January 2019

TRUE NORTH STRONG Canada 150: Canadian Identity and its Contribution to Doping Free Sport

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Graduate Program in Kinesiology

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Master of Arts

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Abstract

This thesis, a reflective piece inspired by “Canada 150” events, explores the psychosocial and sociocultural factors surrounding the ongoing evolution of the clean sport movement in Canada. A literature review recounts the critical events in the history of doping, viz. the Ben Johnson scandal, which resulted in a call to overhaul sport culture and realign it with fair play values. Theories in sports philosophy and psychology provide a further understanding of the meaning of sport, and psychosocial factors that are inextricably linked to doping behavior, respectively. The autoethnographic method provides insight into current Canadian values to compare with those in its sports history. My intimate experiences with Canadians during the Canada C3 expedition, many of whom demonstrated self-sacrifice in their commitment to cultural and moral progress, lead me to believe that fair-play culture in Canada has grown only stronger with time. Combined with my literature reviews, my research exposed the overlooked vulnerability of athletes and the presence of a broad spectrum when it comes to qualifying institutionalized doping, consequently presenting a rationale for WADA to increase its accountability by reconsidering its strict liability clause.

Keywords: Canada 150, true north strong, clean sport, sport philosophy, fair play, psychosocial factors, doping, autoethnography, reconciliation
**Land Acknowledgements**

I would first and foremost like to acknowledge the numerous traditional territories that have provided a learning environment throughout this process.

Anishinabewaki (London, Ottawa, Lake Kukagami, Thunderbay, Winnipeg)
Haudenosauneeega Confederacy (London)
Haudenosauneeega- St Lawrence Iroquois (Brockville)
Huron-Wendat (Brockville, Ottawa)
Omàmiwininiwak- Algonquin (Ottawa)
Odawa (Sudbury)
Métis (Thunderbay, Kenora, Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary)
Niitsitapi- NL’J’Td, Blackfoot (Calgary)
Tsuu T’ina (Calgary, Jasper)
Ktunaxa (Calgary, Jasper)
Stoney (Jasper)
Secwépemc- Secwépemcúl’ecw (Jasper, Kamloops)
Kelly Lake Metis Settlement Society (Jasper)
Aseniwuche Winewak- Rocky Mountain (Jasper)
Tsleil-Waututh- səl̓ilwətaʔɬ (Squamish, Howe Sound, Vancouver)
Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw (Squamish, Howe Sound, Vancouver)
Snuneymuxw (Nanaimo)
K’ómoks (Campbell River)
Homalco (Campbell River)
Klahoose (Desolation Sound)
Tla’amin Nation- Sliammon (Desolation Sound, Powell River)
Homalco (Desolation Sound)
Tsawwassen (scəwaʔen) (Saturna Island, Salt Spring Island)
WSÁNEĆ (Saturna Island, Saltspring Island, Victoria)
Hul’qumi’num Treaty Group (Saturna Island, Saltspring Island)
Te’mexw Treaty Association (Victoria)
Lekwungen/Songhees (Victoria)
Acknowledgements

I want to acknowledge and thank all the incredible people who were part of the Canada C3 Expedition including the teachers across Canada who welcomed me into their classrooms, expedition leaders, organizers and funding partners and, my fellow participants who quickly became family and made my story worth telling.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Angela Schneider, who is a powerful force in Canada’s sports culture as both an athlete and clean-sport advocate and whose depth of work has been of great benefit for my research and in many ways inspired passion in this work.

Special thanks are due to my family whose sacrifices, patience, love, and understanding throughout my journey have been instrumental to my evolution and success.

I extend my thanks to my partner, who pushes me to challenge myself in all aspects of life and whose unwavering support in me has fostered a strong sense of strength and belief in self that had long been idle.

I would not be where I am today without the continued opportunities I have to engage in sport and the coaches that I have had the good fortune to come across with those opportunities. I take this occasion to thank them all, along with the Czech Rowing Association and partners who have been supportive of my continued education.

This thesis has been written during my studies at the Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of Western Ontario. I would like to thank the Graduate Studies department for being so accommodating with my training and travel schedule.

London, Canada, December 10th, 2018 Helena Hlas
## Table of Contents

Certificate of Examination ................................................................. i

Abstract .................................................................................................. ii

Land Acknowledgements ........................................................................... iii

Acknowledgements .................................................................................. iv

Table of Contents .................................................................................. v

List of Figures ....................................................................................... vii

List of Terms and Abbreviations ............................................................. viii

Chapter One: Introduction and Literature Review ................................. 1

  *Canada 150* ....................................................................................... 1
  *A Doping Diary* ................................................................................ 6
  *The Spirit of Sport* ............................................................................ 32

Chapter Two: Methods in Meaning ......................................................... 40

  *Research Question* ........................................................................... 40
  *Methods: Acts of Meaning* ............................................................... 42
  *Meaning in Sport* ............................................................................. 49
  *Working With Meaning* .................................................................. 66

Chapter Three: Psychosocial Approaches to Doping Behavior ............... 69

  *Theory of Planned Behaviour* .......................................................... 70
  *Doping Perceptions Review* ............................................................. 80
  *A Deeper Understanding of Drug Use in Sport* ............................... 87
**Future Focus** ......................................................................................................................... 96

**Chapter Four: True North Narrative** .................................................................................. 100

*Part One: LAND* ..................................................................................................................... 100

*Part Two: ABOARD THE POLAR PRINCE* ............................................................................. 115

*Moving Through Metaphors* ................................................................................................. 145

**Chapter Five: Analysis** ...................................................................................................... 148

*True North Experience* .......................................................................................................... 148

*WADA’s Paradox* ..................................................................................................................... 158

*Hēhēwšin* ................................................................................................................................ 169

**References** .......................................................................................................................... 174

**Curriculum Vitae** ............................................................................................................... 187
List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Canadian Sanctions p.32

Figure 3.1: Mechanisms of TPB p.71

Figure 3.2: Mechanisms of TPB & SCT p.77

Figure 3.3: Compilation- Reasons for Doping p.84

Figure 3.4: Compilation- Information Sources p.87

Figure 4.1. The Drive p.100

Figure 4.2. Coast to Coast to Coast p.103

Figure 4.3. Leg 15 p.115
## List of Terms and Abbreviations

**AD:** Anti-Doping

**CADP:** Canadian Anti-Doping Program, a signatory to WADA.

**CAS:** Court of Arbitration for Sport

**CCDS:** Canadian Centre for Drug-Free Sport

**CCES:** Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport, a result of the merging of the Canadian Centre for Drug-Free Sport and Fair Play Canada. This independent, not-for-profit organization is founded on principles of drug-free sport and fair play and is responsible for all aspects of testing: distribution planning, selecting athletes, testing, results management and imposing sanctions. There is also a mandatory e-learning program for student and national athletes (www.cces.ca).

**COC:** Canadian Olympic Committee, a not-for-profit organization representing Canadian athletes in the IOC and the Pan American Games.

**Doping:** The word doping originates from “dop,” a term that refers to a stimulant beverage used in South Africa during the eighteenth century for tribal ceremonies. WADA considers doping to be any anti-doping rule violation that includes one or more of the following: i) the presence of a
prohibited substance or the substance’s metabolites/markers in an athlete’s bodily specimen, ii) refusing/failing with compelling justification to submit to sample collection or evading sample collection, iii) use or attempted use of a prohibited substance or prohibited method, iv) tampering or attempted tamper with any aspect of doping control, v) violation of requirements regarding athlete availability for our competition testing (whereabouts, information, etc.), and finally, vi) administration or attempted administration of a prohibited substance or method to any athlete or the assistance, encouragement, aiding, covering up, or any kind of complicity violating anti-doping rules (Lippi, 2008).

**IOC:** The International Olympic Committee is a not for profit organization, and as the supreme authority of the Olympic movement acts as a catalyst for collaboration between all parties of the Olympic Family (www.olympic.org).

**ISO:** International Sport Organization

**NSO:** National Sport Organization

**NADO:** National Anti-Doping Organizations

**NOC:** National Olympic Committee

**PED:** Performance Enhancing Drug

**PES:** Performance Enhancing Substance

**PL:** Prohibited list
**RUSADA:** Russian Anti Doping Agency

**SCT:** Social Cognitive Theory is a theory in psychology that stipulates that people learn through interactions with others and observations (Bandura, 1977).

**TPB:** Theory of Planned Behaviour, a psychological theory that suggests that human behaviour is driven by intentions and is regulated by a person’s attitudes, perceived control, and subjective norms (Ajzen, 1991).

**UNESCO:** The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

**WADA:** The World Anti-Doping Organization, an international and independent agency comprised of and funded equally by the governments and sports movements of the world. Its chief appointments include research, education, development of anti-doping capacities, and monitoring of the World Anti-Doping Code (Code) – the document harmonizing anti-doping policies in all sports and all countries (www.wada-ama.org).

**WADC:** World Anti-Doping Code
Chapter One: Introduction and Literature Review

Canada 150

Canada’s celebration of the 150\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of her confederation was an excellent opportunity to reflect on the core themes we as Canadians seek to learn from in our history, use to fuel the conversations of today, and create a foundation for generations ahead. The Canada 150 themes as defined by the Government of Canada include diversity & inclusion, reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, and youth & the environment.\footnote{“150\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of Canada,” Canada International, \url{http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/france/150Canada150.aspx?lanq=eng} accessed: 09. 18. 17.}

In my application to be a Youth Ambassador for the Canada C3 project, a tri-coastal 150-day voyage on a ship around Canada whose goal was to share these themes with Canadians across all boundaries of our country, I discussed the essential role of diversity in inclusion, Canadian identity, and the modern cultural tendencies that lead us astray:

In the prologue of the Alchemist by Paulo Coelho, the alchemist picks up a book about the story of Narcissus, but with an alternate ending in which after Narcissus dies, the goddess of the forest finds the lake, which had once been fresh water, to be filled with salty tears. The lake tells her that he weeps for Narcissus, the goddess says, “Well of course, for you alone could gaze at his beauty.” To this the lake asks, “Was Narcissus beautiful?” The goddess is surprised, for it is by the
banks of the lake that he would kneel each day to contemplate his beauty. The lake tells her “I had never noticed that Narcissus was beautiful. I weep because each time he knelt by my banks, I could see, in the depths of his eyes, my own beauty reflected.”

To me, the first step for a country that wants to support diversity and encourage inclusion is finding the ability to connect with ourselves through the land and redefine what we see as valuable in each other. Here, the story read by the Alchemist at the beginning of this novel serves as a wake-up call. It seems that now more than ever, we as a population are trying to find our voice and find ourselves and we are doing it not unlike Narcissus was, by staring at our own reflection and contemplating how we can better fit into this media mix we call a society. I believe our self-image is too often driven by validation; we seek and perceive ‘likes’ on a computer screen to tell us of inclusion, but with it dies diversity. Ultimately, we have lost sight of what purpose the lake really serves.

I believe inclusion starts with equal opportunity and is driven by an energy and a willingness to take that first step into the unknown. I hope the C3 journey motivates people to seek challenges and be uncomfortable, to embrace feeling afraid, but not to fear being different. I see it starting with one of us, launching a boat in a lake, a few others find their calling, and before we know it, true self-exploration is what is going viral and we no longer need a reflection to see who we are.  

In my application (transcribed above), I spoke of self-discovery through engagement with nature and challenges. However, I believe the visuals of the video reveal another message as I launch my rowing boat on the lake, which combines with the audio narrative to create a metaphor between identity and sport in an effort to express my belief that the theme of

Video of application can be viewed here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qe7ZJ8HlktY
inclusion and diversity is best achieved when people are striving to be their best.

In present-day sports culture, this aim does not exist without ethical controversy, as the words “performance” and “enhancement” have been inevitably woven into competitive sports. Since being selected to be one of 33 C3 Youth Ambassadors fortunate enough to take part in this remarkable journey, I began to expand on this topic and consider morally pressing issues, notably how Canadian identity has contributed to progress in doping-free sport throughout history, and how it might continue to shape the future of clean sport in elite and recreational-level sports.

Though my physical journey through understanding Canadian culture began in early October 2017, when I ventured west to board the Polar Prince, the exploration’s true denouement begins in Canada’s history, with the scandal that followed Ben Johnson’s record-breaking Gold-medal performance in the 100m sprint at the 1988 Seoul Olympics.

At the time, shocked spectators across the country dealt with the shame of the anabolic steroid (stanozolol) detected in Ben Johnson’s urine (Moriarty, 1992), while the reality hit Sport Canada that it was not immune to the world’s doping problems. It was after this hugely public scandal that Sport Canada realized it would have to battle to keep sports in Canada
“clean” (Pound, 2008). The scandal and its magnitude would ultimately become the coup d’état that reshaped the face of Canadian sports culture.

Although the Ben Johnson scandal was the first of its scale in Canada, the rule-breaching use of performance enhancers is not new to sport and can even be traced back to the first Olympics in ancient Greece, where competitors used substances like bulls’ blood, special mushrooms, and alcohol to increase performance (Kamber, 2011).³ Much like today, those who engaged in illegal activities in sports were often disqualified and punished by public denunciation (Kamber, 2011).

Later, as technology increased, the list of substances deemed controversial for sport also increased. In the 19th century, athletes experimented with today’s common substances: caffeine, alcohol and opium (Kamber, 2011). Following the Second World War, stimulants and steroids started to be produced in larger quantities (Kamber, 2011).

The sports community saw another drastic increase in the use of PES during the 1960s because this was a time when the social culture of sports was evolving. The changes began with increased competitiveness in sport,

³ Matthias Kamber is the former Director General of AntiDoping Switzerland. A detailed history of doping can be found in his article “Development of the Role of National Anti-Doping Organizations in the Fight against Doping: From past to future” in the Forensic Science International Journal.
which was associated with greater political involvement in sports during the Cold War (Moller, Waddington, Hoberman, 2015). Winning became more valuable as sports became more commercialized. Moreover, modern sports medicine became increasingly present and led to the medicalization of sports (Moller et al., 2015).

These developments occurred in parallel with the expanded use of and public concern about recreational drugs in wider society and consequently resulted in a heightened need for intervention from sporting bodies and governments respectively (Moller et al., 2015). This concern grew as further scandals drew negative attention to the countries the athletes represented at international levels (Moller et al., 2015). The development of a regulating body outside of the sport became almost unavoidable. Switzerland began employing anti-doping measures as early as the 1960s and is considered one of the key influencers in developing cross-association measures (Kamber, 2011). After having tasted scandal, Canada soon followed.

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4 Verner Moller et al. are the editors of the Routledge Handbook of Drugs and Sport. Although they state that they cannot claim their overview of the knowledge about sport and drugs is exhaustive, the handbook offers a wide range of authors from various disciplines within the human and social sciences. It also serves as an excellent source of holistic perspectives on doping issues.
A Doping Diary

**Canada 1904**

The Canadian Olympic Committee is created and then recognized officially by the IOC in 1907.⁵

**World Stage 1908**

Olympic marathon runner Dorando Pietri was carried across the finish line after doping left him virtually unconscious (Hough, 2017).

**World Stage 1928**

The IAAF votes to adopt anti-doping regulations, becoming the first international sports federation to make such a move (Schänzer & Thevis, 2015).

**World Stage 1932**

The USA accuses the Japanese swim team of doping at the Los Angeles Olympic Games claiming that they were guilty of ‘doping’ by inhaling supplemental oxygen before racing. Many contested that there was nothing illegal about this practice (Dyreson & Rorke, 2014).

**World Stage 1937**

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The IOC formulates its own anti-doping policy and approves it the following year. It is not published until 1946 due to WWII (Gleaves and Llewellyn, 2014).

**USA 1960**

Weightlifters from the U.S. experiment with steroids and all three contenders become national champions. Anabolic steroids begin to spread from sport to sport (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**World Stage 1960**

In San Francisco at the IOC’s 57th sessions, the assembly discusses the use of “pep pills” (amphetamine sulfate) and encourages further research about its dangers to sports (Todd & Todd, 2001).

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6 There is evidence of state-sponsored doping between 1960-1990 period where “from the 1950s onward, dedication to Soviet athletic success was accompanied by the development of research in exercise biochemistry and physiology. These research fields became integral parts of the athletic agenda after World War II, when sport institutions received specific research assignments from the State Sport Committee of the USSR, an arm of the Soviet government” (Kalinsky, 2003, p. 446).

“Blood doping was pervasive in the USSR in the 1970s and 1980s, and was used by many Soviet athletes in the 1976 and 1980 Olympic Games” (Kalinsky, 2003, p. 445).

7 Jan and Terry Todd of the University of Texas at Austin are referenced countless times throughout this chapter because of their extensive review and timeline of significant events covering the History of Drug Testing and the Olympic Movement from 1960 to 1999. Although the review is biased towards events surrounding US athletes and policy, it provides a valuable framework for this doping diary.
Danish cyclist Knut Jensens collapses during a road race at the Rome Olympics (Todd & Todd, 2001). The athlete suffers a skull fracture and dies, marking the first death in Olympic competition since 1912. Investigations later revealed that the cyclist had taken a blood circulation stimulant by the name of Ronicol (Todd & Todd, 2001). The theme of “anti-doping” emerges in cycling.

**World Stage 1962**

The Chair of the British Association of Sports Medicine, Arthur Porritt, becomes the first head of the IOC’s anti-doping commission (Beamish, 2013).

**World Stage 1963**

The European Council on Doping and IOC subcommittee meet to discuss the problem of doping in international sports. The council requests that the IOC create an international commission that will educate on, study the use of, and track doping activity (Todd & Todd, 2001). The council also argues

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8 This claim has been strongly contested by Verner Moller in “Knud Enemark Jensen’s Death During the 1960 Rome Olympics: A Search for Truth?” from Sport in History, vol.25, #3, 2005, p.452-471

9 Lyle Makosky, “Anti Doping in Sport in Canada Keynote Talk.”

10 Rob Beamish’s section in the Routledge Handbook of Drugs and Sport on Ben Johnson and steroids offers a more detailed account of the specifics surrounding Canadian involvement in the clean sport movement. This work is also referenced countless times due to the relevance of the Ben Johnson scandal and Canadian sport policy.
for drug testing of hormones, tranquilizers, artificial stimulants, and drugs that modify respiration or blood pressure (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**World Stage 1964**

During the 63rd Congress of the IOC, the council votes to formally condemn doping and asks NSO’s to inform athletes about testing protocol, sanction persons or organizing committees who cheat through doping, and ask athletes to sign a non-drug use pledge (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**World Stage 1966**

The IOC meets in Rome. The head of the IOC Medical Committee, Sir Arthur Porritt, claims “only a long-term education policy stressing the physical and moral aspects” of doping use would ever be successful in stopping athletes from taking substances (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**World Stage 1967**

The IOC meets in Iran and votes to adopt a sex- and drug-testing policy. The recommendation is adopted near the end of 1968 (Todd & Todd, 2001).
World Stage 1967

Tommy Simpson, a British cyclist, dies during the Tour de France owing to amphetamine-related complications (Todd & Todd, 2001).\textsuperscript{11}

World Stage 1968

The IOC publishes its first banned substance list for the 1968 Summer Olympics (www.cces.ca). The Olympic Games open in Mexico City and drug testing protocol is present, but doesn’t seem to be taken seriously. Athlete accounts from the games claim that the drug programs were far ahead of the testing protocol (Todd & Todd, 2001). One athlete declared that a third of his track-and-field team was using steroids. Later in the year, two cyclists die due to amphetamine complications (Todd & Todd, 2001).

World Stage 1969

After meeting earlier in the year in Lausanne, the Medical Commission announces to the IOC in Warsaw that it has adopted a test for alcohol in the blood of athletes participating in the modern pentathlon (Todd & Todd, 2001).

\textsuperscript{11} “Several historical, non-scientific reports are available showing TDF participants’ reliance on pharmacological aids that have traditionally ben viewed as an unavoidable method to cope with the high physical demands of the race. During the first few decades, cyclists used…ether-soaked handkerchiefs or rubbing chloroform into the gums to release pain and decrease the feeling of fatigue (Lucia et al., p. 281).
**World Stage 1970**

The International Weightlifting Federation (IWF) cancels testing after all three medalists in the first three bodyweight categories during the Weightlifting World Championships test positive for stimulants. Because the fourth to sixth-place finishers were not tested, the competition reinstates the winners (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**World Stage 1972**

The IOC tests 211 athletes at the Sapporo Winter Olympic Games. One athlete’s test shows a positive result. At the Summer Games in Munich, one swimmer turns up positive for ephedrine and the IOC remove his medal (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**World Stage 1973**

The IOC decides to adopt a test for anabolic steroids (previously omitted from the list of banned substances) following the announcement of its development (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**World Stage 1974**

The IOC announces that during the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal (because it believed summer athletes were more likely to dope) testing for anabolic steroids will take place (Todd & Todd, 2001). However, no
screening for testosterone takes place. The IOC also adopts Rule 26, which asserts that doping is forbidden, athletes are liable, guilty parties or those who refuse testing will be eliminated, and that women must subscribe to tests of feminity in sports restricted to women (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**European Stage 1975**

The steroid test is administered for the first time at the European Cup for track and field, after which two athletes are disqualified from competition after testing positive for steroids (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**Canada 1975**

Canada receives its first positive test result for a non-steroid infraction at the Pan Am Games, and an athlete loses a bronze medal. It is generally believed that the positive resulted from a self-administered cold tablet that contained a banned substance (www.cces.ca).

