there is no question whether or not the Canada Games have increased sport participation across the country;

> When the Games were created in 1967 by all the levels of Government they absolutely became a catalyst for sport participation in each of the jurisdictions. There's no doubt… There's no doubt they are a catalyst for sport participation. (Stephanie, Senior Manager, MSO)

Other interviewees turned to specific examples of how the Games contribute to growing sports within host communities. Most often, these examples involved how infrastructure and community development outcomes of the Games impacted participation. One participant described how a Canada Games venue has helped a host province grow speed skating in their jurisdiction; "Nova Scotia's producing Olympians in speed skating. If there wasn't an oval in Halifax that would not be the case." (Don, Senior Manager, MSO). Another participant described how one venue built for a Canada Games had been turned over to the PTSO for their use after the event had ended; "this venue that [was] turned over to the provincial [sport] association now to manage, they anticipate it's going to have a huge impact on the participation in that discipline" (Henry, Senior Manager, OC). These interview excerpts demonstrate how individuals within the sport system perceive that the Canada Games are making a positive impact on sport development in Canada.

Participants further explained how the Canada Games contribute to sport development by improving the quality of coaching and officiating and contributing to a positive athlete experience and athlete development. One participant summarized this understanding well when referring to coach and official development programs, and how these initiatives contribute to the athlete experience; "like I said I think the Games itself

has a role in development, but the resulting programs that are created because of the Games have a bigger impact on athletes' development" (Pete, Director, PSO). This participant's quote clearly demonstrates a perception that other participants shared as well – that the Canada Games are embedded within and create a 'domino effect' across the sport system.

Regardless of position within the sport system, each interviewee expressed that they believe the Canada Games increase participation opportunities and develop sport across Canada. However, critical considerations remain regarding whether or not participants' perception of the impact the Games have mimic the actual impact of these events. A large percentage of Canadian Olympic medals are won by Canada Games alumni (Don, Senior Manager, MSO). Apart from data regarding Canada Games alumni international success, there lacks empirical evidence evaluating the strategic objectives of the Games as outlined here. Continued support for the Canada Games seems to stem largely from their historical significance in the Canadian sport system and how these strategic objectives are used to justify each event.

Conclusion

The strategic objectives of the Canada Games as outlined above have evolved over time from their roots in political goals and agendas. The context of how the Canada Games came to fruition offer insight into why and how the above strategic objectives (unity through sport, athlete development, community development, and sport development) came to be and have remained a part of the Games. While these objectives are certainly worthwhile in their own right, there is little evaluation apart from anecdotal evidence to support that each of the aforementioned goals are being met. These strategic objectives may be used as justification for continued financial and political support, while issues of

power and equitable resource allocation across the sport delivery system remain uncontested. Additional data analysis, which I will unpack in the following chapter, indicates that there is a potential for disconnect between the strategic objectives outlined above and the role the Games seem to be playing in the Canadian sport landscape. Ultimately, more research is required to understand how such supposed positive outcomes are understood by a broader audience within the organisational field (the sport system) and society at large.

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Chapter 5: The Role of the Canada Games in the Current Canadian Sport System

The strategic objectives of the Canada Games, as outlined in the previous chapter represent how the Canada Games have been framed in policy to justify continued funding and support. However, the Canada Games seem to be in a tenuous spot, where a number of valuable and positive objectives are strived for, yet the way that the sport system is set up can cause challenges in actually achieving those objectives. The Canadian sport system has evolved, and continues to evolve, to focus on developing high performance, elite athletes, since the federal government initially became involved in funding and delivering organized sport (Whitson & Macintosh, 1989; Green, 2004).

The following chapter will address my second research question; how do the Canada Games fit within the organisational field of sport? Themes of results-based funding, sport program inclusion and participation requirements, and high-performance competition alignment demonstrate how the Canada Games both perpetuate, and are perpetuated by, the current Canadian sport system's high-performance model. Each of these three themes will be discussed below, drawing upon interview data and existing literature to explain and interpret individuals' perceptions of how the Canada Games fit within the sport system.

Results-based Funding

Funding is one way that the Canada Games influence the broader Canadian sport landscape. Interviewees explained how in some provinces, funding for sports included on the Canada Games program was partially dependent on the teams' results at the Games. In the following example, a participant described how provincial/territorial sport

organisations (PTSOs) may build their teams solely with results in mind, potentially negating the value of the Canada Games as a development opportunity.

> I think that some provinces really value the performance component of the Canada Games. And nothing wrong with that, however to a fault on trying to select athletes either way above stage and meaning to the Canada Games. They'll try and recruit National Team level athletes to participate because they know that potentially funding is tied to that. (Stan, Director, NSO)

While many national sport organisations (NSOs) do not allow national-level athletes to attend the Canada Games, a similar funding structure was expressed by a participant from another sport. Pete expressed how their sport was not included in the provincial allocation of funds, yet their results would affect their 'report card' and therefore the allocation of provincial money to that sport.

> So, there are, I would say minor funding implications in terms of how our results affects our report card that [funding body]… they're the organisation that works with the provincial government to hand out money. So, it's a small portion, you know, 'enhanced excellence' is the term for the funding that's given out. I'm not sure how much money that is, there's about 15 sports that receive it in [province], we're not one of them…So, that changes things in terms of our goal of the provincial team program and competition. (Pete, Director, PSO)

In the above interview quote Pete mentions how funding allocation within the province impacts how this sport approaches their provincial team program, selection, and competition. In this case, the provincial funding body favours sports that are able to achieve a certain level of success at the Canada Games. In doing so, this funding partner may

indirectly guide how resources within the PTSO are allocated, potentially routing funds from grassroots participatory programming to provincial-level programming.