**World Stage 1976**

Testing at the Innsbruck Winter Games reveals two positive tests from 356 samples analyzed, although no steroid screens were completed (Todd & Todd, 2001). At the Olympic Track and Field Trials later that year, 23 athletes fail doping-control protocols (Todd & Todd, 2001). The Montreal Games see
some controversy,\textsuperscript{12} but the random testing keeps many safe. Of 275 tests, eight athletes are found positive for steroids (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**World Stage 1979**

The IOC has by now banned 300 drugs. It announces at a pre-Olympic (Lake Placid) conference that, following more precise testing procedures, it will administer random tests on all of the medal winners (Todd & Todd, 2001). The budget for the testing program will be $1.4 million (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**World Stage 1980**

The Moscow Olympic games did not reveal any positive results for drugs; however, one IOC drug testing expert unofficially screened urine samples for testosterone. As a result, he concluded that 20\% of the athletes tested would have failed by being over the 6:1 testosterone to epitestosterone ratio, 16 of whom were gold medalists (Todd & Todd, 2001). These results, although unofficial, convinced the IOC to add testosterone screening to the clean-sport protocol. Meanwhile, the protocol received much criticism for being 20 years in the making amid problems that are only growing (Todd & Todd, 2001).

\textsuperscript{12} For example the enhanced bodies of the East German women’s swimming team raised questions about athletes’ rights, state use of doping and coercion of athletes. (Lyle Makosky, “Anti Doping in Sport in Canada Keynote Talk,” 2018)
World Stage 1981

Ben Plucknett becomes the first person to lose a world record because of steroid use (Todd & Todd, 2001).

Canada 1981

The first Canadian athlete to test positive for steroids occurs at the Pacific Conference Games of Athletics in New Zealand (www.cces.ca).

World Stage 1983

The Pan Am Games become the largest scandal in the history of doping control (Todd & Todd, 2001) and demonstrate the international scope of steroid use in sports when nineteen competitors, two of whom were Canadian weightlifters\(^{13}\), test positive and are ejected from the Games with a two-year suspension. Many athletes perform below standard to avoid testing or leave the games for “personal reasons” (Beamish, 2013).

Canada 1983

Montreal customs discovers members of the Canadian weightlifting team attempting to import 22,000 steroid pills after a competition in Moscow (Dubin, 1990). Sport Canada passes its first strict regulations to fight doping

\(^{13}\) Makosky, “Anti Doping in Sport in Canada Keynote Talk.”
to eliminate cheating in all sport and educate athletes on the health risks involved in doing so, particularly steroids (Beamish, 2013).\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{Canada 1984}

Sport Canada responds quickly to recent doping controversies. Each National Sport Organization is required to develop a plan to eliminate drug use by Canadian athletes (Beamish, 2013). The NSO’s need to produce a policy statement, an operational plan for regular testing, educational activities, and international lobbying strategies. Later, the Canadian Olympic Committee issued its policy on anti-doping (Beamish, 2013). This policy was more of a complement to Sport Canada’s policy rather than a development of an independent organization. It included only athletes and their sports who were eligible under COC jurisdiction, meaning only those who participated in the Summer or Winter Olympic or Pan American games (Beamish, 2013). The Sport Medicine Council of Canada which developed since 1980 enters a contract for the analysis of samples at the IOC-accredited laboratory in Montreal.\textsuperscript{15}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{14} Lyle Makosky (former Assistant Deputy Minister, Fitness and Amateur Sport) discloses the impact of doping infractions on Canadians in his Canadian Anti Doping timeline in his keynote address at the Canada 150 SSHRC Connection Project: Canada’s Contribution to Human Rights in Sport.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\end{flushleft}
**World Stage 1984**

The IOC’s testing protocol includes beta-blockers and diuretics for the first time at the Calgary Winter Games (Todd & Todd, 2001).

The Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) becomes operational when the International Olympic Committee ratifies its statutes under the leadership of the IOC president Juan Antonio Samaranch (Schneider, 2018).

The American College of Sports Medicine announces that steroid use has a positive impact on muscular strength (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**Canada 1984**

The Canadian Weightlifting Federation sends home two Canadian weightlifters before their competition in the Los Angeles Games after testing positive during pre-competition tests (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**Canada 1985**

Sport Canada issues a revised stronger policy, which aims not only to protect athletes and fair play in sport but also to lead the movement internationally and set the bar for anti-doping (Beamish, 2013). The new policy imposes a lifetime ban for any athlete in a federal government sports program who violates an anti-doping rule through anabolic steroids or a comparable substance (Beamish, 2013).
Six Canadian athletes test positive for steroids (www.cces.ca).

The Canada Summer Games conduct doping control for the first time in athletics and cycling (www.cces.ca).

**Canada 1986**

Canada’s Minister of Sport, Otto Jelinek, cuts the government funding for six cyclists found positive for steroids because he feels it necessary to stand firm against drug use (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**Canada 1987**

The COC approves of the policy that Sport Canada has imposed, supporting a lifetime ban from all COC events. Athletes cannot challenge the results of any IOC-accredited testing (Beamish, 2013).\(^{16}\)

Testing of athletes is conducted in four sports (wrestling, weightlifting, boxing, and cross-country skiing) at the Canada Winter Games (www.cces.ca).

\(^{16}\) At this time, the Assistant Deputy Minister, Fitness and Amateur Sport, Lyle Makosky engages in personal visits to heads/ministers of leading sport nations particularly in the eastern block to address drug use in sport. Many nations such as GDR perceived the Canadian point-of-view as propaganda and criticized the West (Makosky, “Anti Doping in Sport in Canada Keynote Talk.”)
The Canadian Weightlifting Federation begins short-notice, out-of-competition testing (www.cces.ca).

Ben Johnson sets a new world record at the World Championships, and rumors of steroid use circulate (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**World Stage 1987**

The tests of many athletes at the Indianapolis Pan Am Games reveal a gout medication by the name of probenecid, which is added to the list of banned substances after finding it was being used to mask steroids (Todd & Todd, 2001).

**World Stage 1988**

The IOC publishes the “International Olympic Charter against Doping in Sport” and adds a human growth hormone to the banned list. It announces a $2 million plan to discover a way to test for it by the 2000 Olympic Games (Todd & Todd, 2001). It is estimated that at least half of the 9000 athletes who competed in the games used performance enhancers (Todd & Todd, 2001).
Canada 1988

Canada hosts the First Permanent World Conference on Anti-doping in Sport (www.cces.ca).\(^{17}\)

At the Seoul Olympics, Ben Johnson and four Canadian weightlifters test positive for anabolic steroids (Beamish, 2013). The public reaction suggests a diminished confidence in Canadian sport.\(^ {18}\)

Canada 1989

At the Canada Summer Games, five sports are subject to doping controls. Hereafter, testing becomes standard at all Canada Games (www.cces.ca).

The federal government of Canada initiates the Commission of Inquiry Into the Use of Drugs and Banned Practices Intended to Increase Athletic Performance, a 91-day investigation into the drug abuse situation in Canadian Sport. Forty-eight athletes from different sports admitted illegal using drugs (Moriarty, 1992). Ben Johnson’s coach testifies that he administered steroids to Johnson in 1987 before he broke the world record,

\(^{17}\) This conference was the product of a private meeting between 20 ministers of sport at the Calgary Olympics, it was suggested the conference should take place in Canada given its progressive work in the field and neutral stance. Lyle Makosky served as co chair and together with the IOC VP and 60 nations represented produced an international anti doping Charter while was then accepted by 117 nations at the UNESCO meeting of sport ministry in Moscow, (Makosky, “Anti Doping in Sport in Canada Keynote Talk.”)

\(^{18}\) Ibid.
and explains that Johnson had been using steroids since 1981 (Todd & Todd, 2001). Investigations officially ended on September 19, 1989.

The head of the investigative commission, Charles L. Dubin, publishes the results in The Dubin Report in 1990 by (Todd & Todd, 2001). The Dubin Inquiry cost Canada an estimated $3.7 million and resulted in 70 recommendations for doping-related measures in Canadian sports (Moriarty, 1992). These recommendations stated that the government should not link its financial support to medal count in various sports and that independent organizations should be responsible for doping controls, education/prevention, appeals, and arbitrations (Moriarty, 1992). The report becomes a landmark for policies on banned substances in Canada. The recommendations shape the policies’ legal structure. More importantly, however, just as the Olympic Movement divides into forces of modernity and philosophical principles, the report, too, vacillates between these same two divisions, as Rob Beamish points out in his historical overview in Sport Policy in Canada. (2013, 223-243).

Dubin (1990, pp. xxii-xxiii) articulated the fundamental premises upon which he assessed the state of high-performance sport:
The use of banned performance-enhancing drugs is cheating, which is the antithesis of sport. The widespread use of such drugs has threatened the essential integrity of sport and is destructive of its very objectives. It also erodes the ethical and moral values of athletes who use them, endangering their mental and physical welfare while demoralizing the entire sport community. I have endeavoured to define the true values of sport and restore its integrity so that it can continue to be an important part of our culture, unifying and giving pleasure to Canadians while promoting their health and vitality. I have also sought to protect and advance the interests of Canadian athletes and have endeavoured to obtain for them a healthy athletic climate in which they can compete honourably in the future, both nationally and internationally, in accordance with the true objectives of sport.

World Stage 1989

More than 1,150 athletes tested positive in 1988 according to the IOC, and there are now 22 IOC-approved testing labs (Todd & Todd, 2001).

Canada 1990

Ben Johnson’s physician Jamie Astaphan faces a loss of license and fines when the Ontario College of Physicians and Surgeons charge him with professional misconduct (Todd & Todd, 2001).

Athletes in 25 sports are requested to participate in random testing.

Fourteen athletes test positive (www.cces.ca).

The federal government, Australia, and the UK sign an anti-doping agreement (www.cces.ca).
Canada 1991
The Canadian Anti-Doping Organization (CADO) is founded at the end of 1991 and serves as the first independent, not-for-profit organization, as the Dubin Report recommended (Kamber, 2011) and ten athletes test positive (www.cces.ca).

Canada 1992
CADO tests roughly 2,600 athletes (55% unannounced), and a total of 13 athletes test positive (www.cces.ca). CADO is renamed the Canadian Centre for Drug-Free Sport (CCDS) (Kamber, 2011).19

Sport: The Way Ahead is released by the government in response to the Dubin Inquiry and includes strategic visioning for the preferred approach in the future as well as an analysis of drugs in sport. The report co authored by Lyle Makosky affirms the need of core values and principles to guide sport.20

Canada 1993
2,800 tests (63% unannounced) cover 52 amateur sports in Canada. Twenty infractions are reported (www.cces.ca).

19 The foundational document for this organization called “the Ethical Rationale for Drug-Free Sport” by Angela J. Schneider & Robert Butcher, published by CCDS.
20 Makosky, “Anti Doping in Sport in Canada Keynote Talk.”
Canada 1994

2,800 tests (72% unannounced) are conducted and fourteen infractions are reported. A training program for control officers is launched (www.cces.ca).

Canada 1995

2,100 tests (76% unannounced) and eleven infractions are reported (www.cces.ca). Canadian rower Silken Laumann inadvertently tests positive for pseudoephedrine, an ingredient in over-the-counter cold medicines, which costs her the medal at the Pan-Am Games (Beamish, 2013). This event is relevant because later one of the major criticisms of the Canadian Anti-Doping Program and WADA code is that it renders each athlete wholly responsible for themselves (Beamish, 2013). This directive poses a challenge for many athletes who, like Silken, learn the hard way that many items on the banned substance list are present in over-the-counter medicines or nutritional supplements. The WADA does not accept an “accidental neglect” explanation, so there is enormous pressure on athletes to be diligent about everything with which they come in contact.
CCDS joins forces with Fair Play Canada to form the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport (CCES).\textsuperscript{21} CCES serves as a model organization for many other countries as probably the first national anti-doping agency of its kind (Kamber, 2011).

**Canada 1996**
1,819 tests are conducted (77\% unannounced) and thirteen infractions are reported (www.cces.ca).

Doping control takes place at 29 different Canadian-held events, with no infractions (www.cces.ca).

**Canada 1997**
1,682 tests are conducted (78\% unannounced) and thirteen infractions are reported (www.cces.ca).

CCES receives and handles over 850 supplement- and medication-related inquiries (www.cces.ca).

**World News 1998**
The 34th Superior Criminal Court of the Berlin Landgericht heard a case in March against coaches and trainers Volker Frischke, Dieter Krause, Rolf

\textsuperscript{21} The document that was used to merger these two organization based on the argument that it was primarily an ethics issue in doping, not a medical one “Merger of Fair Play and CCDS to form the CCES” by Robert Butcher and Angela J. Schneider.
Glaser and Dieter Lindemann, and also doctors Dieter Binus and Bernd Pansold (Schneider, 2018).\textsuperscript{22} The institutional government run doping program designed for the swimming team in the German Democratic Republic by these people resulted in the charges of willfully causing bodily harm to the athletes under their supervision; athletes were given Oral-Turinabol deceptively, under the guise of vitamins. (Schneider, 2018)

Due to its sheer size and extensive media coverage, the 1998 Tour de France becomes a critical point in the history of anti-doping (Kamber, 2011).\textsuperscript{23} The team director and doctor of Team Festina are arrested when customs officials find and seize 234 doses of erythropoietin, 24 vials of human growth hormones, and 60 capsules of blood thinner on their person (Beamish, 2013). This was the first time that civil authorities stepped in and overrode sport authorities resulting in the arrest of Willy Voet, the driver of the Festina team car, and the entire team being banned and five more dropping out.\textsuperscript{24} This scandal was the most significant doping event since the GDR, it was not however, a case of institutional doping by a country. Later, these events draw

\textsuperscript{22} As a 1984 Olympic Silver medalist in the women’s coxed four (rowing) and an academic in sport ethics, Dr. Angela J. Schneider has been a key player of the clean sport movement in Canada.


\textsuperscript{24} Robyn J. Rosen, 2007.
even more attention when the IOC President at the time, Juan Antonio Samaranch, says in an interview that doping is only a problem if it is harmful to health. This interview pushes the IOC to support the creation of an independent body to oversee athlete drug testing, a proposal it had long resisted (Beamish, 2013).

**Lausanne 1999**

All policymakers, including the IOC, international sports federations, and governments, convene a world conference against doping in Lausanne, Switzerland (Kamber, 2011). Their meeting on February 4, 1999 results in the Lausanne Declaration on Doping in Sport, which recommends the creation of an independent international anti-doping agency before the 2000 Games (Kamber, 2011). The IOC commits to allocating $25 million to the

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25 Lyle Makosky cites key players as IOC member Richard W. Pound, Victor Lachance, Paul Melia to have contributed work that created the backbone of national and international AD, (2018).

26 The Festina Scandal brought about a fear that the civil authorities would take over anti-doping initiatives (Schneider, 2018b). This fear was legitimized the formation of CAS was also an attempt to keep sport related disputes, including doping, in the hands of sport-related organizations (2018). This world conference on doping was a brought in many more stakeholders than just sport organizations like the IOC and IFs, public officials, politicians, federal governments, and broader members of the Olympic movement were invited. Schneider was invited to attend this conference from three different groups. By Richard Pound, then IOC Vice-President, by the federal government of Canada, through the Director General of Sport Canada at the time, Dan Smith and by Anita DeFranz, IOC member who was chair of “The protection of the athletes” working committee (Schneider, 2018b).
proposed agency to expand out-of-competition testing, promote education, and harmonize standards and procedures (Beamish, 2013).

**Birth of WADA November 1999**

The World Anti-Doping Agency results from the events in Lausanne.\(^{27}\) Financed by sports organizations, the IOC, and governments, WADA has an executive committee of 12 members and a founding board of 38 members (Kamber, 2011). The agency’s goal is to harmonize with all governmental, public, and private bodies to combat doping in sport. WADA triggers the founding of other national (NADOs) and regional (RADOs) independent agencies (Beamish, 2013).\(^{28}\)

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\(^{27}\) According to Schneider (2018b) the formation of the WADA was the result of two independent international ethics-related scandals. The first was the Festina Scandal, and the second scandal involved the IOC itself with the Salt Lake City 2002 Olympic Games corrupt bid-city process when it was revealed to the world by an IOC member that some of his fellow members were asking for and accepting bribes given by senior members of the Salt Lake City bid committee. This scandal not only resulted in the IOC banning its members from visiting bid cities, it also lead to the IOC striking the IOC 2000 reform committee to review the entire structure and processes at the IOC.

\(^{28}\) “WADA was many things. First, it was a democratic organisation, built to standardize AD internationally. Second, it was an autonomous body whose early negotiations with the IOC assured enough power to stand on equal footing with the Olympic committee and all democracies of the world. Most importantly, it was something to be proud of, what Canadians experts had worked for.” (Makosky, “Anti Doping in Sport in Canada Keynote Talk.”)
Canada 2003

Canada adopts the WADA code (WADC), prompting a complete overhaul of the Canadian system (Beamish, 2013).^{29}

Canada June 2004

A revised Canadian Policy against Doping in Sport replaces the 2000 Canadian Policy on Doping in Sport and the 1991 Canadian Policy against Doping in Sport. The newest policy serves as the basis for the Canadian Anti-Doping Program, which the CCES administers (Beamish, 2013).

World Stage 2010

Alberto Contador tests positive for clenbuterol after being crowned the winner of the Tour de France. Contador accepts the positive results, is stripped of his title and claims that the banned substance originated in contaminated meat (Davies, 2013). WADA conducts multiple investigations to determine whether any anti-doping violations, other than the clenbuterol finding, had been committed (Davies, 2013). The investigations put the notion of unintentional doping into global focus.^{30}

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^{29} The same year UNESCO drafts the International Convention Against Doping in Sport, adopted in 2005. (Ibid)

Canada 2011
The University of Waterloo varsity football team is suspended for the entire 2011 season after eight players were found to be using banned performance-enhancing drugs (Copeland & Potwarka, 2016). Some of the members of the team are arrested for possession, and within less than a week, the CCES arrives in Waterloo and conducts one of their largest missions outside of an Olympic Games (Copeland & Potwarka, 2016). They collect a total of 82 samples, after which they make public eight doping sanctions (13% of the team). Waterloo Intercollegiate Athletics announces a one-year suspension of its football program (Copeland & Potwarka, 2016).

World Stage 2012
The United States Anti Doping Agency disqualifies Lance Armstrong showing the world that sport celebrities are not immune to regulations (Makosky, 2018).

Canada 2015
Doping remains a reality in Canadian sport. Nine Canadian athletes who faced anti-doping rule violations withdraw from Team Canada qualifications
before the Toronto 2015 Pan Am and Parapan Am Games Toronto (www.cces.ca).

**Canada 2016**

Canadian pole vault world champion Shawn Barber ignites scandal when he tests positive for cocaine after a sexual encounter with a woman he met online who had been ingesting cocaine. The Canadian Championships strip Shawn of his title but allow him to compete at the Rio Olympics.31

**World Stage 2016**

The Russian doping scandal in Sochi is exposed by WADA’s Independent Person, Richard McLaren (Makosky, 2018).

**Canada 2017**

“The decision by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) is significant and sends a strong message in response to the biggest and most egregious doping conspiracy in the history of international sport” - Paul Melia, President and CEO of the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport (www.cces.ca).

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World Stage 2018

Russia is banned from competing in the 2018 Olympic Games; 168 athletes compete as Olympic athletes from Russia (OAR). Lyle Makosky claims that the Russian government itself led a secret political mission to discredit the anti doping agency, believe that WADA was AD propaganda and part of a conspiracy against Russian sport (2018).

Later in the year, despite the incomplete achievement of the 28 compliance requirements (Makosky, 2018) and despite the outcry of many athletes and opponents, WADA votes in favor of reinstating Russia. As a result, Beckie Scott resigns from WADA’s Compliance Committee and releases claims of being bullied during the executive meeting. Critics claim that by politically motivated detractors are destabilizing WADA.

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33 Dan Palmer, “Scott claims bullying by WADA officials at meeting where Russia were reinstated”, Inside the Games, October 12, 2018, https://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1070994/scott-claims-bullying-by-wada-officials-at-meeting-where-russia-were-reinstated
Figure 1.1. The number of Canadian athletes sanctioned by year since 1999 to date according to annual reports from CCES. Drastic changes per year seem to be a result of the variation in the number of athletes tested, key events, and the introduction of certain substances into the banned list, such as marijuana (www.cces.ca/statistics).

The Spirit of Sport

In a win-at-all-costs sports society, “steroids had become a matter of law and order.” and when it came to the ’88 scandal, it was “as simple as good versus evil, good guys and bad guys, Lewis versus Johnson” (Beamish, 2015, 163). The Canadian government, which should have promoted the welfare of the nation, had been guilty of narrow objectives and blindly supporting the fight for gold (Beamish, 2015).
Dubin emphasized the use of the term “Canadian government” in his report because he believed that it was the role of Canadian legislation to set an example for sports policy in Canada. Moreover, he thought that such legislation should concern only matters of amateur sport, a distinction revised in 1974 from the IOC’s eligibility code (Beamish, 2015; Dubin, 1990). Dubin felt it was essential to examine 1) whether the support that the federal government allocated to sports programs had contributed to the problems at hand, and 2) whether the funds themselves were being used in a way that was consistent with Canadian values (Beamish, 2015; Dubin, 1990).

The recommendations that followed from Dubin’s assessment prioritized helping Canadian athletes to aspire to, not necessarily medals, but to the essence of amateurism: the spirit of sport, which he considered to be the underlying purpose of government involvement (Beamish, 2015; Dubin 1990).

It is evident throughout the report that Dubin saw the bigger picture of sports involvement within Canadian culture and felt that sport had clear moral and social components, bringing together individuals who strived to

34 Dubin emphasized the impact of this movement away from amateur sport, and the blurring of the lines between professional and amateur, upon the doping problems the sport community was facing (Dubin, 1990, p. 46-7).
35 Please see chapter two meaning of sport and the analysis in chapter five for a more detailed discussion about “the spirit of sport.”
become healthy and integrated into society (Beamish, 2015). Dubin had heard from 119 witnesses. Many of them echoed his contentions that morals are marginalized when medals become the only goal of competitions and that now, more than ever, there was a need to “re-create the moral basis of sports in Canada” (Dubin, 1990, p. 478). Andy Higgins, a field coach from the University of Toronto, impressed with his impassioned testimony:

> We should understand why we are doing sport, and the only value, it seems to me, is what happens to the individual in the process of trying to make that piece of metal go as far as he is capable of making it go. Because once one commits to that kind of endeavor, then all kinds of possibilities begin to arise… It seems to me the value of sport to the individual and to the country is to help young people to make the choice that will make them stronger when you meet the challenge, and not go the easy route, not to take what I refer to as the “fear choice” (Dubin, 1990, p.478).

After the 1988 Seoul Olympics, while history painted its course and sports continued to become more competitive, and athletes were pushed to break through limits, Dubin and The Commission of Inquiry into the Use of Drugs and Banned Practices Intended to Increase Athletic Performance committed themselves to rekindle the spirit of sport in Canadian culture.

Twenty years into this battle, Richard Pound wrote an article describing what it was like to be in Seoul when the news broke out. Pound, a

36 Andy Higgins started his elite coaching career at Western 1970s-1980s
Canadian lawyer who had served as vice-president on the IOC and later became the first president of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) after its institution in 1999, described the excitement of Ben Johnson’s gold and gave a detailed account of the uncomfortable events that followed (Pound, 2008). More important than the heartbreaking recollection of events throughout the article is Richard’s provocative claim that despite over two decades of progress towards effective anti-doping measures, we are merely at the end of the beginning of what the struggle looks like (Pound, 2009).

Throughout history, influencers like Pound and Dubin have endeavored to explain why the use of drugs has threatened not only the values of athletes who use them but also the spirit of sports by destroying its very objectives. They believe above all else that sport in Canadian culture should promote health and serve as a pleasurable and unifying activity (Beamish, 2015).

Today, 30 years after the Ben Johnson scandal and the initiatives that followed, a question remains: How does our Canadian culture affect clean sport, and in what way?

37 Angela J. Schneider was the first woman Director at WADA, under Pound, her title was Director, Ethics and Education.
The following chapter uses theories in sports philosophy to explore how sport acquires meaning, how rule breaking threatens that meaning and the significance of good sportsmanship in these matters. This exploration provides an understanding of how doping threatens sports, as these influencers of our Canadian sports culture so powerfully proclaimed.

The second section in chapter two, “Methods in Meaning,” examines how the autoethnographic method cultivates its credibility in research and why it is the best method for examining the themes that lie at the heart of this thesis.

“Psychosocial Approaches to Doping Behavior” in chapter three adopts the values of a holistic ethnographic approach to sympathetically probe the mind of the athlete within an elite sports environment. Although the chapter delves into the literature surrounding psychological theories, such as the theory of planned behavior, to understand doping behavior, it remains compassionate and inquisitive regarding the role of societal and external factors on an athlete, introducing the concept of what I call “the spectrum of institutionalization.”

Following the literature reviews of the first half of this work, chapter four, “True North Narrative,” recounts my powerful experiences of Canadian culture during my time as a Youth Ambassador for the C3 expedition. What
stands out in this chapter is my interaction between individuals who displayed “true north strong” sportsperson-like behavior, ultimately reframing my perceptions of the meaning of strength and its associated values.

These reflections surrounding Canada 150 ethical issues, particularly the standout theme of reconciliation and extrapolations from the literature review in earlier chapters, combine to form chapter five, “Analysis.” Primarily, the analysis combines lessons in sportspersonship from philosophy and from my experiences with reconciliation during the C3 journey to better comprehend the connection between Canadian culture and the clean sports culture of today.

In addition to sportspersonship as a common metaphor between the steps our Canadian culture takes towards reconciliation and our approach to clean sport, reconciliation is directly connected to Canadian sport culture because of the discrimination towards indigenous athletes throughout Canadian sport history.

The 1873 Montreal Pedestrian Club definition of an amateur athlete included someone who “has never competed in any open competition or for public money, or for admission money, or with professionals for a prize…. Or
is a laborer or an Indian” (Kidd, 1998, p. 27-28). This example of discrimination is not exclusive to history. Accounts of discrimination exist in surplus today and serve as evidence for the need for reconciliation with indigenous populations of Canada to include reconciliation with indigenous sport and athletes.

The ethical connection between doping in sport and indigenous issues also exists through our tendency to place blame and ascribe character flaws to both athletes who test positive for PES and indigenous populations. This phenomenon and my lessons throughout Canada 150 issues leads me to identify a continued need for reconciliation in our culture and sports,

38 Howell, “Blood, Sweat, and Cheers.”
40 “When things go wrong, we typically blame the agent, attributing the bad results to the agent’s bad character. Even when things do not go bad, we are quick to interpret actions as expressive of character traits, often hostile traits. For example, a person with poor vision may fail to recognize an acquaintance, who then attributes this to coldness in that person.” (Harman, 2009, p.12)
consistent with Pound’s 2008 claim that we are merely at the beginning of this battle.

In this final chapter, I combine psychology theories from the third chapter with my own experiences to interpret this struggle as the spectrum of institutionalization, a product of the inevitably interactive nature of sports culture. This ultimately leads me to conclude that there is a need for greater protection of athlete’s rights regarding strict liability.

Currently, there is a gap in the literature for cultural comparisons of the factors affecting clean sports. This reflective work offers an early interpretation of these factors, their interactions, and an insightful first-person depiction of Canadian culture today concerning sportspersonship and strength, ethical issues and the integrity of sports, and reconciliation and the future of sports.
Chapter Two: Methods in Meaning

Research Question

The extensive review in chapter one’s doping diary informs on and illustrates the sneaking presence that doping has had throughout the history of sport in Canada and internationally. The countless conferences, policy changes, sanctions, and even deaths demonstrate the inescapable impact this performance-enhancing phenomenon has on the world of sport at an individual, team, national, and sociopolitical level.

Nearly thirty years ago, Charles Dubin’s voice in his report echoed that of many Canadian sports enthusiasts who were recovering from the Ben Johnson controversy when he stated that using drugs “erodes the ethical and moral values of the athletes who use them, endangering their mental and physical welfare while demoralizing the entire sport community” (Dubin, 1990, pp. xxii-xxiii).

During this time, still carrying the burden of shame, Canadians involved in anti-doping movements made it clear that they valued integrity over winning at all costs, and good sportsmanship over gold medals. The diary, however, demonstrates that the structure of sports in Canada and internationally is ever-evolving; the rules are frequently rewritten, athletes are
earning sometimes-absurd amounts of money, world records are being broken, and new substances get added to the banned list.

Some athletes and spectators argue that pushing the boundaries towards excellence in sport necessitates doping because, without it, athletes are not genuinely striving to be the best. Others add that the prohibition of doping in sports lacks moral justification and that the process of testing, and the likelihood of increased dangerous substance use through innovative approaches to prevent getting caught, does more harm than good (Kirkwood, 2009). Alternatively, some countries like Russia, who have endured some doping scandals of their own, use success in their sport for political leverage (Schneider & Gonsalves, 2018), and it seems that principles of fair play or the meaning of sport are irrelevant.

To my knowledge, in the world of psychosocial and doping research, “no studies have compared the impact of geological or cultural influences” (Morente-Sanchez, Zabala, 2013) on doping attitudes. A review of Canadian

41 Articles like this one at Wired entitled “How Sports Would Be Better with Doping” explore the notion that doping is an inevitable aspect of high-performance sports and pushing the limits: https://www.wired.com/2012/09/sports-and-doping/
42 Kirkwood takes the harm reductionist view and is concerned more about the athlete’s well being than what he believes to be the unjustified rules of the sport. Kirkwood’s powerful argument is explored later in the chapter as it pertains to both the meaning of sport and athletes’ rights.
43 Schneider & Gonsalves’ examination of institutionalized doping is further discussed in the concluding chapter.
history offers perspectives from that time. However, as our culture evolves
and the sports world becomes increasingly blinded by its commercial value,
are we still progressing in the way Dubin intended? If not, do we hold our
culture as a whole or individuals’ bad morals responsible?

Methods: Acts of Meaning

“Human beings do not terminate at their own skins; they are
expressions of a culture.” Jerome Bruner, Acts of Meaning

With technology at our fingertips and our daily lives over-saturated
with information, making sense of it all can become increasingly challenging.
Headlines exclaim that “studies show” and “scientists say,” and the average
reader in a hurry gobbles up the headline and runs with it. Later, they arrive
at their lunch meeting, order a glass of wine, and tell everyone that they can
skip their evening workout because they read that wine is better than
exercise.44

Although traditional scientific methods and reports are undeniably
essential in humanity’s progress, examples like the one above demonstrate

44 Like many articles, “Study: Drinking Alcohol More Important Than Exercise to
Living Past 90” offers the authors’ heavily biased interpretation of the results and
what the data means to the general population. This article is one of many available
that quickly spread from the UCI mind study.
https://www.usnews.com/news/national-news/articles/2018-02-20/study-drinking-
alcohol-more-important-than-exercise-to-living-past-90
the need for more holistic information. While proponents of the former arrive at formulaic and scientific elegance with the most generalizable result and the least amount of writing (Goodall, 2000), such generalizable data can lead to misconceptions. What is missing in such “hard” science is the conscious understanding that facts are not as “hard” as they seem, and that we may ignore the limitations or specifics of the studies for the benefit of our interpretations. Facts ought to show us not only how we see the world but also why we interpret it as we do, and while hard science finds credibility in its rigorous mathematics, ethnography finds its strength and credibility in its gaps (Bruner 1990).

Compared to hard science’s concise experiments, ethnography involves drawn-out processes. While perhaps not scientifically elegant, ethnography is anything but unscientific. Good ethnography is the result of extensive reading and research, often accompanied by the disciplined imagination necessary to generate new questions and points of view. Moreover, it requires hard work in the field and at a computer to craft a

45 The hard sciences refer to those that involve experiments that are relatively easy to set up and control. Their results can typically be represented mathematically, and their outcomes are also often calculated mathematically. The soft sciences (though these terms are somewhat outdated since they often lead to the misunderstanding that “harder” means more difficult) often include intangibles and are related to the study of human and animal behaviors, interactions, feelings, and thoughts.
compelling narrative or account (Goodall, 2000). Good ethnography is built in volume and details, while ethnographic writing’s integrity comes from a partisan representation of collective ideas and patterns and, in the case of autoethnography, the self-reflexive voice the writer builds with the participative audience and in the characters’ ability to grow (Goodall, 2000).

According to Lloyd H. Goodall in *The New Ethnography* (2000), the ethnographer must construct symbols in language out of cultural symbols, adding words to what is unsaid or goes unnoticed. What’s more, he suggests a good ethnographer will allow the audience to come to their own analysis. Rather than merely include a discussion section in the final sentences of a study, the ethnographer creates a dialogic conversation throughout the writing to connect the audience to “larger patterns of lived experience and cultural meaning” (Goodall, 2000).

Perhaps more enlightened than the ‘hard’ sciences, ethnography as a research method encompasses not only the evolution from meaning to information but also, necessarily, the processing of stated information and its construction of meaning (Bruner, 1990). Ethnography allows a more holistic approach to research, asking not only ‘what’ but ‘why’ and ‘in what way?’

Experts of the ethnographic method, like American psychologist Jerome Bruner (1990) in *Acts of Meaning*, claim that the quest for meaning
within culture motivates all human action. Everything else—"the universals of human nature:” biological needs and driving factors—aren’t the cause of action but rather a condition for it. Bruner uses the term “folk psychology” to encompass this interaction of information, meaning, and action that comprises our cultural and value systems. He maintains that the interaction between our commitment to a way of life and our values makes up a culture. Because of their interaction, Bruner claims that our values are communal and consequential in terms of our relationship to a community.

He further notes that as value systems are woven into one’s self-identity, they also allow a person to identify him or herself within a culture. For these reasons, Bruner believes that we use the language of folk psychology to interpret our lives. The most valuable component of ethnography is that it focuses on the interactive aspects of humanity as it strives to understand this language of our folk psychology (Bruner, 1990). If we use only what the surface offers, we limit our understanding and, in so doing, our capacity for growth.

Let’s refer back to the example at the beginning of this section to understand the role of ethnography in research better. A “Drink Wine to Live Past 90” headline offers us a simple and appealing solution to an age-old
question.\textsuperscript{46} However, instead of handing out surveys and questionnaires, ethnographers conducting research rely on the inhabitants’ experiences within the community under examination. In their interactions with locals, they might notice that those who drink wine are living in a warmer climate and that this contributes to higher activity levels, more time spent outside, and higher levels of satisfaction. Ethnographers also observe whether a tight-knit community is inherently social. They may interpret such factors as a stronger predictor of longevity, and consider drinking wine a mere consequence of social life.

Notice that ethnography’s methods and search for meaning focus on context to construct a better-informed interpretation. According to Bruner, a straightforward example of the value of additional information could be that an action’s meaning is interpretable through both the action and by the intention portrayed. Consider the difference between someone exclaiming “so sorry” after accidentally bumping you in a crowded room and the same action without an accompanying apology (Bruner, 1990).

In the section that follows, we examine how sports are meaningful, and we discover that how ethnographers extract meaning parallels the ways

we find meaning in sports. For this reason, and because sports culture is a product of many interrelated factors, I believe ethnography provides a valuable methodology for probing our understanding of sports culture.

The ethnographic writing that appears in chapter four, “True North Narrative,” is confessional, also referred to as autoethnography. This form emphasizes (my) the fieldworker’s point of view and yields a story based on my evoked experiences with others within a given context (Goodall, 1991, 2000). The autoethnographic form includes autobiographical details, a writer’s individuality, and focuses on character building from an academic to a sympathetic participant, both of whom might experience things differently. In the autoethnography, the writer becomes a character of the story rather than its teller and writing itself is the inquiry rather than the solution (Goodall, 2000).

Given the experiential nature of this research and given my personal experience as both a Canadian and an athlete, I am confident that autoethnography is the best research method to use. I have considered that this method comes with its challenges, and while I may put the limitations of “hard” science in the spotlight, ethnography is also no stranger to such limits.
A crisis of representation often discourages ethnographers (Goodall, 2000), and as an avid journal keeper, I understand the ever-present challenge in the felt improbability of being able to express the lived experience adequately. Goodall explains that this crisis is as profound as the writer’s understanding of reality, which is far more diverse and complex than any written representation could be. Therefore the goal to connect the audience to these larger patterns of cultural meaning and lived experience seems to be very difficult or even impossible to accomplish (Goodall, 2000).

Autoethnographers cannot avoid this limitation, however, and must use the tensions it creates and its mystery to fuel their writing. In the tension between the desire for answers or solutions and their inherently “unresolvable, often ineffable, end” (Goodall, 2000), autoethnographers find their voice. In the field amidst the magnitude of meaning, autoethnographers seek truth not from a culture but from their interaction; it is in their evolution through a culture that they achieve scholarly arrival (Goodall, 2000).

As a writer, my goal is to create a narrative that readers view as their own, sharing and building with them a “life-experience metaphor” (Goodall, 2000) that is vast enough to contain both readers and myself. As is often the case in ethnography, it may not be until the end of the written narrative (like my revelations at the end of my C3 journey) that meaning begins to take its
shape. If the reader feels the story and the conversation we have continues past the last sentence, then I will know I have engaged in ethnography.

**Meaning in Sport**

I employ ethnography to find meaning from the C3 experience with Canadians from all walks of life. However, before we can use this narrative to draw connections between my experience with Canada 150 culture and the clean-sport movement, it is imperative that we first understand the meaning of sports, which the Ben Johnson scandal so famously threatened and that inspired so much frenzy towards change. Understanding why we feel shame toward a doping scandal such as Ben Johnson’s allows us to understand the role of sports in our culture, which in turn enables us to evaluate the part our Canadian culture plays in sports.

Is doping wrong because it breaks the rules and is therefore unsportsmanlike, or is there something else at play? Once we understand meaning in sports, we can appreciate what it is about clean sports, fair play, and sportsmanship that makes us want to conform to it, and we can better examine whether these values supersede medals in the eyes of Canadian spectators and athletes.
The Allegory of the Yachtsman

During the 2016 Olympic Summer Games in Rio, New Zealand track athlete Nikki Hamblin tripped and fell during the final two kilometers of her five-kilometer race. While falling, she tripped US athlete Abbey D’Agostino, who instead of getting up and running to get ahead, helped Hamblin back to her feet. The two, both injured and far behind the pack, helped each other finish the race in a moving display of Olympic spirit. Later, the athletes were given “fair play” awards for showing selflessness and exemplary sportsmanship (Mahdawi, 2016). The winner of that race, Vivian Cheruiyot, broke the Olympic record and achieved an indisputable pinnacle for her sport, but international headlines spotlighted Hamblin and D’Agostino, the shining stars of the 2016 Games.

Examples like this demonstrate our ability to observe a sporting event or read a news story and identify with conviction an athlete’s behavior as the epitome of sportsmanship. Furthermore, we may even remember the sportsperson’s name for years to come, while the medal winners are long forgotten. We easily recognize a fine sportsman as virtuous, however, as we are about to examine, this concept is not always easily definable.

Before we embark on this in-depth consideration of the significance of sportsmanship, I’d like to re-define sportsmanship as sportspersonship. The outdated terms surrounding what we understand to be a good sportsman and gentleman-like behavior in sport excludes the affected populations and wrongfully suggests in its very etymology that although women may strive to achieve this treasured element of competition, it is a man’s domain. Although social norms have conveniently established this and similar terminologies, it is time we re-defined these seemingly innocuous everyday terms that negatively impact the subconscious spirit of female athletes.

**MORAL CATEGORIES**

In *Sportsmanship as a Moral Category*, James Keating identifies some chief qualities of sportsmanship (henceforth referred to as sportspersonship) from an allegedly interminable list. His list, along with his claims of the concepts’ inconsistent applications in sport versus athletics, demonstrate the challenges in defining sportspersonship. Keating’s definitions presuppose that a good sportsperson is truthful, courageous, has Spartan-like endurance, self-control, and consideration one for others’ rights (Keating, 1964). Some other philosophers later added constraints to this list—48 a sportsperson

48 Like former athlete and football coach and Yale Divinity School alumni Amos Alonzo Stagg referenced in Keating, 1964.
shouldn’t drink intoxicants and shouldn’t engage in socially questionable behavior, for example—prompting Keating to criticize our desire to broaden the concept of sportspersonship “until it becomes an all-embracing moral category” (Keating, 1964, p. 143).

In his reply to Keating entitled *Sportsmanship*, Randall Feezell suggests that there is indeed “some essential meaning of the virtue of sportsmanship” (Feezell, 1986, p. 154). After all, it was the French philosopher Camus who declared that it was from sports that he learned all he knew about ethics (Keating, 1964), so there must be something to be said for our instinctual desire to apply this difficult to define, but mutually understood, virtue to our everyday life.

Perhaps rather than a category or a unique quality, sportspersonship is a state of self-sacrifice aimed at maximizing the utility or meaning of cooperative agreement in sports and acts as a symbolic answer to everyday ethical questions. As ethics become relevant in the context of social relationships, so too does sportspersonship. In other words, sportspersonship maintains relevance in the ethics of social relations, even outside of sport. Not as a broad moral category, as Keating suggests, but as a solution to moral inquiry.
SPORTSPERSONSHIP AS A METAPHOR

Sportspersonship sustains close, but not exclusive, links to the concept of fair play. Later, we will consider an example where the two may not be synonymous, but, until then, drawing some comparisons help us gain a better understanding of what exactly it means to display sportspersonship.