The results-based nature of some provincial and territorial funding structures mimics that of national-level of sport in Canada and the way that Own The Podium (OTP) allocates funding. By emphasizing results at the Canada Games, provincial and territorial governments and other funding partners perpetuate the idea that elite sport is, even at the youth level, more valuable than participatory sport. The way that these participants have described challenges and funding in their organisations also mimics Dowling, Denison, and Washington's (2015) work with OTP. The authors found that NSOs often allocated resources to fulfilling OTP requirements as opposed to lower-level programming (Dowling et al, 2015). External expectations such as the results-based funding models described above may impact how PTSOs use their available resources. Pressure from external sources in regard to funding requirements exemplifies coercive pressure, whereby actors within the organisational field must comply to external factors in order to access necessary resources (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991).

While a results-based funding model may not be ideal, as discussed above, there would likely be similar challenges regardless of how resources are allocated. As with other fields, decisions regarding who receives what support are difficult and often leave groups or organisations wanting or needing more. The way that some provinces and sports seem to be allocating funds due to the Canada Games mimics funding through OTP, however within the existing sport system there may be limited options to implement a funding structure other than the one that currently exists.

Inclusion Requirements

'Inclusion requirements' refer to specific criteria and requirements that sports, officials, or coaches, must fulfill in order to participate in the Canada Games. Similar to results-based funding, there are certain resources and opportunities available for sports that meet the inclusion criteria and are a part of the Canada Games program. In the following sections, I outline how inclusion requirements can limit participation at the Canada Games and therefore exclude a large portion of the Canadian sport system from the positive impacts that the Games work to achieve.

Sport program inclusion. Sports on the Canada Games program have access to funding based solely on their inclusion within the events. Criteria for a sport to be included in the Games involves, but is not limited to, widespread national participation, having certain organisational systems in place at the national level, and fulfilling coaching and officiating requirements. Interviewees often saw these criteria as catalysing sport development in the provinces and territories and encouraging PTSOs and NSOs to be a part of the Games.

> [A sport's] effort to get back in the Games or in the Games can sometimes help them… they need to align their coaching and they need to…they need to make sure they have more provinces at a national championship, and so catalyzing things that they should be doing anyway. (Don, Senior Manager, MSO)

Another participant from a NSO, summed up the link between the importance of the Games and how being included on the Canada Games program affects the resources available to their member provinces and territories.

> [Being a] part of the [Canada Games] core sport group, based on the current Canadian sport landscape, it provides a ton of resources to our provinces and territories, and continues to keep [specific sport] on the overall system map. (Stan, Director, NSO)

Both of these interview quotes are examples of how the prestige and value associated with, and the institutionalized nature of, the Canada Games may motivate, rather than pressure, certain sport organisations to improve their systems and alignment to meet requirements. After acknowledging the importance of the Games for maintaining the reach of their sport, one participant articulated that the Games produce tension in how funds are used within PTSOs.

> So, when the Canada Games mechanism at their province is like "oh you need to do this, and you'll get this much resource". And so, they look at it and they're like "this is fantastic!" like, we got X amount of dollars and because we have X amount of dollars we gotta do this. But really, but that maybe or likely shouldn't have been put in their strategic vision anyways… Because the role of the PTSO is to grow sport participation and be part of the athlete pathway, then again is it potentially just a distraction every four years? But then part of that, we get some good money this year but it's not going to be there next year and the next year. (Stan, Director, NSO)

This participant is describing how PTSOs within their sport may receive funding for Canada Games participation, however this funding and the requirements tied to those resources may not be the most strategic use of the organisation's time in developing the sport. Stan's quote above also demonstrates how the Canada Games may distract PTSOs

from their responsibilities of delivering grassroots and recreational programming. While the Canada Games Council (CGC) does not technically regulate how funds are used, the prestige and power of the Canada Games themselves create a shift in attention from participatory endeavours to high-performance youth sport in each Canada Games year.

The CGC determines, implements and ensures adherence to sport program inclusion requirements as the governing body for the Canada Games. The CGC may unknowingly force PTSOs to divert funding from grassroots programs to high-performance amateur sport in order to meet requirements necessary to take part in the Canada Games. In this way, sport inclusion in the Canada Games acts similarly to QPP requirements and the SFAF, where NSOs are required to allocate resources to develop programming and reports that gain them access to federal funding. The standards required by the CGC motivate PTSOs to align their pathways and sport systems. This motivation resembles coercive pressures, which could contribute to systemic professionalisation of Canadian amateur sport.

The CGC itself not only exerts certain types of pressure on PTSOs and NSOs to meet participation requirements but is also subject to funding criteria set out by the federal government, creating a complex web of organisations within the field. As a multisport service organisation (MSO), the CGC must meet SFAF requirements in order to qualify for Sport Support Program (SSP) funding (Government of Canada, 2017). The CGC then fulfills its role as the governing body for the Games, which is partially mediated by government partners, and is also an agent within the organisational field itself. As such, the CGC is shaped by, and shapes, the organisational field in which it operates, alongside PTSOs and NSOs.