One of the most compelling arguments from Butcher and Schneider’s *Fair Play as Respect for the Game* lies in the principle of “Fair Play as Contract or Agreement.” This version of fair play explains that athletes make a type of contract or mutual agreement when they enter a contest. This agreement consists of playing the game and testing skills while doing so. In this scenario, breaking the agreement—i.e., failing to test skills or breaking the rules of the game—constitutes cheating or unfair practice (Butcher & Schneider, 1998). For our purposes, we may consider this description of breaking the rules to apply to unsportspersonlike conduct, since Feezell claims that “the paradigm case of a bad sport is the cheater” (Feezell, 1986, p. 154).

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49 It is important to note, that Butcher and Schneider do not think this is the best definition of fair play because it does not limit the content of the contract, i.e. it could include bare-knuckle boxing, or any other extreme alteration, as long as the participants agree. Instead they offer respect of the game as a better alternative because the content is limited.
The consensus, then, is that a good sportsperson follows the rules of the game. However, does this answer the question of what it means to be a good sportsperson?

In Plato’s *Euthyphro*, during a timeless example of philosophical questioning, Socrates asks Euthyphro whether an action is pious because it is God-loved or, whether it is God-loved because it is pious. To this, Euthyphro responds that it is pious because it is God-loved. In so doing, he inadvertently circles back to the beginning of the inquiry, and Socrates again challenges him to delineate what makes an action pious, having demonstrated that not all the Gods agree on everything, and therefore its definition cannot be based on the quality of being God-loved. By exposing Euthyphro’s flawed logic, Socrates reveals that goodness must exist in piety and that our task is to understand or seek to understand this. Socrates asks us the nature of piety, whereas Euthyphro speaks of it only as a construct.

Now, I’ll rephrase: Is it good sportspersonship because it follows the rules, or does it follow the rules because it’s good sportspersonship?

Critics of the abolitionist view on doping argue that this is precisely the kind of circular logic\(^{50}\) that prevents justifying why doping should be

\(^{50}\) Kirkwood’s “Considering Harm Reduction as the Future of Doping Control Policy in International Sport,” claims that circularity in the argument against doping occurs
banned and that by its very nature the value of true sportspersonship is
intrinsic and unrelated to external dogma such as rules.\(^{51}\) However, Socrates’
method enables us to conclude that something is \textit{not} good sportspersonship
merely because it follows the rules. Rules, like the preferences of the Gods,
change, and thus sportspersonship cannot be solely defined by regulations,
contracts, or agreements.

Butcher and Schneider also propose that one cannot entirely reduce
fair play to keeping an agreement. They claim that “\textit{[i]t may be a necessary
condition but not a sufficient condition} (Butcher & Schneider, 1998, p.127).

The best account of fair play, according to these two philosophers, is
one in which the actions of fair play are those with respect for the game.
Through deep and defended reasoning they determine that games have
interests and that fair-play actions are those that protect the game’s interests
(Butcher & Schneider, 1998, p.135). This includes actions that explicitly follow

\(^{51}\) Kirkwood’s examination of Olympism as an embodiment of sacred values
differentiates between the values that are truly intrinsic to sports and the values that
the Olympic movement has marketed. This differentiation reveals inconsistencies
between what is really at stake and what the rules claim to be at stake: “The IOC
and WADA have successfully marketed an image of sacred sport into their own
sporting product by connecting strong prohibitive stances on drug use to the image
of the Olympics’ moral distinctiveness in the marketplace. While this is a
masterpiece of business, it is purely crass commercialism, and unrelated to the
understanding of the sacred” (Kirkwood, 2008, p. 81).
regulations, since rules express the interests of the game: its flow, its scorekeeping, and, in part, its value. Their definition also includes elements of “ought” found outside of the rules (Butcher & Schneider, 1998).

Butcher and Schneider introduce Josie the Squash player to demonstrate elements beyond rules and agreements. The example is as follows: Josie shows up at the squash court and learns that her opponent in the final, the best-matched challenger around, has forgotten her racquet. Josie happens to have an extra of the exact racquet her opponent uses. She has the option to allow her opponent to forfeit the final or let her use her spare racquet.

Butcher and Schneider explain that there is nothing in the rules that says Josie has to share her spare racquet; however, there is something in our intuition that suggests she ought to. They claim that this “ought to” comes out of respect for the game: the game, and arguably Josie’s reason for playing, is best served if she plays her most challenging opponent that day. If Josie lends her spare racquet she is respecting her opponent and the game; if she doesn’t, she would “forego a valuable experience and personal test” (Butcher & Schneider, 1998, p.136).

Defining fair play as respect for the game suggests that one acts justly (in our case, as a good sportsperson) if one respects the game to enjoy the
process of playing, competing, and testing one’s skills (Butcher & Schneider, 1998). What happens, then, when someone acts as a good sportsperson, but it ultimately has no impact on the game itself?

Consider the example of Canadian yachtsman Lawrence Lemieux, who was confidently heading toward a silver medal during the 1988 Seoul Olympics when he saw the Singaporean Sailing boat torn apart and two sailors in a life-threatening situation (Ilango, 2012). Lawrence abandoned his race and traded silver for 22nd position to save them that day, and later during interviews claimed that he doubtlessly would have done the same again (Ilango, 2012). Not surprisingly, Lawrence was awarded the Pierre de Coubertin medal for sportsmanship (Ilango, 2012). His actions had nothing to do with the interests of the game per se. Instead, Lawrence’s demonstration of courage and self-sacrifice illustrated a higher purpose, one that served the interests of the meaning of the game.52

Some might contend that athletes exhibiting this extreme level of self-sacrifice aren’t being good sportspeople but are merely being good people. Butcher and Schneider similarly claimed that they weren’t sure how Lawrence

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52 As one of 16 to ever win the Pierre de Coubertin medal and the only Canadian to do so, the Canadian Olympic Team Website uses Lawrence’s story as an educational tool to encourage students to explore the concepts of sportsmanship. https://olympic.ca/education/resources/respect-lawrence-lemieux/
fit into their version of fair play. When, if ever, does it no longer become about the sport?

In seeking to understand what makes a sportsperson, we should examine how sport acquires its meaning. In doing so, we can determine whether or not examples like Lawrence’s are still considered to include the “sport” in “sportspersonship.” I believe that what follows from Lawrence’s example exhibits the ethical parallels between essential good action in sport and the necessity for good action outside of sport.

**SPORT AS LANGUAGE**

Paul Gaffney’s *The Meaning of Sport: Competition as a Form of Language* offers a theory of how a sport derives its meaning. Gaffney claims that, like language, a sport is meaningful in that it is semantic, generates a relationship, and involves self-realization (Gaffney, 2007).

First, let us consider Gaffney’s assertion that language acquires meaning by distinguishing between natural and non-natural language (semantic language). According to the Gricean language theory that provides the model for Gaffney’s argument, natural language is a causal relationship that involves one mind, is passive, and results in a dialogue from A to B.

The example Gaffney uses is that a natural sentence could be “spots mean measles.” In contrast, non-natural language has a semantic notion of
meaning in which there has to be mutual knowledge of what concepts the words represent. Additionally, non-natural language involves the active engagement of two minds and resembles an A with B relationship. For example, “three rings of the bell mean the bus is full” (Gaffney, 2007, p. 111). Gaffney explains that a sport devises non-natural conflict in place of natural conflicts; sport is a relationship of entailment, not a causal one. According to him, sport is semantic.

The next critical feature of how language acquires its meaning is as a relationship. For communication to have meaning, it has to produce engagement between two minds. Gaffney uses the example of A showing a photo to B of C displaying X (an A to B relationship in which the photo is doing the work) versus the example of A drawing a picture of C displaying X and giving it to B (an A with B relationship, with engagement of two minds). In the second example, A has to create meaning in the drawing for B. Because A has to consider B while drawing, A, therefore, creates meaningful language.

For Gaffney, competition in sports has a similar relationship to that of meaningful language: like language, the relationship in sport is intentional, reciprocal, and dynamic. Put more simply, in competition, A is engaged with B.
Finally, Gaffney considers two theories on competitions. First, the idea that competition is war. He describes this as the Hobbesian view, in which sports domesticate a fundamental problem of the human condition: competition as a means to an end. Second, there is the notion of competition as self. Gaffney characterizes this as the Hegelian view, in which the struggle is an end in and of itself and the opponent is the very thing that presents the possibility for self-realization. We can link the Hobbesian perspective to the natural language example of A giving a photograph to communicate and using language as a means to an end. The Hegelian view, however, relates to the derivation of non-natural meaning, where A gives a drawing to B and has used language as an end in and of itself for self-actualization (Gaffney, 2007).

Gaffney demonstrates that sport can gain its meaning in the same way that non-natural language does. In so doing, he leads us to believe that only non-natural sports can be meaningful. Sports that are meaningful are semantic, involve a relationship, and offer self-realization through and within the encounter. The self realizes its full being; the point of the encounter is the encounter itself (Gaffney, 2007). This premise could be simplified with a quote that emphasizes the journey rather than the destination.
With Gaffney’s theories in mind, we can posit that the idea of the good sportsperson arises when meaning in sports is threatened. Breaking the rules threatens semantic meaning because regulations create the semantic knowledge component. When Josie’s opponent forgets her racquet, the relationship aspect comes under threat. It also endangers the self-realizing element since Gaffney claims that the opponent is necessary for the self.

Rather than viewing fair play as respect for the interests of the game, consider fair play and good sportspersonship as the preservation of the meaning of the game. Lawrence competes in the Olympics not for the medal but for meaning, and at any given moment his actions are driven by the preservation of this semantic meaning, the necessary relationships, and maybe most importantly, the realization of self. Furthermore, he was able to use his sailing skills to save a life: what better indicator of mastery is there?

What does protecting the meaning of the game mean for the ban-abolitionist who claims that the breaking of extrinsic rules doesn’t threaten intrinsic values? Kirkwood (2009) contends that we are naïve to believe that clean sports are the only way to attain internal goods, or, in our case, for sport to acquire meaning.53 Instead, he suggests that substances used to aid

53 “The problem is the bifurcated notion that drug-free sport is the only path to internal goods, and drug use can only be undertaken for goods external to the
the athlete could actually further their quest towards their internal values by permitting them to spend more time developing their skill.

I would argue that this depends on the internal values at stake. If athletes value being the best and pushing the boundaries in sports and their bodies, the pro-doping argument would not need to be disputed. However, so far our notions of meaning in sports have been rooted in relationships, rules of the game, and encounters with the self. These interactions don’t necessarily require any version of “progress” that doping behavior could further.

Keating’s theory suggests that the virtue of good sportspersonship varies with the level of athlete, whether an athlete is engaged in sport or in athletics because each activity requires different levels of goals and involvement (Keating, 1964). My response is that both play and sports derive their meaning in the same way; therefore, any athlete can exhibit good sportspersonship. An Olympian and a Timbits hockey kid behave as good sports under the same imperative. If we are to differentiate anywhere, we ought to direct our attention towards the difference between natural and non-natural sports because how they acquire meaning may differ.

practice of sport... performance-enhancing drug use isn’t antithetical to joy, unless the agent values drug-free sport as the ideal.” (Kirkwood, 2009, p. 183).
In Feezell’s reply to Keating’s temptations to polarize between degrees of intensity in sport, he reminds us that all levels of sports are an extension of play and that good sportspersonship is the awakening of the spirit of play. He elaborates that sportspersonship is an attitude and bad sportspeople are those who are overly serious about victory and negate the spirit of play (Feezel, 1986). While I agree with Feezell about this aspect, I don’t believe this theory embodies sportspersonship to its full extent in the same way that Butcher and Schneider’s version of fair play accounts for sportspersonship like Lawrence’s by citing actions that go beyond the interests of play.

Additionally, I’d like to expand on Feezell’s interpretations of the application of good sportspersonship. He claims there are no set criteria for acts to qualify as good sportspersonship. Rather, we receive an experiential context “within which we can learn and teach how we ought to conduct ourselves in sports” (Feezell, 1986, p.162). Here Feezell appropriately explains and emphasizes the moral education value of sports, but without understanding why these actions are right, we struggle to apply them outside of their specific examples.

If we consider all present theories of sportspersonship, and what qualities bring an athlete to the next level of success, the virtue of self-
sacrifice that Lawrence demonstrated that day is the most consistent and fundamental quality. Self-sacrifice is essential for the respect of the interests of the game and those of the other athletes, and the meaning in sports.

Some athletes exhibit and act in self-sacrifice for the betterment of their cooperative non-natural pursuit of meaning. Just as sports are a cooperative endeavor to maximize the joy found in the activity itself (Keating, 2007), life itself is a cooperative endeavor in which we seek to maximize pleasure. Sportspersonship acts as a metaphor for the ethical ideals of how one ought to behave outside of sport because sportspersons do what is best for the meaning of the game. Moreover, “sportspersons” do what is best for the meaning of the game of life.

**PROBLEMS**

If sportspersonship is a state relative to behavior that supports meaning in a specific context, then that suggests that there is no one universal action of rightness. Therefore could one, in the right context, break the rules and still be a good sportsperson?

**REPLY**

Perhaps there are two versions of rules, those inherent to the game’s functionality and those that its institutions impose to control variations in its
play better. The circumstances in which breaking institutional rules is in the best interest of the sport and the co-operative nature of the relationships involved are those in which rule-breaking does not break the rules of the game itself. We can determine this if the action causes the loss of the meaning and respect for the game. Consider this quote in Schneider’s On The Temptations of Doping: Moral Relativism and the Tour de France (p. 319-339):

I am convinced… that vice is inherent in the practice of elite cycling. Why? Because much of a rider’s behavior involves bluffing his opponent, getting him into difficulty, exposing him to the wind…in a word, fooling him! By a kind of natural extension, certain riders are inclined to see doping as a permissible strategy.

For Schneider, it appears that in some instances, such as among the French, doping may be permissible if it is necessary for the continuation of an event that “benefits French society as a whole, both economically and [as] a key source of national pride” (Schneider, 2016, p. 319-39). However, if this is true, where do we draw the line and how do we reasonably determine which sports could permit doping?

Perhaps more than commercialized and convoluted versions of Olympism, institutions seek consistency and simplicity to minimize unfairness. Although the true definition of fairness in sport, Olympic and otherwise, will
never be attained, I believe that these institutionalized rules are necessary to uphold the meaning of most sports that would otherwise be threatened with rule breaching.54

When determining ethical “oughts” and promoting greater participation through these ideals, we might best direct our efforts toward the effects specific actions have regarding maximizing the utility of our cooperative endeavors, relationships, and the pursuit of self-realization in our tasks. Perhaps then, athletes like Lawrence will be the norm, and people like the athletes preserving the meaning in their games will be good sports.

**Working With Meaning**

Like information through autoethnography, a sport that is meaningful is semantic, involves a relationship, and offers self-realization. The good sportsperson arrives when the meaning of sport comes under threat. Remember that breaking the rules can endanger semantic meaning, for the rules establish that meaning. The relationship faces a threat when Josie’s

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54 When involving countries from around the globe, other issues in fairness could include financial doping, where certain countries have a rich budget for sport development, training facilities, and top-level coaching. In this respect, while trying to be fair and inclusive, we assume risks of inherent discrepancies (political and financial) between countries. In a sport like professional cycling where finance supersedes inclusion, perhaps the same rules of games or institutions needn't apply.
opponent forgets her racquet, which also imperils self-realization since the opponent is crucial for realizing one’s self.

These conclusions surrounding meaning in sport\textsuperscript{55} seem to be consistent with Dubin’s sentiments, cited earlier, that “doping behaviour erodes the ethical and moral values of athletes who use them” (Dubin, 1990). Despite the perceived consensus of the Johnson/Dubin generation, it remains a mystery why athletes would time and again consciously undermine the meaning of sports and harm their community through such adverse behavior.

Based on the rules of intuition, athletes who dope risk being stripped of their medals, being banned, and ostracized. Yet misdemeanors continue. If the meaning of sport is so deeply rooted in playing the game, then why is winning prioritized over playing itself? Perhaps the game’s values and meaning have shifted from meaningful interaction to progress in action.

The next chapter examines the psychological mechanisms and sociological factors that influence this type of rule-breaking behavior. It aims to understand the actions of athletes whom we cast as villains in our heroic

\textsuperscript{55} These theories, where sportspersonship preserves the meaning of the game and sportspersonship in sport is a metaphor for the ethical ideals of how one ought to act outside of sport, can later be contrasted with chapter four, “True North Narrative,” to determine whether or not my lived Canadian experience still reflects the original vision that Dubin so powerfully projected in the 1990s.
and superhuman model of sports. Understanding their conduct permits us to extrapolate the value systems in question and, combined with my lessons from my Canada C3 experience, better understand our culture’s impact on the athletes and these meanings in sports.
Chapter Three: Psychosocial Approaches to Doping Behavior

“It sounds like the media wants to sensationalise and make me the bad boy because Usain’s a hero. I know you guys have a black hat and a white hat but, come on. I try and inspire and stay in my lane so I don’t see where the bad boy comes from.”–Justin Gatlin 56

As if it were ever so simple as the hero versus villain, good versus evil... Building on the ideas in chapter two, where we saw that a good sportsperson maintains or promotes the meaning in sport and that subscribing to the traditional notion of rules is a criterion for meaning, we can conclude that a “cheater” is not a good sportsperson. If the excellent sportsperson is a metaphor for how we ought to act in life, is the BAD sportsperson, or the cheater, also a bad person in life? I believe that Gatlin’s quote above after his victorious return to the track urges us to consider further our habit of placing blame. In this chapter, we look at famous psychological theories, recent research, and some modern perspectives on doping in sport to understand both the athlete and the game.

Theory of Planned Behaviour

Social psychologists generally agree that human behavior is, for the most part, goal-directed, and functions because of well-formulated plans. Although some of our daily tasks seem routine, the consensus is that they too were once designed and planned for in advance before becoming so routine that they could be performed automatically (Ajzen, 1991).

If the theory on goal-directed behavior is correct, it would seem that the bad sportsperson acts as they do because they intend to be bad. “The Theory of Planned Behavior” (Ajzen, 1991) proposes that three key components predict and mitigate intentional conduct. Health psychology uses these components and TPB (theory of planned behavior) to determine strategies for promoting healthy practices like exercise, smoking cessation, and nutrition (Lucidi et al., 2007). Based on this theory, a person wanting to exercise more would first need a positive plan of action (intentions). This intention is regulated by the persons’ attitudes, perceived control, and subjective norms. For example, this person may struggle to start exercising if they feel like they don’t have the time or access to a gym, or perhaps no one...

57 According to Armitage and Conner, “Efficacy of the Theory of Planned Behaviour.” (2001), the theory of planned behaviour, along with theories of reasoned action, is one of the most widely researched models of behavior.
in their family exercises or considers exercise valuable. Lastly, this person’s attitude needs to align with their original goal, and they need a positive approach to exercise (Ajzen, 1985).

Figure 3.1. Mechanisms of: Theory of Planned Behaviour as described by Icek Ajzen (1985, 1991).

Based on TPB, we could speculate that bad sportspeople most likely have a positive attitude towards doping, substance use is part of their team norm, and they believe that it is within their control to access doping as a means to their goal of being the best in their sport. However, social psychologists think that there is more to this picture, and those studying
TPB\textsuperscript{59} also seek to answer why people with the same moral standards can behave in various, sometimes controversial, ways.

Albert Bandura, the founding father of social cognitive theory, the theoretical construct of self-efficacy, and best known for the Bobo Doll experiment, proposed that our morals are heavily socially constructed.\textsuperscript{60} Bandura claimed that as we socialize, evaluative self-reactions regulate our conduct. He asserted that through the process of interaction, we learn what our social constructs evaluate as being permissible or not. Our interactions moderate our morals, and through this relationship, we refrain from bad behavior to avoid self-reproof (Kavussanu et al., 2015).\textsuperscript{61}

To account for misbehavior, or in our case “bad” sportspersons, Bandura explained that people disengage from these self-sanctions through a mechanism he calls moral disengagement. Moral disengagement deactivates internal censures, and a person uses various excuses to rationalize their otherwise unjustifiable conduct (Luicidi et al., 2008).

\textsuperscript{59} Lucidi et al., “The Social-Cognitive Mechanisms Regulating Adolescents’ Use of Doping Substances.”
\textsuperscript{60} Social cognitive theory is how people learn through observing and interacting with others (Bandura, Social Learning Theory, 1977). In 1961, Bandura designed an experiment to test learned behaviour in which children observed as researchers abused a clown-faced inflatable toy. The preschool-age children then mimicked the same behaviour as demonstrated by the adults, and attacked the doll in the same manner (1977). Self-efficacy describes one’s belief in executing and organizing a course of action to attain a goal (1977).
\textsuperscript{61} Kavussanu et al., “The Moral Disengagement in Doping Scale.”
Bandura’s Four Moral Disengagements (Kavussanu et al. 2015)

**Moral justification:** The individual restructures the appraisal of behavior from a harmful to a praiseworthy one, perhaps serving a socially or morally worthy purpose. For example, if I enhance my performance, it will mean more medals for my country and more long-term support of my sport.