Tensions and challenges between elite sport development and grassroots participation has been discussed numerous times in literature in the context of Canadian sport and beyond. Whitson and Macintosh (1989) first acknowledged that a professionalisation process similar to that occurring in the NSOs may occur at the P/T level, largely due to a high-performance model adopted by larger, more wealthy provinces. The pressure exerted on PTSOs from the CGC and various levels of government in the country resembles the institutional pressure discussed by Edwards, Mason, and Washington (2009) in their work on PSOs in Alberta, Canada.

Certification requirements. The Canadian sport system currently involves a number of certification processes and programs for coaches and officials. The Coaching Association of Canada (CAC) works with NSOs to develop and administer the National Coaching Certification Program (NCCP). Each NCCP involves a number of workshops and evaluation procedures which, upon successful completion, give coaches 'levels' of certification. There is currently no country-wide, multisport NCCP or CAC equivalent for officiating, however many NSOs have developed their own officiating development programs which are enforced at the Canada Games through sport-specific technical standards, as put forth by each NSO.

Coaches and officials are required to meet certification levels prior to qualifying for Canada Games participation (Meghan, Coordinator, PTSO). For some sports, the Canada Games are also an appropriate event at which to be evaluated in order to reach higher certification levels required for national or international competition. Interviewees further described how the Games push PTSOs and NSOs to develop programs that will help their coaches and officials succeed at the Games. One participant explained that due to the

Canada Games requirements and because PTSOs want to do well at the Games, that "[they] put more money into coaching to prepare their teams for the Games. They put money into officials who can be part of the Games." (Stephanie, Senior Manager, MSO). This quote is an example of how PTSOs may allocate funding and be motivated to help develop their officials and coaches in order to attend, and succeed at, the Canada Games. Multiple interviewees discussed how the prestige of attending such an historical and institutionalized event such as the Canada Games drives coaches and officials to achieve the required certification levels. This motivation helps to further develop sport and streamline education for individuals involved in youth sport delivery, improving the quality of overall sporting experience.

One individual affiliated with a NSO described how the Canada Games "forces [the provinces] to kinda put their coaches through the NCCP and get them competition-development trained and certified. So, to be able to coach in the Canada Games" (Roger, Manager, NSO). This individual's use of the word 'force' demonstrates how the Canada Games and those in decision-making roles in relation to the Games exert pressure, or coercive isomorphism, over PTSOs. Critical considerations regarding coach and official certification requirements for Canada Games participation are twofold. First, the way that the Canada Games pushes PTSOs to streamline coaching and official development is similar to how Whitson and Macintosh (1989) discussed the emergence of 'technical professionals' in Canadian sport. They described the professionalisation of coaching (as well as other positions within sport) as contributing to the overall bureaucratization of the Canadian sport system. The professionalisation of coaching and officiating through national certification programs is further enhanced by the Canada Games and strict

participation requirements, as demonstrated above. PTSOs are therefore required to further divert energy and resources to holding certification clinics and workshops, potentially reducing the focus on recreational programming.

Secondly, technical standards and certification can also be understood as taken-for-granted components of the sport system. By emphasizing development of technical professionals and elite sport, the government has shaped actors within the field to accept coach and official certification as the norm, when not all individuals have access to such education. As DiMaggio and Powell (1991) assert, norms within an organisational field are often perpetuated by those in power. The idea that an effective coach is a certified coach, for example, is perpetuated by agents within the field such as the CGC, NSOs, and the federal government. Certification requirements and other organisational field-level norms then limit participation to individuals who are able to meet requirements and access the training deemed necessary by those in charge. Only individuals who have the means and resources to attend lengthy certification workshops and pay registration fees are included in the Canada Games. The professionalised structure of being a coach or official may limit participation and engagement with sport to those who are relatively privileged and have time to dedicate to that kind of venture and excludes individuals who may be entirely capable yet do not have the means to achieve the required level of engagement.

High-performance Competition and System Alignment

Scholars have cited the Canadian federal government's focus on high-performance sport as the root of professionalisation and bureaucratization in national sport systems (e.g. Green, 2004; Green & Houlihan, 2006, Thibault & Babiak, 2005). The two previous sections outlining results-based funding as well as sport, coach, and official

inclusion requirements demonstrated how the Canada Games favour high performance competition and system alignment. The Games contribute to the high-performance model of sport delivery in Canada. Favouring a high-performance sport structure perpetuates power imbalances and issues of equitable resource allocation in sport.

The documents analyzed describe the Canada Games as contributing to Canada's elite athlete development, providing meaningful elite competition for the country's young athletes. For example, in the 2012-2013 Canada Games Council Annual Report, the Chairman of the organisation stated that "the Canada Games have grown from a participatory event to one of Canada's most important events for Canada's best young developing national, international, and Olympic champions." (Canada Games Council, 2013, p. 3). More recently, the Canada Games have been described as "high performance, multisport events with a vision to enrich Canadian culture and create lasting legacies" (Canada Games Council, 2015 as cited in Government of Canada, 2016).

Interviewees expressed the Canada Games' role in elite athlete development as well, describing how the Games help to develop athletes, but also by describing the level at which athletes must compete in order to attend the Games. One participant, a coordinator at a PTSO, emphasized how athletes who are eligible to compete at the Canada Games have already gone through a number of years of development in their sport. This participant described how athletes named to their provincial sport team for the Canada Games have "potentially [been] named or [are] on the verge of being named to other [national-level] teams" (Meghan, Coordinator, PTSO). This statement clearly demonstrates that athletes attending the Canada Games have likely already achieved an elite or high-performance level within their sport.