*Euphemistic labeling:* Uses language to disguise the behavior. For example, using the word “juicing” instead of taking steroids to make it seem less harmful.

*Advantageous comparison:* compares one’s harmful action to more transgressive ones to minimize the appearance of one’s own faults: “I may be cheating, but at least I’m not stealing from anyone.”

**Obscuring one’s role in one’s actions and the effects they cause:** Diffuses and displaces responsibility from the individual and manifests itself in such rationales as “I dope because my team dopes” (social pressure AND no one individual feels guilty because of group decision making).

**Consequences of detrimental behavior:** Distorts outcomes and downplays harm caused by the action, as when athletes deny the seriousness of the injuries they have created.

**Acts the Victim:** The dehumanization and attribution of blame; for example, when the individual views him or herself as the victim.
Bandura’s theories of moral disengagements explain that internal ethical standards do not create an invariant control system (Kavussanu et al., 2015). Although performance enhancement use in sports implies some moral reasoning on the athlete’s part, one of the above mechanisms may just as easily inhibit such thinking.

Bandura’s model is well known in psychological studies focusing on transgressive deeds such as substance abuse or crime. Like other illicit acts, doping is associated with high-risk and depends on self-regulation and self-reflective capacities that operate in concert with personal factors and internal standards. Luicidi and colleagues used Bandura’s model to evaluate which of these mechanisms pertain most to doping in their 2008 study (Lucidi et al., 2008).

Consistent with TPB and one’s expectations, previous research shows that one’s perception of a sense of command and self-control as it pertains to one’s goals and conduct predicts one’s capacity to adopt or resist unhealthy behavior (Luicidi et al., 2008). In other words, the more you believe

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62 Self-regulation is the process of guiding one’s thoughts, behaviors and feelings to reach goals and encompasses personal capacities, social structure, and environmental factors such as peer influence, laws, and social norms (Luicidi et al., 2008).
in your ability to do something, such as resist the temptation to try performance enhancers, the more likely you will actually do it. Luicidi et al. sought a greater understanding of the role of external factors in TBD; hence, the goal of their study was to contrast TPB and perceived behavioral control with social cognitive constructs.

By understanding, like Bandura did, that the individual is a product of their interactions, the researchers hypothesized that doping behavior is more dependent on the regulation of functioning and conduct than on generalized traits and characteristics (Luicidi et al., 2008).

Lucidi et al. found that of 1232 student-athletes from Italian high schools that were surveyed, their attitudes towards doping generally supported clean sports.\(^{63}\) They also found that males expressed positive attitudes towards doping and showed more eagerness to justify its use, whereas females expressed a strong capacity to overcome doping. The intention to dope amongst these adolescents increased with positive social perceptions and moral justifications. In fact, those who expressed strong moral disengagements were more likely to report having used doping substances in the follow-up three months later. Conversely, as expected, the

\(^{63}\) Luicidi et al., “The Social-Cognitive Mechanisms Regulating Adolescents’ Use of Doping Substances.”
study found that the more they believed in their capacity to resist peer and social pressure, the less likely they were to dope. Socio-cognitive factors accounted for 55% of the variability in the adolescents’ intentions (Luicidi et al., 2008).  

The questionnaire results also revealed that TPB had no effect on the young student-athletes’ intention to use doping substances. Meanwhile, it was clear that self-regulating efficacy and moral disengagement did have an impact. The researchers believe that this extends socio-cognitive theory by supporting the notion that the realm of personal control goes far beyond behavioral control (Lucidi et al., 2008).  

It’s important to understand that socio-cognitive theory isn’t solely about direct or indirect social pressure, nor does it strip the “bad sportsperson” of their liability in the matter. It does, however, help us understand what prompts an individual to act in a way that isn’t consistent

64 Examples of socio-cognitive factors include: Positive attitudes towards doping, social surrounding, and the belief that significant others would approve/disapprove (Luicidi et al., 2008).

65 A study by Gucciardi, Jalleh, and Donovan, “Does Social Desirability Influence the Relationship between Doping Attitudes and Doping Susceptibility in Athletes?” found, at best, weak support for a mediation effect from social desirability’s influence on doping and doping susceptibility in athletes, while finding strong support of a moderative effect. This means that social desirability doesn’t appear to be a mechanism that affects susceptibility, but it can affect the strength of the relation between attitudes to dope and behavior susceptibility (Guicidardi et al., 2010).
with their morals, why good people can behave like bad sportspersons, and how we can prevent such behaviors in the future.

![Figure 3.2: A visual aid to understand the different mechanisms of TPB and Social Cognitive Theory - SCT (Ajzen 1991), (Bandura, 1977) as explored by Lucidi et al., (2008).]

In a more recent study by Barkoukis et al. (2015), researchers investigated the role self-affirmation theory has in mitigating doping behavior. The theory asserts that “guilty” people tend to overestimate the amount of other guilty people and use this overestimation as a self-serving mechanism for the self-justification of their own actions (Barkoukis et al., 2015). For example, not only do they expect greater benefits from performance-enhancing substances but also athletes who dope tend to

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66 Barkoukis, Lazuras, and Harris, “The Effects of Self-Affirmation Manipulation on Decision Making about Doping Use in Elite Athletes.”
overestimate the prevalence of doping in fellow athletes, as opposed to non-dopers (Barkoukis et al., 2015). The defensive individual’s goal when engaging in harmful behavior is to sustain their positive self-image, so they process information in a way that personally maintains this image.  

The researchers identified that self-affirmation manipulation had a direct influence on intentions when tested across other defiant practices, such as condom use, smoking, and sunscreen use. Barkoukis et al. explain that, in previous studies, individuals who were manipulated through self-affirmation and then presented with a message were more likely to accept the message than those in the control group. For example, in one study, self-affirmed (experimental group) participants and not-affirmed (control group) participants were given the message that sunscreen is an integral part of a daily routine and offers skin protection against cancer risks. The self-affirmed experimental group was more likely to agree with the statement and ask for a free sunscreen sample than those in the non-affirmed control group (Barkoukis et al., 2015).

67 One article by Ian Jones, “'He’s Still the Winner in My Mind,’” describes the effect group affirmation can have in protecting identity in light of negative events. The article “He’s still a winner in my mind” examines two brand communities’ perceptions surrounding the Lance Armstrong scandal.

68 “Motivational and Behavioural Consequences of Self-Affirmation Interventions: A study of sunscreen use among women” (Jessop et al., 2009).
The goal of Barkoukis et al.’s study was to expand on TPB because they thought that they could discuss the role of self-affirmation in predicting behavioral change within the broader framework of intention formation. When it comes to TPB, they believe self-affirmation influences self-efficacy, beliefs, and intention before resulting in personal conduct (Barkoukis et al., 2015).

The result of their study supported the first of their two hypotheses, and compared to the control group, self-affirmed athletes reported weaker intentions to engage in doping and had weaker situational temptation scores. The second hypothesis—that self-affirmation manipulation would be mediated by doping-related social cognitions—was not supported, but the manipulation did have a significant effect over and above social-cognitive determinants of doping intentions (norms, attitudes, anticipated regrets). Therefore, the manipulation had a considerable influence on doping intentions independent of doping beliefs. Also, and consistent with Luicidi et al., attitudes towards doping predicted doping behavior more strongly than the effects of self-affirmation (Barkoukis et al., 2015).

During the self-affirmation manipulation in the Barkoukis et al. study, participants were asked ten questions designed to encourage sharing and elaborating of previous personal acts of other-directed kindness. By recalling
and giving examples of these interactions, participants were ‘primed’ to perceive a positive self-image and feel good about themselves.

This strategy, along with the literature reviewed above, implies that TPB does not do enough to explain behavior, especially when it comes to ‘bad’ conduct. Moreover, it is difficult to separate self-affirmation from moral disengagement theories.

Arguably, the manipulation does more than increase one’s positive self-image; it may also remind one of past moral engagements, making them less likely to disengage when presented with the message. Instead of being primed with the idea “I am good,” they hear “this is what is good, and I am capable of behaving in that way.” They then receive a message that they identify as good and find less reason to disengage from it. Conversely, a lack of priming could result in a higher likelihood of falling into one of the many moral disengagement strategies discussed earlier.

**Doping Perceptions Review**

What becomes evident while reviewing the psychology of doping in sports literature is that there are many moving parts at play, and there is no one theory to answer for doping behavior. Furthermore, it seems that studies that focus on attitudes and beliefs in elite athletes are limited. From the studies that do exist on elite athletes, one must question the use of self-
rapport in research of high-risk behaviors (Moston et al., 2015) and accuracy, given fears about confidentiality. The fear of losing one’s promised anonymity could loom throughout participation, and athletes may not want to risk potentially jeopardizing their career. Besides, questionnaires can be limiting, and the inconsistent use of definitions and questions offer mixed data (Moston et al., 2015). It appears that the best approach would include qualitative and quantitative research (Morente-Sanchez et al., 2013). A 2013 systematic review tried to accommodate the variety of limitations attending doping research by selecting only studies that involved elite athletes and drawing conclusions from a multitude of studies and study types.69

In their review, Morente-Sanchez and Zabala found that, in general, the attitudes towards doping were consistent with what the clean-sport community would hope to see. Doping, on the whole, was perceived to be dishonest, unhealthy, and risky because of sanctions, and carried the likelihood of guilt and shame (Morente-Sanchez et al., 2013). Despite that majority view, one study showed that 90% of the population surveyed agreed that performance-related substances were effective and had an enhancing effect, and 7% said that if they were allowed in their sport, they

69 Morente-Sánchez and Zabala, “Doping in Sport.”
would use them (Morente-Sanchez et al., 2013). Nevertheless, 97% of the same respondents said it was possible to attain the highest level without doping. Finnish athletes varied significantly from young Italian athletes in another study, 24% of whom agreed that doping was a dangerous but essential adjunct to sports and non-sports achievement (Morente-Sanchez et al., 2013).

The reviewers point to the concept of a “false consensus effect,” wherein individuals decide to take the PES under the impression that their competitors are also using some kind of performance enhancement substance (Morente-Sanchez et al., 2013). Even though a small percentage of athletes surveyed anonymously admitted to using a substance, the risk this has on the rest of the population is quite high. It can create a domino effect where the sporting community only needs one ‘bad seed’ to pollute the field, a vicious cycle that propagates the pro-doping culture (Morente-Sanchez et al., 2013).

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70 “Self-Report Attitudes of Elite Athletes Towards Doping: Differences Between Type of Sport” (Alaranta et al., 2006).
71 “Determinants of the Intention to Use Doping Substances: An empirical contribution in a sample of Italian adolescents (Lucidi et al., 2004).
A recent study by Moston et al. asked 312 young student participants to estimate the incidence of doping in elite sport. They were also asked to list a sport in which they perceived doping to be more prevalent. This was followed by a survey to assess demographic conditions and moral functioning. Moston et al. (2015) found that the estimated incidence of doping was 28.8%, with a perceived greater prevalence in sports such as weightlifting, cycling, and athletics.

These results were concerning for the researchers studying the effects that self-fulfilling prophecy can have on behavior. They feared that either the actual reported incidence of doping was incorrect or that the estimations would increase the actual frequency (Moston et al., 2015). The mechanism of this phenomenon works as follows: the athlete believes that everyone dopes, so they dope, thereby raising the number of athletes who are doping and proving that they were right in their original belief that everyone dopes. The claim that athletes using drugs offer higher estimates of drug use than


73 A phenomenon in which false expectancies or definitions of a situation are capable of causing behavioral changes in the perceiver and target, which then leads to their own fulfillment, and the originally false conception becomes true. The perceiver uses the actual events as proof that the original expectancies were right from the beginning (Moston et al., 2015).
those who claim not to use drugs is consistent with both theories of defensive self-affirmation and self-fulfilling prophecy findings.

Moston et al. suggest these findings have important implications for clean-sport education and the role that perceptions should have on its directions. For example, the sports where doping is perceived to be most common should be targeted first, and incidences should be publicly reported, following sports morale-based education (Moston et al., 2015).

Figure 3.3. A compilation of results from the systematic review (Morente-Sanchez et al. 2013) describing athlete-reported reasons for doping (Striegel et al., 2002), (Nieper, A. 2005), (Kim et al., 2011) and (Erdman et al., 2007).

In addition to these phenomena, Peretti-Wattel et al. (2004) explored individual risk factors for doping and found that athletes with low personal
and parental academic achievement, along with an extreme involvement in sports, were more likely to hold a positive attitude toward doping.\textsuperscript{74} Ego and achievement orientation also significantly influenced positive doping attitudes (Erickson et al., 2015 also found that those with low self-esteem were at a higher risk to use substances\textsuperscript{75}). Those athletes considered doping to be more permissible, whereas athletes who were more task-oriented indicated negative attitudes towards doping (Peretti-Wattel, 2004). \textsuperscript{76}

In their review, Morente-Sanchez et al. gathered that, in general, athletes regard the levels and scope of punishment for doping as fair. They also revealed that, between sports, doping use was more prevalent in individual sports such as athletics, weightlifting, and cycling, and that those competitors were also the most educated about doping (Lazarus et al., 2010).\textsuperscript{77} It’s important to note that certain sports have a varying amount of controls—cycling vs. football for example—which in large part is due to

\textsuperscript{74} Peretti-Watel et al., “Attitudes Toward Doping and Recreational Drug Use among French Elite Student-Athletes.”
\textsuperscript{75} Erickson, McKenna, and Backhouse, “A Qualitative Analysis of the Factors That Protect Athletes against Doping in Sport.”
\textsuperscript{76} Ego and achievement orientation can be contrasted with the value systems described in chapter two: one that focuses on the meaning in sport and might not support doping behavior, and another that focuses on personal achievement and physical progress.
\textsuperscript{77} Lazuras et al., “Predictors of Doping Intentions in Elite-Level Athletes.”
increased independence within various sports federations (Morente-Sanchez et al., 2013).

One study included in the review concluded that there also existed intra-sport variations between two generations of cyclists: an older generation comprised of athletes before the Festina scandal, who was heavily into the doping culture and were even marginalized by their peers for not taking substances, and a new generation (Lentillon-Kaestner et al., 2010, 2012). This study concluded that although it seems that doping in cycling is in decline and isn’t accepted at amateur levels, it is still deemed acceptable in pro cycling. The athletes who agreed claimed that it was worse for their health if they avoided using substances, and perceived doping to be more of a “treatment” than advantage-seeking behavior (Lentillon-Kaestner et al.,

Figure 3.4. A compilation of results from the systematic review (Morente-Sanchez et al. 2013) considering from where athletes get information about performance-enhancing substances (Waddington et al., 2005), (Neiper, A. 2005), (Somerville & Kuipers. 2005), (Erdman et al., 2007), (Kim et al., 2011) and (Peters et al., 2009).

A Deeper Understanding of Drug Use in Sport

Carlos D’Angelo and Claudio Tamburini (2010) argue that the doping debate is too black and white and is dominated by two opposing groups: the prohibitionist or the ban-abolitionist. The two offer a third, more sympathetic, view in which substance use is a ”symptom of the paradigm of highly competitive elite sports” (D’Angelo & Tamburini, 2010, p. 700) not
unlike substance abuse and addiction in wider society. In fact, in their article *Addicted to Win*, D’Angelo and Tamburini contend that the most popular substances used for doping purposes satisfy the conditions of physical or mental dependency. Because of this, they say, it is important to exhibit great care for the athlete and work through doping issues within the realm of sports healthcare.

D’Angelo and Tamburini’s version of the war against doping prioritizes preventative programs that are person-tailored. Instead of sanctions and the threat of bans, they propose that a more effective strategy would be for clean-sport programs to offer more counseling and treatment programs. Rather than fighting to reduce drug use, perhaps we ought to strive to reduce drug harm (Moller, et al., 2015).79

On the topic of sports medicine, one approach to understanding drug use in sports recognizes the role that its medicalization has had on its culture. Proponents claim that the increase of doping in sports “cannot be explained simply by reference to the changing patterns of behaviour among athletes”

79 This is consistent with much of Ken Kirkwood’s work, some of which explores whether the presence of steroid addiction alters the view that steroid use in sport is cheating (2014) and prioritizes harm reduction as respect for athletes rights as it pertains to increased risk to the drug user by prohibition (seeking to find more undetectable methods), intrusion on autonomy and privacy of biological information (2009).
(Waddington, 2015, p. 409) but must also be evaluated with consideration of
the impact that the world of medicine and its innovators and entrepreneurs
have had (Waddington, 2015).80

As much as athletes are challenged in these times to be better, faster,
and stronger, medicine too is challenged to adapt to a new type of patient:
the athlete. It is generally accepted that athletes require medical attention by
being athletes. Just as newborns and the very elderly require attention
(Waddington, 2015), so too athletes have become their own medical
discipline. Doctors treat this new breed of patients for injuries and illness, but
with the increased importance of winning comes treatment in a way that
improves performance. Some argue that even legal and safe substances,
such as vitamins, can develop the patterns of a culture that condones
medical involvement towards amelioration (Waddington, 2015).

Another approach to understanding doping in sports proposes that
athletes may be over-conforming to their changing role in sports culture
(Coakley, 2015).81 This approach, like social-cognitive theory, considers the
athlete’s role against identity and action, as when a coach influences an

80 Waddington, “Drug Use in English Professional Football * Commentary.”
81 Coakley, “Drugs and Deviant Overconformity.”
athlete by declaring the team’s standards and advising him or her of what they need to do to remain a part of the team (Coakley, 2015).

When a coach or other external influencer, such as a sponsor, exerts this pressure on an athlete who is a committed individual, and who has spent their career sacrificing everything for the thrill of the sport and shaped their own personal identity through it, the use of substances can seem like just another step required for success (Coakley, 2015). In this scenario, doping involves more than egocentric self-interest or reward-seeking from winning: it consists of an athlete conforming to a culturally-shaped role that is deeply embedded in their self-identity (Coakley, 2015).

Sports ethics in the context of conformity require an athlete to be dedicated to “the game,” strive for distinction, accept risks, play through pain, and overcome all obstacles in the pursuit of possibilities (Coakley, 2015). Conforming to these norms is “not only expected but demanded for recognition and acceptance as a real athlete and continuing team membership” (Coakley, 2015, p. 381). The athlete conforming to the athlete identity can easily lose sight of limits to where over-conformity stretches to the point of deviance (Coakley, 2015).

Scholars of over-conformity distinguish between deviant over-conformity, which is seen as positive, and deviant under-conformity, which
has negative connotations (Coakley, 2015). An athlete who lacks dedication and perhaps isn’t willing to use substances to prove their ability to ‘win at all costs’ would fall under the second category (Coakley, 2015). It’s easy to see how such sociological functioning of the sports community, where over-conformity is seen as a positive and necessary aspect of the athlete identity, can contribute to a pro-doping culture. Jay Coakley (2015, p. 383) sheds light on the forgotten side of doping in sport:

Few people ever saw the negative consequences of over-conformity in prolympic sports, which made it easier to “excuse” them, despite seeing them as deviant. People didn’t see the self-indulgent training that destroyed relationships, the obsessions that foreclosed other opportunities, the chronic pain and disability, the bodies worn down by overuse, and the depression caused by an unquestioned pursuit of impossible dreams. Unaware of these consequences, people viewed over-conformity in sports as supranormal displays of character, which clearly supported their mythical belief in the essential purity and goodness of sport and the positive impact on those who participate in it.

In elite sports, the culture has normalized pushing the limits, and the athlete who seeks identity reaffirmation and continued participation in an

82 “Peter Donnelly (1996) explains that prolympic sports represent a contemporary combination of professional and Olympic sports that emphasizes exclusive participation and a quest for victories and record-setting performances” (Coakley, 2015, p.390).
activity that means so much to them is bound to over-conform. As we saw earlier in this chapter, athletes with low self-esteem who seek acceptance from peers and teammates, and athletes who link sports achievement with success and respect from others, are most at risk to over-conform (Coakley, 2015).

On the one hand, sports culture has evolved into a highly visible and medicalized spectacle, where funding (government or otherwise) requires success. This success requires year-round training, which in turn requires the need to shorten recovery times (Waddington, 2015). For the athletes staying involved in this culture and continuing to play the game, it isn’t merely what they want to do, it’s who they are (Coakley, 2015).

On the other hand, society views sport as good and pure, a model for our categorical cultural imperatives, and athletes are role models who work hard to achieve success. Those who stand outside of the culture vilify

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83 In response to claims of athletes being coerced into doping through other athletes’ participation, Kirkwood claims that this attribution of fault is shortsightedness on our part. By doing so, we deny what has already happened to sports, and that, doping aside, the human body is already being modified in other ways for the sake of progress in sports (2002). Kirkwood finds it hard to believe that athletes arriving at the dilemma to dope (after a lifetime of breaking through barriers) would not refuse to partake, but that if others do it, “then they will be ‘coerced’ to follow suit” (Kirkwood, 2002, p. 173). Kirkwood claims this to be self-deception on the part of athletes, and that if only clean-sport were meaningful, then all other ‘dirty’ results wouldn’t matter (Kirkwood, 2002).