Participants discussed how competition pathways within their jurisdictions have become aligned with the Canada Games to help move athletes from one competition to the next. One participant in particular, who has administrative experience at both the provincial and national levels of sport, explained how his jurisdiction has been working towards aligning their competition pathways with the Canada Games.

> I've always been involved with the [Provincial Multisport] Games, and along the years what we've been doing in the last say ten, twenty years is try to align the development of the athletes, so what we do at the [Provincial Multisport] Games is the step before the Canada Games, and we know that the Canada Games is the step just before the junior national teams or the senior national teams or the Olympic teams. (Bob, Senior Manager, OC)

The competition season alignment that Bob is describing above likely resulted from the way that the Canada Games were initially organized back in the late 1960s. In the first iteration of the Canada Games Council Handbook (1970), those involved with the event established that "The Canada Games shall be an independent event. They shall not represent the national championship of any sport, nor should any national championship or other major sports event be staged in the country during the seven days preceding or following the Games." (p. 16). With this precedent set early in the Canada Games' history, jurisdictions would have been expected to prepare athletes for this specific, stand-alone event, potentially influencing each sports' broader competition schedule.

By aligning provincial and territorial competition pathways to the Canada Games schedule, the sport system becomes more streamlined and efficient, however more weight is placed on the development of athletes worthy of competing at the Canada Games. As

can be seen from interview excerpts, in some cases athlete training and recruitment for the provincial and territorial teams can begin years in advance of Canada Games team selection. System alignment further favours a high-performance sport delivery model by funneling athletes into a performance pathway earlier in their careers with the goal of provincial or territorial success at the Canada Games. In attempting to build the strongest provincial teams possible for the Canada Games, PTSOs may be challenged with balancing the needs of Canada Games athletes as well as athletes that do not reach elite levels of sport yet are still worthy of resources and programming. Further, the performance-driven system in which the Canada Games are embedded supports early athlete development and specialization and linear progression through sport. In this way the system neglects to accept that many athletes will not progress through their careers in this way. While PTSOs are required to focus attention on Canada Games-level athletes in order to receive funding and performance-based support, many athletes' experiences may go unnoticed.

Conclusion

With a focus on high-performance youth sport, criteria and requirements for inclusion and participation, and results-based funding, the Canada Games reinforce a high-performance model of sport delivery. Scholars have long critiqued how a system's focus on high-performance sport diverts attention from broader participation and grassroots programming and contributes to professionalisation within the sport system. While this dichotomy may not be as pervasive in the current sport system, there remains challenges for the Canada Games in achieving their objectives within a sport system such as Canada's. The Canadian federal government has focused on the development of elite sport to such an extent that organisations typically responsible for providing opportunities

to the masses have, at times, had to focus their resources and time on elite pursuits. The way that actors within the sport industry have worked to advance their sport systems, programming, and pathways with the main goal of achieving success at the Canada Games embodies how the Canadian sport system has been developed overall. The Canada Games have become a taken-for-granted norm in the Canadian sport landscape since their inception in 1967. As such, the structure of the Canada Games enhances a sport system where funding structures provide power to the already elite, favouring high-performance over grassroots participation and the 'have' P/Ts over the 'have not' P/Ts.

The results presented here allow for further discussion of political implications and challenges within sport in countries where government influence is unavoidable. The aforementioned findings demonstrate how challenges in fully supporting elite sport development and recreational programming may manifest at all levels. This tension runs two-fold in the case of the Canada Games. Firstly, the federal government remains the subject of critique regarding how building international success for prestige is counter-intuitive to broad-based participation and social equity demands across the country (Green, 2007). Issues remain in how federal money is spent on a two-week sporting festival for only a small portion of the general population. Secondly, results presented from this study support Whitson and Macintosh's (1989) suggestion that the Canada Games may offer a platform for provincial and territorial governments to seek national prestige similar to how the federal government uses international competitions. The way that some jurisdictions focus on high-performance programming at the Games and utilize a results-based funding model suggest this phenomenon. As with the diversion of funds to high performance sport at the national level, this friendly competition at the Provincial/Territorial level may

similarly divert funds from grassroots programming, particularly in a Canada Games year and the year prior.

The Canada Games initially began due to the federal government's goal of increasing national unity through sport and improving Canada' chances at international medal success. Over time the Games have evolved alongside a high-performance based sport system. The federal government exerts pressure on the CGC, and therefore PTSOs, perpetuating challenges in balancing the development of participatory opportunities while attempting to support the growth of elite athletes.

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Chapter 6: Considerations and Conclusions

The results from this study demonstrate that sport events can be understood as institutions within a broader social or organisational field. The Canada Games are a prime example of how sport events are politicized and stem from a larger national political agenda. The collected data and subsequent data analysis indicated that the Canada Games have been, and continue to be, used as a tool to advance the Canadian sport system's high-performance model of sport delivery. The Canada Games were initially a government endeavour to increase national unity, develop young amateur athletes, and inspire Canadians to be more active (Government of Canada, 1997). Over time, the Games have grown to be more of a high-performance, athlete development endeavour (Canada Games Council, 2013). However, the Canadian government continues to describe the Games as a sport and community development, and nation-building event. As such, challenges remain in achieving well-intentioned objectives of sporting events that are embedded within a sport system that often favours a high-performance model of sport delivery. The Canada Games may fulfill certain objectives, and provide a positive experience for those involved, however critical considerations must be taken into account when trying to maximize the positive impacts events such as the Canada Games could have on sport and society as a whole.