84 Erickson, McKenna, and Backhouse, “A Qualitative Analysis of the Factors That Protect Athletes against Doping in Sport.”
athletes who take PES, and there is a call for those athletes to be banned from sport.

This second scenario ignores the complexity and meaning associated with being an elite athlete in a world where sports is of high value and success requires full self-sacrifice (Coakley, 2015). It seems as though, based on the over-conformity approach, the athlete participating in doping behavior is making the most significant sacrifice of all. Perhaps such an athlete is viewed as the ultimate sportsperson described in the previous chapter.

Such a theory is likely overly convoluted, but either way, scholars like Coakley (2015) agree that vilifying only these athletes ignores the role that those who seek to profit from sports play in a system that prioritizes winning to the extent that it ignores the limits of an athlete’s body. Coakley (2015, p. 390) explains why deviant over-conformity will remain common in the somewhat mythical present system of sport: 85

When any of their sponsored athletes test positive for drugs, they drop support for the athletes and quickly reclaim their connection with purity and goodness... The vested interests in the current organization of prolympic sports are so strong...It will continue to take a toll on the bodies of athletes and, if they are identified as dopers, they’ll be

85 Jay Coakley uses the term “mythical” in this context because to believe that that athlete can maintain the demands of the evolution of sport and a healthy body is simply not realistic.
labeled as morally flawed and unredeemable enemies in the war on doping.

According to the over-conformity approach, doping is a survival strategy for the athlete to maintain their self-identity and value, not necessarily because they need to win, but because they need to continue to compete and identify as athletes. The sport itself links consent to dope with winning.

With this approach in mind, harm reductionist theories like Ken Kirkwood’s don’t seem far off the mark because they consider the dichotomy between the athlete’s values and those cited by the institutions or brands that oversee them. They also acknowledge the error when in the case of doping “the athlete is primarily, if not entirely, to blame” (Kirkwood, 2008, p. 81). However, by restricting the athlete to ultimatums where they cannot claim coercion from their felt pressure to dope, and where they cannot claim the impact that other athletes doping has on them if their values are really sports-aligned, they neglect the complexity and reality of the sports intuition spectrum that this chapter has emphasized.

While Kirkwood claims that we are better off focusing our energies on harm prevention and permitting doping in sport because of “the growing

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86 See p. 41, footnote 42
profitability of victory for athletes and sports leagues alike, we see that the elements of a rational decision not to dope are insufficient to change the minds of those who currently engage in such behavior” (Kirkwood, 2002, p. 85-86). The over-conformity theory allows us to see how the athlete engaging in the dilemma to dope may have lost the ability to act rationally.\textsuperscript{87} In this theory, the rules can be sustained based on their true sports principles, and the athlete’s rights can be prioritized, whereas in Kirkwood’s theory, the rules are thrown away in a “what’s the point anyway?” attitude, though it still prioritizes athletes’ rights.

Another approach, game theory, explains why rational athletes would use PES, and it predicts that winner-oriented athletes will find “doping to be a dominant strategy leading to all-doping as an equilibrium, in a prisoner’s dilemma” (Breivik & Tagen, 2015, p.403).\textsuperscript{88} These scholars believe that particular sports like cycling and athletics present athletes with such a dilemma because it is hard to predict who will dope and when: “replicator games with fixed strategies show that doping comes in waves and cycles and

\textsuperscript{87} In a far-reaching way, this hypothesis could extend to argue against Kirkwood’s conflicts pertaining to the autonomy of the athlete during drug testing (Kirkwood, 2002).

\textsuperscript{88} Tagen and Breivik, “Doping Games and Drug Abuse.”
sometimes the better players, and sometimes the mediocre athletes are more likely to use doping” (Breivik, et al., 2015, p. 403).

In *Game Theoretic Approaches to Doping in Sport*, Breivik et al. contends that the best we can do to mitigate against this prisoner’s trap is to strengthen athletic norms and those fair-play attitudes that compelled our intuition away from doping in the first place.

**Future Focus**

These perspectives, which aim to pave the path to clean sports, are consistent with findings from the individual studies and the comprehensive literature review conducted earlier in the chapter. According to Erickson et al., (2015) clean-sport programs should invest more of their allocated budgets into education rather than testing, and prioritize:

- Changing and shaping healthy attitudes around clean sports,
- Focusing on increasing task orientation over ego orientation,
- Managing behavior with prevention strategies, including increasing protective factors and the development of self-regulatory skills,
- Expanding the presence of doping education in PE curricula in schools,
• Personalizing mental health strategies and foster efforts and task persistence instead of win-at-all-costs sportspersonship.

• Preventing the effects of false consensus and self-fulfilling prophecy (Morente-Sanchez et al., 2013).

Education programs should also emphasize the importance of information about other supplements that may not fall in under the banned category (Erdman et al., 2007). A better understanding of their ingredients, mechanisms of action, and potential risks would engender increased understanding of all substances and could help reduce adverse health effects and doping incidence. In addition to these responsibilities to educate and mitigate the sociocultural aspects of doping behavior, further research could consider cultural and economic differences in doping use to gain a deeper understanding of the role the elite sports environment plays on the sportsperson (Morente-Sanchez et al., 2013).

With a better and more sympathetic take on the athlete as a product of their sports culture, we can see the double-dipping bias in portraying the Johnsons and the Armstrongs of sports as villains. Yes, in their oft irrational

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89 Erdman et al., “Dietary Supplementation of High-Performance Canadian Athletes by Age and Gender.”

90 Nicole Henderson and William Dressler discuss the stigma and moral attributions that surround substance use issues “… the moral center of the cultural model
and disinhibited commitment to the sport, such athletes stray away from the
noble path. However, I believe that their intent is rarely that of the bad
sportsperson but instead comes from a need for survival. Whether that is
physiological survival to maintain health and well-being during intense
training loads, psychological survival driven by a need to preserve their
identity and self-worth as an athlete or by fear (financial, political or
otherwise), I don’t believe that athletes are doping in an effort to undermine
competitors, the sport, or themselves. I contend that an athlete dopes
because, inadvertently (or not), we asked them to. This villain is someone
who tried too hard to be a hero and is a product of, rather than the antithesis
of, sports culture.

frames addiction in terms of human weakness, as something that could and should
have been controlled by the individual. From this standpoint, individuals begin
using drugs either because they wanted to or because they were unable to assert
themselves in the face of social pressures. In this sense, the individual has no one to
blame but him/herself.” (p.493)
91 In his concluding remarks, former Assistant Deputy Minister, Fitness and Amateur
Sport, Lyle Makosky states “the realization that there are greater forces in play,
something bigger going on… when we add in forces and challenges such as: sexual
abuse; abuse of power and authority; corruption in governance; other cheating
methods; racism; disrespect at many levels including disrespect for other athletes,
officials, disrespect for the game… these are symptomatic that the foundation of
sport has cracks, a slow decay and crumbling of the basis on which sport was
created and endowed with a special place in the culture of our country. We need a
strategy and cultural movement to reframe/rebase/renormalize Canadian sport to
be values and principles based and guided.” (Makosky, “Anti Doping in Sport in
Canada Keynote Talk.”)
The following chapter represents an early initiative in the cultural research of these clean-sport issues. Chapter four, “True North Narrative,” depicts my experience of the Canadian culture throughout my participation of the C3 experience. Though limited to my own perspectives, I hope that this honest autoethnographic report of my journey offers an accurate depiction of an array of lessons from young and adult Canadian personalities and perspectives, the issues that face our nation today, and an aspiring Olympian on the journey of a lifetime.
Chapter Four: True North Narrative

The aim of this autoethnography aim is to uncover the dynamic force that is Canadian culture. I hope that you connect to the story and share in my evolution, my discoveries, and my journey through the country and its people. The end of the chapter features the short essay I wrote as a youth ambassador, which captures the essence of the journey’s impact. The tour began in and continued through the early autumn of 2017 and covered over 5,000 kilometers of Canada and the Pacific Ocean. Without question, the story’s soul lies in the powerful interactions between participants, the majority of whose names have been altered to maintain anonymity.

Part One: LAND

Figure 4.1. The Drive
Seeing land after hours of nothing but blue, and feeling the freedom and adventure that this country offered, overwhelmed me. I admired its vastness in the seemingly infinite farmers’ fields stretching below the horizon, and as the plane prepared to touchdown, a let out a sigh of relief. The hot summer days spent earning my birthright Czech citizenship stroke by stroke on the river Vltava were behind me, and I was about to begin my next journey. Prague had been crowded with tourists, locals, and more tourists. I often felt that Prague and the surrounding Czech country felt stuffy and densely populated. Though undeniably beautiful, rich with history, and an inextricable part of my identity, when the wheels met the Toronto airport’s runway, my seat jiggled me into an alternate world and I knew in my heart that I was home.

On top of a full-time training schedule with the Czech Rowing Team and frequent family visits, I had spent the summer keeping track of the C3 expedition through social media and live video streams. Soon, after a short stint on campus, it would be my turn to experience this journey that was promised to be once in a lifetime.

Three months earlier, the day before my flight to Prague, the Polar Prince, a 220-foot icebreaker retired from the Canadian Coast Guard, began its journey setting sail from the harbor in Toronto. There, on June 1st, 2017,
the Polar Prince, its crew, and participants began a 150-day journey around the coasts of Canada and through the Northwest Passage to Victoria, BC. I was there to experience the launch of this monumental journey, an eager youth ambassador among a small crowd of mostly local Torontonians checking out what all the commotion was about and wishing the participants well. Over the summer, the C3 expedition would gain momentum and generate conversations and, in 140 days, my time would come, and I would be aboard the ship for the final of its 15 legs as she was welcomed back to land by those who packed the harbor of Victoria, BC.

[The C3 expedition was created by the founders of Students on Ice and funded in large part by the Government of Canada. Students on Ice is a charitable educational organization that offers learning opportunities to high school and university students in the Arctic and Antarctic to foster a global understanding of our relationship with the environment. The C3 expedition incorporated this theme in its mission along with three other Canada 150 themes. As a signature Canada 150 project, C3 (Coast to Coast to Coast) connected Canadians from all over to discuss and participate in relevant issues facing the country today. The central themes of Canada 150 were reconciliation, youth, the environment, and diversity and inclusion. The folks}
at C3 selected Canadians from all over the nation and from all walks of life to link the varying perspectives of Canadians old and young. They chose 33 youth ambassadors, and I was lucky enough to be one of them. My role as a youth ambassador, aside from participating on the ship, was to engage with youth in my community, discuss the relevant themes, and spread the C3 momentum from the coastlines to classrooms.]

Figure 4.2. Coast to Coast to Coast

The journey was divided into 15 legs, each leg comprising of ten days. After the ten days, the new fleet of participants would arrive to start making the memories that they would be sharing throughout the rest of their lives.
Since Leg 15 started in Campbell River, BC and I was based in London, ON, I took it upon myself to make the most of this opportunity and capitalize on my youth ambassador role by driving across the country to Campbell River, stopping at schools for presentations along the way. My goal was to absorb as much as I could from Canadian youths and give back to the expedition that was about to give me more than I could have ever imagined, and maybe if I were lucky I would inspire some future adventurers or athletes along the way.

I spent the month of September planning the details of my drive, organizing school visits in every major city that I would drive through, and of course presenting my thesis proposal to my committee. Soon enough, I was stuffing my hatchback to the brim and waving goodbye to London’s city limits. First stop: Brockville and the Thousand Islands.

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I dipped a toe in to test the water during what I called the first official morning of the big road trip. The crisp morning air felt frigid in comparison to the 25-degree water, the St. Lawrence River seemed surprisingly warm for the 28th of September, and as the sun slowly crept up the horizon, we committed to going for a swim. Seeing it from the dock, the small cliff below Mya’s cabin seemed to be the perfect conduit to the water, until I was at its
edge and the warm water that was calling my name a few moments before appeared impossibly far away.

After more than five minutes of readying myself to jump, with an eager impulse in my legs and that classic arm swing windup—but too afraid to let go of the rock below me—a patient Mya, with camera in hand, comforted me and told me I didn’t have to jump, that we could go in from the dock. “No I want to, I really want to.”

It’s such a funny feeling standing on the edge of a cliff. I once read that Sartre calls this vertigo, the feeling of being so palpably in control of our density, standing on the cliff and knowing that we are the only thing holding ourselves back from jumping.

Call it vertigo, call it butterflies…all my instincts were telling me not to jump, yet something still drove me before, finally, this desire to break the barrier between the unknown propelled me, and I took a step into thin air, away from safe intentions, and screamed my way to the water below. I hit the water, and for a moment while I was below the surface, the tranquility of the sunrise resumed.

“I did it!” Yelling at the top of my lungs broke the brief silence and, filled with adrenaline, pride, and a new sense of self, I swam to the dock and ran back up to the top of the rock to jump again. Once there, I again
confronted hesitation, but this time I faced it with trust and with some comfort in my learned experience.

That morning, jumping into the St. Lawrence River, where a few months earlier the Polar Prince had passed through, served as the perfect metaphor for my journey. It showed me that I had to listen to my heart, take risks, and allow myself to be vulnerable and that if I did, I would reap profound rewards.

I jumped three more times off the cliff into that friendly water before breakfast. Then it was time for me to begin the short drive to Ottawa, where my Swiss boyfriend Luca and a hundred cows were waiting for me at his aunt’s dairy farm.

Three hours in the morning, three hours in the evening. This was the life of these farmers, and although the three hours were nonstop sorting cows, cleaning their udders, milking by hand, and connecting them to the pumps before doing it over again with a new bunch, I immediately fell in love with the cows, whose eyes, perhaps naively, glimmered with compassion.

[I asked the family, after living twenty-odd years in Canada, if they’d ever move back to Switzerland. They said they had never considered it, and it was
clear to me that, despite their long, hard days at work, they were living their version of the Canadian dream.]

After milking, it was time to head into the city of Ottawa for my first day of school presentations. My fellow youth ambassador Megan and I spent the morning at Glebe Collegiate sharing the story of C3. As I spoke with the young high-school kids from a variety of backgrounds, I felt that diversity was the most relatable theme between them. Although kids can be shy and stress being cool, they appeared to have cultural sub-communities. Kids of the same ethnicity sat in the same section of the room and waited for each other’s approval before raising their hands or giggling. The students voted that reconciliation was the priority of the C3 themes, but unfortunately, there also seemed to be a gap in understanding, beliefs/desires, and action. There was an almost unanimous interest in wanting to be a voice for reconciliation, but there was no simple way how; they had beliefs but no answers to why they had them or what to do with them.

Ottawa also meant the starting point of the westward journey. We drove a few hours and spent the night at the beautiful small cottage of a friend of mine, Doug, a former fellow ski coach from my days of trying to shape youth in Panorama, BC. He spent his summers in his home province
on the shores of Lake Kukagami just East of Sudbury. At dinner, we spoke of the beauty of the Canadian landscape, from east to west, and we stayed up late into the night looking at maps as he told me of places he had been, including places I’d never heard of like Haida Gwaii, which he called the Galapagos of Canada.

[The Polar Prince made a stop at this island the week before I stepped on board, and the participants came face-to-face with some of Canada’s most prized animals, like the spirit bear].

We set our alarms early the next morning to catch the sunrise, a tradition I accidentally began the first day outside of Brockville. Our short sleep, like that faithful leap off the cliff that first day, did not go unrewarded. The late-late-night sky from the dock had the gradient of a ripe plum, and the water reflected it like hand-dyed silk.

“Should we go for a paddle in the canoe?” I asked Luca, standing on the dock still wrapped in my sleeping bag. Being the thoughtful guy he is, he hesitated a little, for safety reasons, before agreeing and helping me drag the canoe out onto the beach.
We pushed off from the beach and glided into the steam that was rising from the water as the sun slowly showed its face. Through the steam, we quickly lost sight of the cottage and paddled in search of some hidden island treasures. I noticed Luca wasn’t overly adept at paddling, and later he confessed it was his first time in a canoe.

I would have loved for the paddle never to have ended, but the sun rose as suns do, and it was time for us to continue through Sudbury and find camp somewhere that could compare to the memorable visit we had at the cottage. We drove all day and found a retired campsite in the dark by an empty beach and quickly set up the tent in front of the car’s headlights. Summer was over, as the quiet campgrounds confirmed.

The next day a long and winding road slowly lead us away from the great lake and took us through the Ontario forests before arriving at the Terry Fox memorial, marking our proximity to Thunder Bay. William, a fellow youth ambassador who had already completed his leg of the journey through the Arctic earlier in the summer, was waiting for us at a local pub. William appeared to be a quiet and carefully-spoken guy who still seemed in awe of his voyage. His presence at the table felt like that of an old soul, listening and sharing in a straightforward but deep and meaningful way.
After telling us about some of the local garden projects he started in Thunder Bay for troubled youth, he shared some of his favorite moments from C3. He had watched a polar bear feeding on a fresh seal on a floating slab of ice, sang songs with the artists under the northern lights, and visited some the northernmost Canadian communities, with which he, as an indigenous person, sensed a natural connection. I spoke of rowing a bit, and right away William began to speak of his love of outdoor hockey rinks and the cold crisp nights that accompany them. We exchanged books, my The Alchemist for his Circling the North, wished each other well, and haven’t heard from each other since.

The next school visit was waiting for me in my hometown of Winnipeg. Unbeknownst to me, a teacher there had organized for me to present to all of her classes at River Heights Jr. High, all day. That day, after going through my PowerPoint presentation half a dozen times, I gained a newfound appreciation for teachers who can maintain the attention and excitement of young teens. Eventually, Luca picked me up and, against my protests and exhaustion, drove us to the Winnipeg Rowing Club to do my workout. I had been struggling to maintain my regime since leaving London the week before.
[The students at River Heights Jr. High asked me if I had any Olympic medals, to which I replied, “no, but hopefully.” I asked what sports they played and if anyone had any Olympic dreams as I had. Few were brave enough to raise their hand, but I remember that some girls who loved basketball wanted to be on the Canadian team.

I asked them about reconciliation, and they told me about school trips and exercises in which they were taking part. They could link the importance of diversity in their community to some of their newfound perspectives on indigenous issues. They also asked me about the ship and how they too could become part of something like this. I considered this to be, along with those shy hands expressing Olympic dreams, uplifting.]

The next major city destination was Regina. There I did my presentation in a full St. Josepha School gymnasium and felt a little nervous with my first time using a microphone.

[I didn’t always feel like my message or talk was overly valuable. Sometimes I caught myself mid-sentence thinking that my words didn’t make sense or weren’t worthwhile. This sensation often led me to focus on asking the kids questions. Generating such two-way conversations often paid off.]
During the presentation, I asked the young kids to close their eyes and raise their hands to show whether they’d prefer to win a gold medal by cheating or come second playing fair. I was pleased that only a few raised their hands to the former. When I asked some of them to tell me why they voted in favor of fair play, they said that it wasn’t only about winning but about doing your best and that it meant more if you won on your ability. They also spoke of repercussions, mentioning that the cheater risked losing their medal. One of the teachers even asked questions about athlete responsibility, strict liability, and even said that she remembered where she was when she heard the news about Ben Johnson.

Though the presentation in Regina inspired me, my voice was starting to tire along with my presentation skills. The drive from Regina to Calgary felt like forever, and I had another presentation to look forward to the next morning.

Calgary had long served as my second home. It was where I chased my alpine skiing dreams, where they came crashing down, where I moved on from sport to an undergrad degree, and where I found out that the fire was not out and I began rowing and chasing these Olympic dreams yet again. During my short stay, I participated in the Dino Dash race on the Calgary
Reservoir and took home a medal, even though the altitude didn’t agree with me as much as it used to.

The presentation in Calgary was to a group of Grade 1 and Grade 2 students, so I mostly shared pictures of the ship that awaited me, and the distances it had covered since the journey’s launch. They asked about polar bears and other animals. They inquired about rowing and the Olympics too. I wondered how much these kids would remember. I also wondered what I remembered from my school years and how much of it was still subconsciously driving my decision making today. I then recalled one particular memory from grade 5, when my teacher brought in a friend of hers who was blind. She talked to us about what it was like to be blind, and how she did daily things like pouring her morning coffee and putting on makeup. I think it was then that I realized that without experiencing something, we wouldn’t be able to relate to it entirely either.

[This became a pattern when it came to perceptions of justice towards indigenous populations. Our perspective is limited to that of the outsider or settler, and try as we might we will never fully appreciate the injustices incurred on their people. However, my experience on C3 was probably as close as someone in my position could get.]
Two days of driving and photo opportunities through the Rockies brought us through our final westbound moments, and we arrived at the coast ready for exploration. While making our way across on the ferry from Horseshoe Bay to Nanaimo, my excitement to get on the ship in a day’s time was rising. I sat on the ferry as a tourist, but soon I’d be on the waters as an explorer, if not of land then of culture. The long hours spent driving across the country and in classrooms regurgitating my presentations to hyperactive, albeit keen children, led to these coming hours.

After a night in Nanaimo, we were heading up to Campbell River for the start of the big adventure! We picked up my fellow Leg 15 youth ambassador Megan and headed north-island.
Part Two: ABOARD THE POLAR PRINCE

Figure 4.3. Leg 15

While the other participants sat in “the knot” going through first introductions, I awkwardly dragged and banged my rowing machine through the narrow hallways of the ship and located the little 2m x 4m gym in which I would attempt to restart my training schedule over the next ten days of the C3 expedition. I had done a miserable job of training during the drive, and I became increasingly aware that neither my competitors nor my dreams were resting.
[The awareness that every day presents the opportunity for growth presents either a blessing or a burden for athletes, and in the case of the latter can lead to overtraining and eventual burnout.]

After exploring the ship below and above deck, I went to shake hands with some of the participants in the communal area known as the knot. As I walked into the room, careful not to trip over the raised bottom doorway seen throughout the ship, and began to shake hands, names went in one ear and out the other, though as I smiled politely and introduced myself. My eager eyes scanned the room for any famous faces, as the participants in each leg included scientists, artists, musicians, youth ambassadors, C3 organizers, C3 founder Geoff, and a media crew to document all the exciting events. There was also a doctor on the ship, along with communications crew, kitchen crew, a captain, a pilot, and many deckhands. Previous legs had included Olympic medalists, politicians, musicians, and public figures, and I was keen to see whom I might recognize.

I noticed there was a “hotshot,” a man in a suit who I decided couldn’t possibly impress me, even though I didn’t know who he was. Later I got to know him as Fin and learned that he was the MP for Port Moody-Coquitlam and NDP Critic for Fisheries, Oceans, and the Canadian Coast Guard. I
quickly realized that Fin was an incredibly impressive fella. I discovered that besides being a committed voice for healthy oceans and fisheries, he had swum the length of the Fraser River (twice!) in the name of local issues affecting environmental health. Fin had also completed 13 other marathon swims in BC rivers, lakes, and oceans, including the Strait of Georgia, the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and across Lake Okanagan. He is well known in the indigenous communities for his grassroots and consultative approach towards environmental issues. This man was spending his days in cabinet meetings fighting for the land in the name of its original inhabitants. He may have been wearing a suit when I first met him, but by the second day, his fins showed through.

[Unfortunately, underestimating everyone I met revealed itself as a pattern for the better half of the journey. By the end, the old cliché of “never judge a book by its cover” became my mantra, and I spent a lot of time wondering who else I might have met with an incredible story that I never heard because of my prejudices or narrow focus.]

Journey participant Adnan was another prime example of an undercover hero. Adnan wasn’t a celebrity or in politics; he had no “special
talents,” just unshakeable energy and authenticity that would make you appreciate every single moment. Adnan shook hands vigorously with everyone the second he stepped into the room on that first day. Throughout the journey, he must have taken a million selfies and asked a million questions, and he was very impressed by every answer. Adnan was born in Baghdad and moved to Canada ten years earlier to build a better life for his family. It was evident in everything he did that Adnan felt a deep love for his new home, for which he had sacrificed everything he had. In previous years, Adnan had helped Nenshi run for mayor in Calgary and was very involved in his community helping new immigrants settle into Canadian life. Though he had less impressive credentials on paper, when it came time for some wrap-up presentations at the end of the journey, Adnan spoke with such sincerity about his experience that he moved everyone to tears.

We did a short ship briefing, and before we could launch from Campbell River, we had to learn the survival protocol, which the captain himself taught. Everyone on the ship received a survival suit, and we rehearsed putting it on and memorized all the meeting points and exits. The suit would keep you alive for 19 hours if need be, but for most of us, it just served as a great photo opportunity.
Sometimes during the day when I’d sneak down to get something from my bunk, I’d hear someone working out in the “gym” next to our room, and was pleased to see the captain using my rowing machine and getting sweaty. When the ship docked, he could be spotted doing long marathon runs, rain or shine. For a week I related to the captain’s impossible workout schedule, but instead of approaching it with anxiety and hopeless measures like I did, he appreciated his runs purely for the very purpose they served.

The ship pushed away from the harbor as we sat down for dinner, and my journey was officially beginning. A few hours earlier, when we were driving to Campbell River through the pouring rain, we passed a man who was cycling with a small backpack and saddle bag. Luca said, “I bet that guy is on the ship with you,” and I said, “no way.” As we ate our first meal, I made quick friends with “that guy,” Devin. I learned that Devin’s claim to fame was that he had attempted to row across the Northwest Passage to raise awareness for climate change. As you can imagine, Devin was my kind of celebrity and he quickly earned my respect. The more I got to know him, the more my respect for him grew. As a father of two and an architect in Vancouver, Devin had managed to build a life for himself and his family. He then decided to step outside of all of his comfort zones and challenge
himself in the name of challenging others. Devin wrote a book in which he recounts his journey through the NWP, and relates moments where he felt at the brink of death.

[What isn’t in the book is the heightened consciousness that Devin brings to everything he does. Devin sees adventure—usually through sport—as a solution to a problem, and despite having fears like the rest of us, he embarks on those challenges in the name of something greater than himself. In previous years, Devin had broken the world record for the fastest unsupported trek from the edge of the Antarctic to the Geographic South Pole via cross-country skis. He is also a member of the esteemed Explorer’s Club, and was an Explorer’s Club Flag recipient after his NWP attempt in 2013.]

New introductions meant a late night, but eventually, the hum of the ship sang me to sleep, and the next morning I felt energized to workout before the day’s activities began. I woke up just before five, and dragged my tired feet the 15m from my bed to “the gym.” I rowed on the machine for about 30 minutes, before becoming so appalled by my splits (time per 500m) that I switched to the easier, more sleep-forgiving, but equally sweaty bike.
To cool off, I headed up to the deck and was gifted by a foggy morning in our first stop at Teakerne Inlet near Desolation Sound. It was still dark, but the emerald water in which we dropped anchor was vibrant, and the dark islands that surrounded us began to take their shape as the light increased with every passing moment. I greeted the crew members enjoying a smoke break after managing the ropes and anchor. It wasn’t the ideal post-workout environment, but I wouldn’t have traded it for anything.

DAY 1

After the first of many “slack” session workouts, my first shower on the ship was waiting for me, and I realized that I was taller than most participants, sticking my head out above the stall wondering what everyone could see. I was getting dressed and wished Adnan a good morning, our faces 30 cm apart.

Breakfast was followed by our first of many morning briefings in the old helicopter hangar, where we sat in a circle as Geoff, our expedition leader, went over the plans for the day. We would launch zodiacs from the ship, and had the choice to head onto a nearby island for a hike up to a small lake, or we could take a traditional kayak or stand-up paddleboard out. I decided to don the drysuit and get on a paddleboard.
Drew was the only other guy on a paddleboard and it was his first time. I didn’t know much about him, but I noticed that he listened intently, dressed well, and had a very relaxed demeanor. He was a certified cool guy. Seeing Drew nervous and wobbly on the paddleboard as he acquired a new skill, I recollected seeing Luca paddling a canoe. It made me think, first, what a unique experience it is to be able to learn something new, and second, all demeanors and book covers aside, give anyone a new task in a foreign place and see how human they quickly become.

[Drew’s training was in law, but he was an entrepreneur at heart. He had risked it all to follow his dream of sharing the Canadian experience with locals and tourists alike and set out to fly over Canada in a helicopter to capture some of its most iconic landscapes. The result was a hybrid of a rollercoaster ride and the Imax experience, allowing viewers to vicariously fly over Canada, feeling the mist as we cut through the clouds and smelling the fresh-cut wheat harvest. The coolest part about Fly Over Canada wasn’t the incredible cinematic or special effects; it was that after sharing many experiences with Drew, I got to see the pride in his eyes while we beamed with amazement after the show in Vancouver. We, the people he learned to call his family within a week, had reaffirmed his concept, and we could see
that he finally felt that all the sacrifices and time he had spent away filming had been worth it. In Drew, we saw the trajectory from vulnerability to success. He represented the Canadian dream.

Drew eventually got the hang of the paddleboard, and soon we were rewarded by an intimate exploration of the shoreline and a beautiful waterfall that emptied its stories into the sound. I got as close as I could to the waterfall and played in the current at the base of it where the fresh water attracted a river of jellyfish feeding off the nutrients that came from the lush forest above. It was a beautiful sight, but was very quickly outdone when someone called out, “WHALE!”

And there it was, in the near distance, a humpback fluking as it took a breath before disappearing into the depths. We paddled as quickly as we could to try to get closer to the whale, unsure where it would come up next, if at all. We waited patiently before the count rose to two! The humpbacks teased us on the other side of the bay before disappearing again.92

The whales paid us one last visit, this time raising their backs for a breath a mere ten meters away from me on my wobbly paddle board, so

92 After returning to land I had the opportunity to share this story with CBC Radio One: “Up to Speed with Ismaila Alfa.”
close that I could feel the pull of water underneath my feet as they swam under me. I planned an escape route, as I was sure they would knock me off my board.

A sense of humility overwhelmed me. I felt so fragile and grateful that the whales had shared breath with us and broken through the impossible tension of water, which kept me afloat on my board, in such a majestic way. It took me all week to express my feelings about the whales’ playful dance with us. This song was the result:

**Welcome Song**

Welcome to the dark emerald gelatin whose surface dances with mystery, lit only by jellyfish, pale moons moving majestically.

Kneel by the salt of this royal emerald matriarch, whose surface guards its queen with gravity and is breached only by her rising, humpbacks play as waves often do when they’re thriving.
Raise your hands to her resilient emerald heartbeat
whose surface was pulled tight and silenced,
where of thick skin was born a drum,
the Tla’amin sing that all is one.

After this incredible start to the expedition, we headed to Powell River to visit the Tla’amin nation. After we launched into Zodiacs and neared the shore, we were welcomed by song and drums that we could hear from a kilometer away offshore. Though the west coast met Canada 150 projects with hesitation, we were greeted with kindness and treated like family. Powell River was working on a reconciliation canoe in a traditional style, carved out of a single tree as a symbol of the efforts to reconcile.

[As with many places in Canada, the land around Powell River had been exploited not so many years ago when pulp mills were built destroying the area and the habitat that indigenous people had depended on for thousands of years. Forests and the homes of many animals were destroyed, water traffic increased, harming fish populations and migratory patterns, and perhaps most detrimental of all, the indigenous community members were]
sent to residential schools that created a wealth of societal problems still resonating on the land today.]

The canoe project, which involved the whole community and was ultimately set to water in November, was called Hɛɛwšin, meaning “the way forward.” I was amazed that the people of Tla’amin nation were still willing to move forward despite all the injustices the community had experienced. That evening they invited us to a feast at their governance house. After a short tour, we sat in their conference room, and the chief explained their treaty process that they had fought so hard for when, suddenly, our discussion was interrupted by a local Tla’amin man who barged in with a story to share.

The man spoke with sadness and deep anger. He told us of death and injustice in his community, of losing family members to the effects of residential schools and friends to the discrimination that remains. He reminded us that the last residential school closed in 1991, something that most of us didn’t know. Many of us from C3 fought back our tears, as did the man, who didn’t mean any disrespect, but who wanted to be heard. He needed us to feel the impact our people (settlers) had made.

We moved from the conference room. The salmon that had been smoking on a fire all day was heaped onto our plates with a side of sweet
bannock and coffee. Before the night was over, we separated the room into “boys and girls” and sang a competition song, seeing who could sing the loudest. We quickly learned the words to this traditional Tla’amin anthem, and the girls came out victorious, the perfect end to a remarkable first day.

**DAY 2**

The morning of October 21st, we woke up to rainy skies in Nanoose Bay. In the debrief, Geoff presented the group with the two activity alternatives: one half of the group would try their hand at wetland mapping and monitoring, and the other half would visit the Garden of Spiritual Healing. The latter called my name, and I was soon learning about the role of gardening in the Snaw-Naw-As First Nations community. The garden preserves and promotes traditional knowledge of the plant species that are local to the area, encourages food security (since the majority of all resources on Vancouver Island are imported from the mainland), and also fosters awareness of the positive impact of gardening.

When I chose the garden activity, I was expecting a “spiritual” experience. Instead, I got my hands dirty planting some nettle and drank tea with some of the elders, who shared their love for each other and the community, a true indication of the garden’s long-term spiritual effect on the community. The day ended with a visit to the Pacific Biological Station—DFO
in Nanaimo—where the chief scientist shared some of the early findings from
the coast to coast to coast sample collection of microplastics and bioDNA. I
even got to practice dissecting a fish before heading back to the ship for
dinner cooked by the guest chef, Darren.

[Kris, the chief scientist, was the queen of her domain. I looked up to her and
admired her unwavering passion and profound knowledge about the ocean.
Because of her immense knowledge and leadership, she connected with
every participant uniquely, especially the indigenous populations who were
so passionate about the environment].

That night was the best meal of my life, that is until the next time
Darren cooked for us as the guest chef. Darren had spent his day walking
around the shoreline scavenging for local elements to blend into the meal.
He created pickled sea asparagus, selected savory mussels, and local salmon
that we ate raw like sashimi, followed by candied moss for dessert. It was, in
a word, spectacular. It was clear from his work that Darren was an artist, and
that he believed that Canadian food meant more than poutine and beaver
tails. He convinced us through his craft that Canadian food was about locally-
sourced ingredients and letting your creativity do the rest.
DAY 3

To no one’s surprise but my own, training on an icebreaker with a jam-packed activity schedule proved to be unrealistic. Waking up after five hours of sleep to work on my fitness felt like a burden by the third morning on the ship, and the only thing getting me out of my bunk when the alarm went off was anxiety about my surely-diminishing strength and the results that would follow.

I could never have guessed that I was looking for results in the wrong place.

A few days into the journey, I learned the meaning of strength while sitting in the hangar on the ship and going around the sharing circle, hearing from people who had endured incredible suffering and abuse. They sat in front of us with an open heart willing to reconcile. I was feeling a little tired after my morning workout, while across from me sat a 70-year-old woman who was stronger than I could ever be.

This woman was speaking out and sharing her stories about the abuse that she has endured and continues to experience as an indigenous woman. The details aren’t mine to relate, but I can say that my eyes flooded as I listened to these stories. These hours forever changed my views on indigenous issues in Canada.
My heart broke in sympathy as I listened to her tale, and I realized first-hand the effects of physical abuse on the human spirit. In that helicopter hangar, I felt, for the first time, humanity’s ugly impact and the effects of cultural violence, the attempted eradication of an entire people, and the destruction of morale, of meaning, and most importantly, of respect.

She sat and opened up her heart to us knowing that our people were the ones (newcomers) who had torn it apart and bled her culture dry for so long. She had heard our pleas of reconciliation among still heavily-ingrained patterns of societal and political mistreatment and took action to ensure she was doing what she could to move reconciliation along. She understood that her role on that ship, despite her hesitation and massive resistance (from her community), was to be an active voice in the movement towards reconciliation.

When my turn came to speak, I did my best to verbalize my feelings about this woman’s overwhelming strength through my tears and hiccups. Compared to her journey, my years spent sweating in the gym and on the water seemed futile, and next to her, all the Olympians I am surrounded by daily seemed insignificant. I questioned everything I thought I knew about strength and my role in Canadian society. I praised this woman, and with a microphone in hand, I apologized for all the judgments I had made every
time I had driven through the bad parts of town, and all the jokes I had taken part in that had in some way contributed to the societal malaise toward Canada’s treatment of indigenous peoples. In that hangar, I became sure of two things: those participants sharing their stories were the strongest people I had ever met, and that their voices were the only way to drive change.

Our intense sharing circle meant a later arrival to Gambier Island in Howe Sound, where staff and community members were waiting to tell us about the island’s Sea to Sky outdoor programs. The Sea to Sky school aims to create a deeper understanding between individuals and the earth. By teaching ecological literacy, it encourages people to apply environmental insights to thoughts and actions. It is only fitting that the next thing we did was get into four large 14-person canoes and explore the surrounding islands, singing songs and listening to accounts of magical whale sightings, not unlike the one we had experienced a few days beforehand. The sun was shining on us as we tried to sync our strokes, a challenge for eight practiced people in a rowing boat, let alone 14 amateur paddlers, as we were that day.

I felt a recurring theme: my first paddle after the metaphoric cliff jump in Brockville with Mya, Luca’s first sunrise cruise, my race in Calgary where I first learned to row, and of course my experience with the whale. I was
spending a lot of time with a paddle in hand, and each time felt incredibly special.

DAY 4

After a few days away from a city’s heartbeat, we were awakened by the beating drums in canoes from representatives of the Squamish, Musqueam, and Tsleil-Waututh First Nations who had come to greet and welcome us into their territory, in which Vancouver is located. The Polar Prince was entering its first major city since St. John’s Newfoundland.

The wild has always attracted me and when we pulled into port in Vancouver, part of me wished that we could spend more time out on the open ocean, or that I had secured a seat on an arctic leg and seen some polar bears as William had. However, as was consistent with the slowly unveiling book-cover theme of the journey, soon the people and the streets of Vancouver would reward me with more inspiration and awe than (I think) icebergs ever could have.

It all began with a discussion about Canada 150+ in the Discovery Centre at Canada Place. Vancouver adopted Canada 150+ as part of its “City of Reconciliation” initiative to recognize that there is a deep history in the land, and acknowledges the Indigenous People who have been there since time immemorial.
Above the Discovery Center was the Flyover Canada experience, Drew’s dream child, where we spent the rest of the morning virtually flying across Canada before heading into Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside to meet with representatives of the Portland Housing Society and Culture Saves Lives.

At Culture Saves Lives, we were greeted by a powerful drum circle and song from recovering indigenous peoples before learning about the current opioid crisis in Vancouver and the innovation that was being implemented by the community to try and mitigate the societal damage. The indigenous populations had long heard that their way of life and their identity was wrong or irrelevant; the indigenous populations had long been silenced, and to me, the drums reverbered a sound so powerful that no matter what or who tried to silence the people, the drums could always be heard.

Next, we divided into two groups and my group headed to sample some artesian chocolates and coffee at East Van Roasters (EVR). More than a chocolatier, EVR is a social enterprise that employs women in recovery to ease them out of their addiction by offering them a new purpose in their lives. EVR is an amazing initiative because the high probability of relapse makes these women virtually unemployable, yet EVR seeks to hire exactly this population. EVR doesn’t outright punish drug use by firing the women. They are sent home if they show up under the influence, but can return to
this safe environment and regain their confidence, no matter how many times they relapse. This continued support is believed by the founder to be necessary for long-term change.

The founder of EVR explained that when she was thinking about how to create jobs for this population, she discovered the most time and labor-intensive process: roasting cacao. She also revealed that chocolate was historically perceived as a classy and elitist profession and that she wanted to offer this prestige to the women who had seen so little of it throughout their lives. Aside from the terrific vibes, hip design, and great stories from the employees, EVR offered the best chocolate I have ever had, and I left with incredible memories and inspiration towards sustainable and conscious action.

Later that day, I did a presentation at the Vancouver Aquarium during a C3 Ship t’Shore show and had my first opportunity to share my road trip experience with a public audience.

“"As part of my youth ambassador role, I drove through the country and had the pleasure of doing a presentation in every major city along the way. In one impromptu social experiment I asked the youth to raise their hands if they would prefer to win a silver medal playing fair or win by untying the shoelace of their opponent in a running race, and almost everyone raised their hand in the name of fair play. It was then that I realized that our youth are inherently good; their young values are pure and good. But it got me to thinking that there is something harmful that happens between youth and
where we are now… from good to sometimes good to sometimes broken. I realized… here we are putting all this pressure on the youth as being the future of the world we live in, but often neglecting the role we have on shaping that. The future may be in the hands of the youth, but the youth are in our hands, and this is our call to action.”

**DAY 5**

The next day, the ship’s doctor accompanied me on an early morning run through the Vancouver harbor and ended up joining me for a workout every day for the rest the journey. The doctor and I bonded over sweaty sunrises and beautiful shared experiences. Whether it was because we pushed each other through early morning exhaustion or our shared childlike energy, my relationship with the doc was my favorite aboard the ship and one I won’t ever forget.

After breakfast, the youth ambassadors and I did another presentation, this time to school kids who visited to get a tour of the ship and check out our giant floor map of Canada. It was particularly interesting to see the differences between two of the visiting school groups. One group was visiting from a North Vancouver private school, and the other was from the East Side. The students fit their stereotypes fairly well: the private school kids were keener to please and answer the geography trivia we asked, and the others were more focused on cracking jokes. However, I felt that there
were more diamonds in the rough in the East Van public school group. Everyone expected the private school kids to be bright, but the public school group showed a great capacity for creativity and surprises.