The strategic objectives of the Canada Games include (a) unity through sport; (b) athlete development; (c) community development, and; (d) sport development. These strategic objectives have remained a part of the Games narrative since the early days of the Canada Games. For most interviewees, these strategic objectives are appropriate and were perceived to have been achieved. However, these strategic objectives are challenged when

considering the sport system within which the Games are embedded. Issues of power and control regarding how public resources are allocated, and which sports and individuals may benefit from the Games emerged as a key takeaway from this study. The performance-driven and highly regulated system that themes from chapter five indicate create challenges for achieving positive outcomes of the Games. Strategic objectives of the Games, as discussed in chapter four, require further research to unpack the impact of the Canada Games on individuals and sports both participating in the Games and not. In the following subsections I will discuss theoretical and political considerations of this study, as well as directions for future research.

Theoretical Considerations

The two theoretical perspectives chosen to understand the Canada Games within the Canadian sport system have illuminated power relationships between agents within the field. Within the field (the Canadian sport system), agents (sport organisations, governments, etc.) compete for capital (cultural, economic, symbolic resources). The Canada Games act as a site within which agents compete for resources. For example, sport organisations with more resources are able to align their organisation with requirements for participation at the Canada Games, and therefore are able to access symbolic and economic capital tied to Games participation. The Canada Games Council itself is the main proprietor of the Games as an institution yet is also an agent within the field. These roles create complex power dynamics and relationships between agents within the sport system. The Canada Games, therefore, cannot be easily understood through simply using one or two theoretical perspectives or studies. The Canada Games and the Canada Games Council could be explored in a number of different ways to further investigate the nature of

relationships and connections between each agent within the field. Further, just as organisations within the field of Canadian sport interact with each other, they also interact with organisations from other fields. For example, the Canada Games and the Canada Games Council interact with corporate sponsors, community members, artists, government officials, to name a few. Canadian sport is further impacted by international sport more broadly, the media space, and more. This study only included the field of Canadian sport, however given sport's relationship with various other fields there are many opportunities to extend the use of both of these theoretical approaches in the sport studies space. Relationships between sport organisations, regions, government partners, and corporate stakeholders will need to be unpacked in order to gain a full understanding of the political and cultural role of the Canada Games within the sport system and Canadian society at large.

Bourdieu's theoretical components of capital and field particularly have been useful in describing how agents within the field access resources (capital) and prestige in relation to the Canada Games. Bourdieu's concept of distinction is also of note in this context (Bourdieu, 1984). Distinction is the idea that individuals with power and resources dictate what aspects of society are sought after and considered valuable (Bourdieu, 1984). In the case of the Canada Games, those in power (the government, the Canada Games Council, etc.) have placed considerable value on the Games themselves. As such, agents within the field strive towards being a part of, or otherwise affiliated with, the Canada Games. As I discussed in chapter four, critical considerations about the Games' strategic objectives can be understood in terms of capital. The Canada Games seem to be a source of symbolic and economic capital for agents within the field. By participating in the Games,

Provincial/Territorial sport organisations (PTSOs) have access to funding (economic capital) and prestige (symbolic capital) due to the value placed on the Games by those in power. Further, host communities can access economic capital in the form of capital development and government funding for the event. The third aspect of practice theory is habitus. National unity, the main strategic objective of the Games, may be a part of the habitus of the field. As Kitchin and Howe (2013) explained, "habitus is an unconscious process where wider culture is imbibed and embodied in individuals, and as a result informs their actions" (p. 128). Therefore, it is challenging to discuss habitus in the context of this study given my data collection methods (interviews) and my position being somewhat removed from the field. National unity and identity and the habitus of the Canadian sport system (the field) could be further explored using an ethnographic approach to the research, which would allow me to observe individuals' actions within the field as opposed to relying solely on interview data.

Tenets of neo-institutionalism became apparent across the data analyzed. Coercive isomorphism clearly manifests in how government stakeholders exert influence over organisations within the sport system. External funding requirements and results-based funding structures, as well as Games' inclusion requirements are examples of how agents in power influence the field. I also found that mimetic isomorphism has played a role in shaping the field. The way that Provincial/Territorial (P/T) sport systems have aligned competition structures with the Canada Games schedule demonstrates how the PTSO levels of sport have mimicked the national system. As discussed in chapters three and four, the Canada Games, official and coach certification requirements, and streamlined funding structures have become taken-for-granted norms within the sport system. Each of

these norms have been perpetuated by agents within the field, and subsequently have shaped the field itself.

By using both practice theory and neo-institutionalism as theoretical perspectives throughout this research project, I have been able to better understand the field, agents within the field, and how they interact. Practice theory has allowed me to look at power and pressure within a government-funded sport system in terms of capital (Bourdieu, 1977). Neo-institutionalism allowed me to understand the data collected in terms of how agents within the field use the resources at their disposal to exert power and influence over other agents (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). It is essential to capture a thorough understanding of power and influence when examining government driven systems. The government has the potential to impact millions of lives and as such should be held accountable when public funds are used on a relatively small portion of the population. Theoretical perspectives such as those used in this project illuminate disparities in society that may be taken-for-granted or ignored by those in powerful positions, resulting in further inequities for marginalized individuals. These two theoretical perspectives have been used in conjunction previously (Skille & Skirstad, 2007). This project has demonstrated how social and organisational theories can be used together to help researchers broaden the understanding of societal structures and systems, begin to break down inequity, and improve systems within which we live.

Political Considerations

The Canada Games were initially created to help the government achieve broad political goals. Although the motivation and reasoning for holding the Games has evolved over the years, the Canada Games remain a highly politicized aspect of the Canadian sport

system. Each level of the Canadian government supports the Games both in theory and financially. P/T and federal governments have further roles in certain aspects of decision-making regarding the operation of the Games, as outlined in the Clear Lake Resolution (Government of Canada, 1997).

The Canada Games continue to play a part in the effort to achieve goals such as reconciliation and equity across the country. One interviewee stressed how an aspect of a bid for future Games highlighted the region's vision of reconciliation. Further, the Canada Games include events for athletes with physical disabilities as well as athletes with intellectual disabilities. Despite broader national policy shifts regarding equity and inclusion, and reconciliation, there remain issues of representation at the Canada Games. It is important to note how a large amount of public funding is pushed into the Canada Games, however the Games mainly service a small portion of Canadian athletes.

The results from this study have shown that the Canada Games mimic critical concerns described by scholars at the national and international levels of Canadian sport and other government-funded systems. The Canada Games demonstrate how the pursuit of positive impacts that could result from such sporting events may be hampered by constraints that exist within the sport system, or field. As discussed in chapter 5, the results-based funding structure in many provinces and territories shifts PTSO focus on developing programs and fulfilling requirements for the Canada Games. This could indicate that focus is being shifted away from grassroots and recreational programming and development for mass participation. Scholars have discussed a similar trend, particularly in relation to the federal government's funding criteria (e.g. QPP and SFAF) and Own the Podium (Dowling, Denison, & Washington, 2015). More research is necessary to further

understand the challenge in supporting grassroots development, elite youth athlete development, and every step in between at the P/T level.

The Canada Games are an example of how the federal government has used sport and sport events as a tool to achieve broader political goals and advance a high-performance model of sport delivery across the country. Support for the Canada Games is justified by well-intentioned strategic objectives, yet the results of this study have highlighted how recurring challenges of government involvement in sport manifest across the Canadian sport system. Using sport as a tool to 'unify a nation' remains problematic given the exclusionary nature of sport itself. The use and allocation of public funds to an event that supports a relatively small portion of the population warrants careful thought as to whether a two-week sporting event is the best use of public funds.

Conclusions and Future Research

This project has highlighted how agents within the field of sport interact, access resources, and exert power and influence over one another to shape the field. The politicization of sport can be challenging, particularly in regard to the process of professionalisation within amateur sport which raises concerns about equitable allocation of public funds. Professionalisation of sport organisations has allowed for advancements in standards of practice, improved quality assurances, and accountability; however, this process may also present challenges in achieving the number of varying objectives across the system of access and broad based participation. The ways in which the Canada Games influence, and are influenced by, the Canadian sport system provides valuable insight into how governments' use sport and sporting events to achieve broader political goals and advance political agendas. My discussion of the strategic objectives of the Canada Games

in chapter four brought to light the need for future evaluation of the Games and whether or not these objectives are being met. Evaluations of sport participation within host communities pre- and post-event could be a place to start evaluating the community and sport development objectives. By considering athletes' perspectives regarding their development pathway, researchers may gain further insight into the role of the Canada Games in the athlete development pathway and in an athlete's experience of sport.

Future research regarding the Canada Games, the politicization of Canadian sport, and how sport events may be used to shape sport delivery is required to unpack some of the theoretical and political considerations raised in this study. One aspect is around national unity and regionalism which could be an interesting approach to consider given the motto 'unity through sport' yet how the Games' clearly focus on inter-provincial competition. Given the immense variation between the provinces and territories in terms of funding, sport development structure, etc., an investigation into how provincial and territorial governments support and use the Games could provide a useful perspective on the role of sport within regional agendas and in the pursuit of provincial/territorial goals. Further, the data I collected for this project demonstrated that national unity is an important aspect of the Canada Games, however there was limited discussion as to how the Games may or may not promote a national identity. Most literature that has been published regarding national unity/identity and sport has focused on the national and international levels of sport (e.g. international mega-events, international rivalries; e.g. Houlihan, 1997; Vincent & Crossman, 2015). There is little research regarding how national-level sporting events are used to foster unity within a nation. In one way, the Canada Games oppose national unity and identity literature in the sense that differences across a nation are often

found to be ignored in the perpetuation of a national culture via symbols (Rowe, McKay, & Miller, 1998). In the case of the Canada Games, each provincial and territorial team is encouraged to represent their region and celebrate their specific region with pride. Perhaps, unlike the policy documents purport, the Canada Games can actually enhance difference across the country and perpetuate regionality or provincial divides, not national pride. More research in this realm is needed to further unpack how the Canada Games, and other sports events, are linked to national unity and/or regionalism.

In recent years, the Canadian government has been working to include more diverse perspectives across policies and systems. Equity and inclusion for persons with disabilities, members of the LGBTQ+ community, aboriginal groups, and other minorities have come to the forefront of Canadian policy objectives. The Canada Games do currently involve some programming for persons with physical and intellectual disabilities, however further research regarding the role the Canada Games have for parasports is warranted. Given their historical and cultural significance, the Canada Games could be a valuable platform for sport development and more broadly to work towards greater inclusion and equity for groups that may otherwise be under-represented. Future research involving partnerships with a variety of individuals across the sport system and society would be useful in learning more about how the Canada Games could positively contribute to Canada's broader inclusion objectives.

The Canada Games initially began in large part due to the federal government's goal of increasing national unity through sport and improving Canada' chances at international medal success. Since the inaugural event in Quebec in 1967, the Games have evolved as one aspect of a politicized and increasingly professionalised sport system.

Through their relationship with the Canada Games Council, the federal government exerts pressure on PTSOs, perpetuating challenges in developing a fully integrated sport development system where much emphasis is placed on elite success. Themes and discussion addressed throughout this project bring to light how objectives of sport events may be positive and foster sporting opportunities yet achieving those objectives can be challenging due to the field and the environment within which the events are embedded. In the case of the Canada Games, sport and athlete development goals may be hindered by the results-based funding structure in the Canadian sport system. In this way, my project is a step towards understanding how the way in which the sport system has been structured and has evolved could negatively impact how goals and objectives are achieved. Moving forward, scholars and industry professionals can work together to evaluate the objectives of initiatives such as the Canada Games, to further tease apart challenges in achieving those objectives, and how to address those challenges in a meaningful, sustainable, and equitable way.

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Kitchin, P. J., & Howe, D. (2013). How can the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu assist sport management research? *Sport Management Review, 16*, 123–134. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2012.09.003

Rowe, D., McKay, J., Miller, T. (1998). Come Together: Sport, Nationalism, and the Media Image In L. Wenner (Ed.) *Mediasport (p.119-133). London, UK: Routledge.*

Skille, E. Å., & Skirstad, B. (2007). Understanding Sport Participation—A Cross Level Analysis from the Perspectives of Neo-Institutionalism and Bourdieu. In M. Parent & T. Slack (Eds.) *International Perspectives on the Management of Sport* (pp. 37-59) New York: Routledge

Vincent, J., & Crossman, J. (2015). "Our Game Our Gold": Newspaper Narratives about the Canadian Men's Ice Hockey Team at the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. *Journal of Sport Behavior*, *38*(1), 97–117.

Appendix A: Semi-Structured Interview Guide

1. Can you please start by describing your role/position in the organisation?

    a. How long have you been in this role?

2. How is your organisation affiliated with the Canada Games?

    a. Who makes decisions about the Games within your organisation?

    b. How many athletes attend, what age are those athletes, how are they selected?

    c. Can you describe how the Canada Games are integrated your organisation's competition schedule?

3. How does your role/position relate to the Canada Games?

4. Does the operation of your organisation change in a Canada Games year?

    a. Ex. Funding, staff roles, etc.

5. What do the Canada Games mean to you?

6. What do you feel is the function of the Canada Games?

7. From your experience, what impact does the Canada Games have on athletes?

    a. Do you see the Canada Games as a development opportunity for athletes?

8. How is parasport and sport for persons with an intellectual disability represented in the Canada Games?

    a. Do you feel as though this is an appropriate representation?

9. What is your understanding of how hosting the Canada Games impacts the host community?

10. Do you feel the Games contribute to Canada's international sporting success? If so, in what way?

<u>Closing</u>

11. Is there anything else pertinent you would like to add?

Appendix B: Non-Medical Ethics Approval

Western Research

Date: 20 December 2017

To: Dr. Laura Misener

Project ID: 110446

Study Title: Canadian Celebration or Political Tool? The role of the Canada Games in Canadian sport

Application Type: NMREB Initial Application

Review Type: Delegated

Full Board Reporting Date: January 12 2018

Date Approval Issued: 20/Dec/2017

REB Approval Expiry Date: 20/Dec/2018

_____

Dear Dr. Laura Misener

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the WREM application form for the above mentioned study, as of the date noted above. NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the expiry date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

This research study is to be conducted by the investigator noted above. All other required institutional approvals must also be obtained prior to the conduct of the study.

Documents Approved:

Document Name	Document Type	Document Date	Document Version
Interview Guide Oct 13	Interview Guide	13/Oct/2017	1
Letter of Information and Written Consent CLEAN Nov 29	Written Consent/Assent	29/Nov/2017	2
Recruitment_Email Resubmission CLEAN Nov 27	Recruitment Materials	27/Nov/2017	2
Verbal Consent:Assent Form Oct. 20	Verbal Consent/Assent	20/Oct/2017	1

No deviations from, or changes to the protocol should be initiated without prior written approval from the NMREB, except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazard(s) to study participants or when the change(s) involves only administrative or logistical aspects of the trial.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Kelly Patterson, Research Ethics Officer on behalf of Dr. Randal Graham, NMREB Chair

Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system that is compliant with all regulations).

Appendix C: Curriculum Vitae

EDUCATION

09/2016-Present   Western University, London, ON
Master of Arts (candidate), Sociocultural Studies of Kinesiology

09/2010-04/2015   The University of British Columbia, Vancouver Campus
Bachelor of Kinesiology, Minor in Arts (Psychology), Co-Operative Education Program

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Sociocultural studies of sport and sport management. More specifically; sport for persons with disabilities, social impact of sporting mega-events, event legacy and leveraging, and sport policy.

RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS

Bodin, K., Kay, M., Sales, D., & Misener, L. (2018, June). Strategies and Challenges in Governing an Integrated Sport Organization (published abstract & poster presentation). Submitted to the North American Society for Sport Management Conference in Halifax, NS.

Misener, L., Sales, D., & Bodin, K. (2018, May). Participation Pathway: From Awareness to Engagement and Beyond (poster presentation). Submitted to the Child Health Symposium in London, ON.

Bodin, K. & Misener, L. (2017, November). Canadian Celebration or Political Tool? The Case of the Canada Games (oral presentation). Submitted to the North American Society for Sport Sociology Conference in Windsor, ON.

Misener, L., Kay, M. & Bodin, K. (2017, September). Integrated Governance in Canadian Sport: A Case Study of Swimming Canada (poster presentation). Submitted to the International Paralympic Committee VISTA Conference in Toronto, ON.

Bodin, K. & Misener, L. (2017, May). Examining the intersection between gender and disability: A discourse analysis of Canadian print media during the Toronto 2015 Parapan American Games (published abstract & poster presentation). Submitted to the North American Society for Sport Management Conference in Denver, CO.

Kay, M. & Bodin, K. (2017, April). Examining Governance in an Integrated Sport Organisation: A Case Study of Swimming (oral presentation). Submitted to the Kinesiology Graduate Student Research Symposium in London, ON.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH ASSISTANT EXPERIENCE

01/2018-05/2018   **Graduate Teaching Assistant** (proctor)
                                   Western University

January 2018   **Certificate in University Teaching and Learning, complete**

Western University

11/2016-07/2017	**Research Assistant, Dr. Laura Misener** Western University
01/2017-05/2017	**Graduate Teaching Assistant** Sport, Exercise, and the Body in Western Culture (KIN 3363B) Western University
09/2016-12/2016	**Graduate Teaching Assistant** Critical Thinking and Ethics in Sport (KIN 2292F) Western University
September 2016	**Teaching Assistant Training Program** Western University

SERVICE AND LEADERSHIP EXPERIENCE

05/2017-present	North American Society for Sport Management **Student Representative, Marketing and Communications Committee**
10/2017-06/2018	Western University School of Kinesiology **Student Representative, Thames Hall Renovation Committee**
04/2017-05/2018	Kinesiology Graduate Students Association | *Western University* **Vice President, Academic**

WORK EXPERIENCE

05/2015-08/2016	Softball Canada | *Ottawa, Ontario* **Coordinator – Canadian Championships/Women's National Teams**
02/2014-04/2015	UBC Recreation Intramurals | *Vancouver, British Columbia* **Program Developer – Staffing and Recognition**
05/2014-08/2014	Softball Canada | *Ottawa, Ontario* **Intern – Canadian Championships/Men's National Teams**
02/2013-04/2014	UBC Recreation Intramurals | *Vancouver, British Columbia* **Director, Health Promotions**

RELEVANT PRESENTATIONS

Bodin, K. (2017, November). Managing Events: Two Perspectives. Presented as a guest lecture in KIN 2298.

Baranowski, N., Bodin, K., Eftekhari, A., & Patil, S. (2017, September). Toronto 2028 Global Games Bid Presentation. Presented as a finalist in the University of Michigan Sporting Event Bid Competition in Ann Arbor, MI.

Bodin, K. (2017, April). Disability Sport and the Media. Presented as a guest lecture in KIN 3363B.

Bodin, K. (2017, January). The Ancient Olympics. Presented as a guest lecture in KIN 3363B.

OTHER RELEVANT CONTRIBUTIONS

Bodin, K. (2017, October 13). The University of Michigan's Sporting Event Bid Competition: A student's perspective [Blog post]. Retrieved from https://nassmblog.wordpress.com/2017/10/13/tl-um-sport-event-bid-competition/

CONFERENCE ATTENDANCE

June 2018	North American Society for Sport Management Conference | *Halifax, NS*
November 2017	North American Society for Sport Sociology Conference | *Windsor, ON*
September 2017	VISTA - International Paralympic Committee Conference | *Toronto, ON*
September 2017	Sport Canada Research Initiative Conference | *Toronto, ON*
May 2017	North American Society for Sport Management Conference | *Denver, CO*
April 2017	Canadian Paralympic Committee Summit | *Ottawa, Ontario*
March 2017	Sport for Development and Peace Symposium | *Champaign, Illinois*
October 2016	Sport Canada Research Initiative Conference | *Ottawa, Ontario*

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

2016-present	North American Society for Sport Management

2016-present	North American Society for Sport Sociology

SCHOLARSHIPS AND AWARDS

November 2017	Western University, Faculty of Health Sciences Graduate Scholarship Mentoring Program Incentive, *$1,000*
September 2017	University of Michigan Sporting Event Bid Competition (1st Place), *$5000*
May 2017	Brown Commemorative Scholarship, *$500*
May 2017	Ontario Graduate Scholarship, *$15,000*
September 2016	Western Graduate Research Scholarship, *$3,650*
September 2016	Elizabeth Bentley Order of the Eastern Star Bursary, *$600*
September 2012	Masonic Bursary of the Grand Lodge of British Columbia and the Yukon, *$1,000*
September 2010	The University of British Columbia President's Entrance Scholarship, *$2,500*