[These two days in Vancouver left me melancholy. In many ways, visiting the lower east side showed me the crisis our society was facing and how much pain had painted itself on the face of people filling its streets, but visiting with those who were committed to making a change gave me hope. I learned that, above all else, there was a need for thoughtful and sustainable action. Organizations like Portland Housing Society and Canada 150+ were a prime example of development and progress in a conscientious direction.

As I sat in the sage smoke-filled room, my heart reverberating along with the drums, and still shocked from the stories of addiction I had heard, rowing didn’t cross my mind once. But I asked myself what had happened to the people that caused them to begin using substances. The current crisis of indigenous populations was not as simple as I had grown up perceiving. A lot happens to these individuals to bring them from sobriety to addiction, and this phenomenon can be related to doping in sport. It isn’t a quick and selfish decision to win the game by untying the other team’s shoelaces; it must have more to do with survival than its ‘immoral’ use makes us believe.]
Day 6

The next morning, we headed for a day on Saturna Island where a few new participants had joined the ship’s adventure: Elizabeth May (leader of the Green Party of Canada), and Carrie. After spending two days in bustling Vancouver, Saturna was a breath of solitude and fresh air. We were welcomed by local members of the Tsawout and Tseycum bands of the Coast Salish, along with some Parks Canada friends.

Three highlights followed on Saturna. The first was visiting Saturna Ecological Education Centre (SEEC). The Saturna Island Schools enrolment had recently fallen to fewer than ten students, so the school district and community created this innovative program to encourage students from off-island to join as well. These students live on the island three days a week in small camp-like cabins and do much of their learning hands on. They chop their wood, cook their meals, repair their hydro pump, and work together as a team throughout the day. At the start of each day, they hike up to their water reservoir and go their separate ways for a few minutes of solitude and contemplation, before coming together to share their thoughts for the day. To say these kids were some of the coolest I’d ever met wouldn’t do them justice, and I felt true intrinsic motivation in their education and comportment.
In the early evening, we had the good fortune of exploring the shoreline, and once again were blessed by some whales appearing as they journeyed through the channel from one end of the island to the other. We had an expert on whales with us now, the author of *The Killer Whale Who Changed the World*, a book about the first orca displayed in captivity. He educated us on the fragility of these populations, on their meaning in indigenous cultures, and their role in the ecosystem. It’s safe to say he was as excited as the rest of us as we watched them peacefully dance across the horizon.

Later, around sunset, we went with the kids to explore the second-highest summit in the Gulf Islands, Mount Warburton Pike. We enjoyed some gentle hiking and great views before heading back to the ship for another “greatest meal of my life” from Darren, who cooked an incredible meal for us, this time inspired by the land, as he prepared local mushrooms and BC bison.

**Day 7**

Salt Spring Island and the last school presentation of my C3 journey awaited me after the morning workout with the doc, whose attendance kept me going throughout the remainder of the trip. I had quickly come to feel that others depended on my getting out of bed, and despite not belonging
to any one team at the time, I felt the pressure of being a representative athlete. The doctor and I had brought mats and the two gym dumbbells into the old helicopter hangar where our sharing circles took place, and we improvised a chilly workout circuit in the dark, the ship engine roaring beneath us before our bellies rumbled a call for breakfast.

At the school, the kids asked me a lot about rowing and claimed they either rowed themselves or knew someone who did. It was nice to be able to connect on this level with them, but I was at a place near the end of the journey where my role in sport felt irrelevant to my role in the world, and I wondered how it all tied together.

This was especially true when my brief presentation was followed by women like Lilly. Lilly is the co-chair of the Vancouver Urban Aboriginal People’s Advisory Committee, the co-chair of the Uplifting Indigenous Families Fund (raising funds to support families during and after the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls), a speaker on Indian Residential Schools, Violence against Indigenous Women and Reconciliation, and much more.

[At the end of the journey when we were saying goodbye, Lilly presented me with a stone angel necklace. I asked her what it meant or where it was from]
and she struggled to explain the details to me, but said she just felt like I should have it. Lilly’s culture was heavily rooted in potlatch gift-giving traditions, and I was moved by her gesture. My father and Luca ended up driving her to the airport. During the drive, my father revealed to her that she had a very calming spirit and that he felt very at ease sitting next to her. I want to say Lilly was a mother figure aboard the ship, but it doesn’t capture her spirit enough. Lilly’s presence was something beyond anything most of us participants had ever been exposed to. She was wise, motherly, strong, and simultaneously vulnerable. Lilly was an elder.

DAY 8

Tod Inlet marked the last day away from harbor and the near end of the expedition. A few more members joined the ship for its final moments, including Natan Obed, Catherine Mckenna, and Diz, the educational lead and Geoff’s (our expedition leader) wife. Natan is the President of Inuit Tapirit Kanatami (the representational organization for Canada’s 60, 000 Inuits) and the best public speaker I have ever heard. Natan has devoted his career to improving the well-being of Inuits in Canada, and his experiences and the way in which he delivers them to an audience were inspiring.

We found a secluded beach that day on our way to Butchart Gardens and shared some trip highlights and moments of gratitude with each other.
Our third youth ambassador, Arianna, shared a self-authored poem titled “Savage” that went into the challenges she faced as a young indigenous woman. Arianna had recently graduated from UBC in the Native Indian Teacher Education Program, and I was confident that her amazing perspectives and naturally cool vibes would impact hundreds of indigenous youth. That evening, the C3 journey reached its highlight for me when, on our way back to the ship in kayaks and paddleboards, Catherine Mckenna jumped into the freezing water and swam back to the ship as we paddled beside her, in our puffy coats I might add.

After returning to the ship, we had a BBQ up on the deck, and I enjoyed a burger with a few of my new heroes: Carrie, Natan, and Catherine. Carrie and Catherine gave me words of advice on being a woman exploring her career options, on being fearless, and never taking no for an answer. I ate their words, with my burger, in utter admiration.

[Carrie is a research scientist at the National Snow and Ice Data Center and is uniquely based in Clyde River where she focuses on collaborative projects that bring Inuit Elders and hunters together to understand environmental change better. She is well published and even featured in TV and film. Carrie said that spent her childhood in Ontario digging out and playing for hours on
end in snow caves and is now living out that passion. She also has a team of Inuit Sled Dogs and spends a lot of time exploring with them. At first, I thought Carrie was shy and soft-spoken, but I quickly realized it was because she was an incredibly attentive listener, no doubt a product of her practice in Inuit communities. Carrie was more interested in what you had to say and how you said it than anything else. Despite having countless accomplishments, she stayed humble and true to experiences. It was clear that Carrie was “in it” for the love of it.

DAY 9

And then, it was the end. It was the 150th day for the Polar Prince, and the 23 000km journey was coming to its last few nautical miles.

Before we were ready for arrival, there remained the unveiling of our Leg’s section of the painted hanger. Every leg had left a mural contribution on its walls with signatures from the participants. Polar bears, tree paintings, and icebergs are just some of the symbols gracing the mural in the hangar. Kara and Dana, the ship’s artists, had collaborated on the mural and painted a beautiful canoe to reflect the recurring theme of being in the same metaphorical and literal ship together. Everyone wrote something on the mural. I quoted Kafka: “Follow your most intense obsessions mercilessly,” and signed my name.
Dana is a graphic artist and had also organized the printing of a giant Canada 150+ while we were in Vancouver. That morning, as the sun came up, Dana and Lilly stuck it to a hangar wall while we sang a powerful warrior woman’s song and shed some tears during a very touching moment for all the participants who had become so heavily vested in the theme of reconciliation throughout their time on the ship.

Nearing Victoria, a flotilla of boats and spectators all alongside the harbor greeted us as the Polar Prince made her way. The horn sounded (against protocol) three times as the ship docked to excite the spectators and symbolize safe harbor, but to me, in those moments, it felt like an alarm clock snapping me back into reality and the call of a new beginning. Looking down at the dock, I quickly spotted Luca in the crowd of spectators awaiting my safe return, and I noticed that my father, camera in hand, had managed to sneak his way past security onto the dock. To this day, he refuses to tell me how he did it.

[In classic dad fashion, my father has been at every major event with a camera in hand. Having immigrated to Canada from the Czech Republic some 30 years ago, my participation in this event was no exception. The following summer, I donned a Czech rowing uniform for the first time and]
spent the season racing and representing the Czech Republic. In one year, I was privileged to represent both of my countries, in two diverse and humbling ways.]

**DAY 10**

Most of the participants had gone home, but those who hadn’t headed to the University of Victoria campus for a half-day conference to discuss the C3 legacy moving forward. The youth ambassadors gathered together to brainstorm how we could educate youth in the way we had just been instructed. We concluded that some form of experiential learning was vital and that future legacy projects should focus on direct and interactive learning experiences.

The few of us who remained after the conference went back aboard for the last time to pick up our belongings. In the knot, the last of the goodbyes continued as I once again awkwardly dragged and banged my rowing machine through the narrow hallways of the ship. I had done a poor job of training during the journey but felt confident that while my competition was training harder and more hours than me, I had grown stronger than I’d ever been.
Since returning to land, I feel overwhelmed by the tension between the feelings of a dream-like improbability of what I have lived and the impossibility of expressing it when asked to reflect on my Canada C3 experience. I’m often asked to share my favourite moment from my journey, yet how can one moment capture the ineffable culmination of C3? How can I translate one’s perceptions of a mere physical journey, a ship navigating our country’s three coasts, to a felt transformative journey within?

I often consider telling the story of my intimate encounter sharing the water with two humpback whales in Desolation Sound on Day One of Leg 15; the details of this day are impressive to even the most experienced of adventurers. I also consider trying to relay the remarkable stories I heard as I got to know my now family during our sharing circles in the ships’ hangar. Finally, I’m tempted to spread the good word of promising futures from the incredible youth I had the opportunity to engage with while visiting schools as a Youth Ambassador on my cross country drive from London, ON to Campbell River, BC and from ship visits to places like Saturna Ecological Education Center and Vancouver City Studio.
Despite these rich memories and quite frankly surprising to most, even from fellow participants, for some reason I feel compelled instead to share the moment when Catherine McKenna our Minister of Environment and Climate Change swam a bold kilometer through 8 degree water -without a wetsuit- from a zodiac to the ship, for the hell of it.

As I paddled alongside Catherine and contemplated the consequences of jumping in myself, I felt overcome by a profound change of my notion of what it meant to be an athlete (something that I’ve believed to have a familiar understanding of for as long as I can remember) and more importantly, what it meant to be a “doer”. During her swim I thought of Geoff our expedition leader and driver of this monumental C3 movement, I thought of the stories filled with strength and overcoming that my fellow participants had shared, I thought of our promising Canadian youth, and heck, I even thought of the whales who I had paddle alongside a week prior.

Later that day, while having the good fortune to eat dinner with Catherine, I tried to express to her just how moved I was by her swim, something she humbly deflected. When, still in amazement, I asked her “but weren’t you cold?” Catherine replied, “I love swimming”.

In this simple exchange, and through her actions that day on day 149 of the expedition, I felt a metaphorical summary of what C3 truly was.
Catherine’s swim, although meaningless to many was a perfect
demonstration of the capability of one single motivated individual. So, when
I am faced with this tension, with the challenge of painting the meaning of
C3 on a singular moment, I think of this ordinary swim, during this once in a
lifetime journey. I think of its simplicity and its symbolism; we are all movers,
simultaneously defined by and shaping the future of a culture despite
impossible challenges and cold water, and, we do it out of love.
Chapter Five: Analysis

True North Experience

Earn the Leaf

Having had the opportunity to represent both Canada and the Czech Republic internationally in rowing, I’d like to highlight some key differences I’ve observed, as they pertain to our assessment of Canadian sports culture.

I began rowing a few years ago, and after two years of learning the ropes in a club environment, I came through the Row to Podium program in Canada.\textsuperscript{93} The essence of the Row to the Podium program was to identify and select athletes who have the right build for the sport, inspire them to work hard, and teach them to row and aim for the day when they could put a maple leaf on their oar and strive for the podium.

When that time came for me, I realized what it meant to earn the leaf. The five-cent decal I carefully placed on my oar and the ceremony surrounding it represented the culmination of all the hard hours spent training and sweating in the name of this dream. For many athletes, earning the leaf is a highlight of their career; when I got to put the maple leaf on my oar, I knew the long hours of training and hard work had paid off.

\textsuperscript{93} This program has since lost its funding, and new versions of the program prioritize Next-Generation athletes: http://rowingcanada.org/national-team/programs/next-gen, accessed 11.02.18
oars, I was overwhelmed because I had finally reached this highly advertised pinnacle of pride.

The year after I proudly earned my leaf during the World University Championships, I took a leap of faith and moved my rowing career to the Czech Republic. In the Czech Republic, when a crew qualifies for/attends an international championship, they too put a flag on their oars. In contrast to the Canadian process, however, I noticed that rowers perceived this ritual to be a hassle that coaches or equipment managers almost exclusively executed. In the Czech Republic, the ritual that Canadian competitors see as a rite of passage is just another task that needs to get done before you can go out and race.

As I think about this experience, it is difficult to discern who “had it right.” It seems to me, based on my experience during the summer of 2016, that Canadian sports culture reveres the leaf over ranking.\textsuperscript{94} Such a value system, which prioritizes representing Canada (and its values), implies

\textsuperscript{94} This past 2018 season at internal races, I watched Canadian friends and family cheer on all the crews, from the podium contenders to last-place finishers. Meanwhile, after a day of unsuccessful racing for myself and the Czech crew, we returned to our hotel room to face the harsh judgments and public disappointments that littered public Facebook pages, with critics saying that they felt embarrassed of our crew and rowing association.
holding fair play and athletes’ rights in higher esteem.\textsuperscript{95} Meanwhile, countries like the Czech Republic seemingly exude greater pressure, albeit not to the extent of countries like Russia who use athletic success for political leverage, medals, and success.\textsuperscript{96}

**True North Strong**

In the Polar Prince’s retired helicopter hangar during one of our sharing circles, Geoff, who had been aboard the ship as the expedition leader for the majority of the 150 days, and who deeply missed his family, confided that he often wondered whether it was all worth it and how he could be sure it was. As a participant in the midst of the experience of a lifetime, I was shocked that he could even question it; I thought, “Of course it was worth it!”

Caught up in my role of youth ambassador, “athlete extraordinaire,” and explorer, I had arrived at Campbell River carrying my ergometer with a

\textsuperscript{95} That said, if you ask athletes who haven’t “earned the leaf,” or have even been “burned by the leaf,” they will tell you that this system rooted in a Canadian culture of pride is notorious for lacking transparent selection processes, and that it has unethically deselected athletes due to age, despite superior performances, and taken away funding due to lack of assimilation.

bit of ego. Even though the high-performance athlete in me felt insecure about losing gains because of the minimized training plan, I found comfort when I put my team gear on and worked out while everyone else slept. I convinced myself that I was special and a cut above the rest.

My attitude changed after the first sharing circle, where the brave participants with whom I was fortunate enough to interact reframed my standards of success. Hearing their stories forced me to realize that strength wasn’t about training more than everyone else or being more physiologically gifted, leaner, bigger, faster, or stronger. These C3 participants showed me that strength was about the sacrifices you made towards something greater than yourself.

My definition of strength expanded further when I encountered compelling examples throughout the journey, like the indigenous women and the peoples who willingly took steps towards reconciliation, despite what our celebrations of 150 represented: that was strength. Strength was also present in Geoff, the ultimate “good sportsperson,” who left his young family ashore to facilitate this journey for Canadians from all walks of life. Scientists, artists, authors, immigrants, teachers, and entrepreneurs shared the common thread of having, in one way or another, sacrificed their comforts for some deeper meaning. Drew had invested his hard-earned
savings into the project of his dreams; Adnan immigrated to Canada for a better future of his young family; Devin risked his life in the name of raising awareness for climate change, and the indigenous participants put aside their anger to take a step towards reconciliation.

I found a deeper appreciation for the incompressible strength of my parents, who ran away from the throes of communism in search of freedom and opportunity in the Canadian dream, in my partner, whose belief in me is unwavering, and in my fellow athletes, who lack the chances they deserve and who nevertheless continue to fight for their dreams. In these experiences with my fellow Canadians during my rowing career and during the C3 expedition, I saw a bit of Lawrence Lemieux’s concept of sportspersonship in all of them.

Only by being water-locked on a ship with that group of participants did I recall a sports culture where strength represented more than watts per kilogram, and that in the lyrics “true north strong,” strong is a product of true for which the North serves as a vehicle.97

97 This implies that, somewhere along the way, my development in sport culture has been lead astray through high performance ideals; The “True” here relates to the True Sport movement, whose mission is to “Enable participants, parents, coaches, and officials to articulate and act upon their deeply held belief in the virtues of good sport. Enable participants, parents, coaches and officials to identify with others holding similar values, and create a fair, safe, and open atmosphere where good
During the University of Victoria conference that followed the C3’s return to land, one question expressed our shared concern for the future: How could we offer these life-changing experiences to everyone in Canada? For me as a youth ambassador, however, I wondered how, using the themes we had confronted in Canada 150, we could provide a comparable experiential and enlightening learning experience to youth in a way that supports their desire to contribute to their future.

As I review the “Allegory of the Yachtsman” in chapter two, I find that the world of sports and the solutions to moral inquiries that necessitate the functionality of the game provide a possible answer to this dilemma. In a perfect or true-sport scenario, youths engaging in sports learn to understand that fair play and good sportspersonship results in a more meaningful, self-serving game, and that fair play epitomizes respect for the interests of the game. 98 Perhaps then youths will apply those principles to engagements with the players they will encounter and gain practical wisdom, as I have from my lessons on the water, which they will carry for life.

“sport can grow stronger through: inclusive competition at all levels.”
https://truesportpur.ca/true-sport-principles, accessed 18.11.18

98 Two examples of the true-sport principles are, Go for It (rise to the challenge - always strive for excellence) and Play Fair (play honestly - obey both the letter and spirit of the rules. Winning is only meaningful when competition is fair). Ibid.
The Rollercoaster of Reconciliation

Many of the tribes we visited on our journey explained to us that chaos had ensued when they announced to their communities that we wanted to visit their lands. Indigenous people from all of the territories that the C3 expedition visited had fought hard against any Canada 150 event that they believed to be politics masked as reconciliation, especially those on the west coast. Having Canada 150 as a partner in the C3 project, and the insinuation that Canada was a mere 150-years-old, resurrected the harsh reality of colonization and injustice towards their people. However, despite their deeply-embedded cynicism in all government-related things, they gave us a chance. Once we met each other and they understood our intentions, they welcomed us into their songs like family.

However, despite these C3 examples of positive encounters with progress, my experiences in schools across Canada and even with my own family indicate that there remain inconsistencies between beliefs and practical wisdom and culture and its norms.99 Due to the intricate

99 The fundamental attribution error explains our tendency to attribute bad results to an agents’ character and is further described by Gilbert Harman in Moral Philosophy Meets Social Psychology, 2009. The pattern of such judgments in the case of athletes was discussed in chapter 3 wherein the athlete who is caught doping is painted as a villain (for more on this attribution error in substance abuse see p.97 footnote 91). The concept is further reflected in realizations of my own perpetuation of stigmas towards indigenous populations in chapter 4.
connections between these factors, and our lack of understanding about them, there continues to be a disconnect between the desire for reconciliation and reconcili-Action.

Recently, my father and I went to a show at the Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra, during which some indigenous dancers were to perform an interpretive dance. Before the show began, the speaker acknowledged that we were on traditional territory and thanked the local tribes—something I had experienced countless times throughout my journey. My father scoffed and whispered, “Well, that’s silly; isn’t that redundant?” A year after my C3 journey, this comment offended me more than I was expecting, and during the intermission, I explained the situation to him in terms that would resonate with him: “Dad, what if the Russians had permanently taken over the Czech Republic and renamed it the Russian Empire and populated it with millions of Russians who separated you from your families, sent you to residential schools, force-fed you their beliefs, used up your resources, and destroyed the way of life you had been accustomed to for hundreds of years? Wouldn’t acknowledging that they were on stolen territory during a symphony production be the least that they could do?” Having experienced first-hand the effects of invasion, he agreed with me after some initial hesitation.
I had been particularly surprised by my father’s first reaction because of how he reacted to spending time with our journey elder Lilly. I had to admit that, one year after the Canada 150 missions, we still have a long way to go to approach even the first steps of reconciliation.100

While reviewing my notebook one year after returning to land and no longer caught up in my initial excitement, I understood that, despite his efforts, Geoff was overwhelmed with the burden of a deeply engrained imperfect system: the history and negative impact of Canada’s confederation. The modern-day indigenous issues journey participants had shared with us, and Canada 150’s efforts towards reconciliation, were further away and more substantial than he could ever have imagined. I believe that what Geoff expressed that day was whether his voice and the metaphor that this journey served could ever make the impact necessary for real change.

Reconcili-action

Chapter three opens with a quote from the 2017 100m World Champion Justin Gatlin. Gatlin, who had served the punishment for his highly

100 This realization echoes Pound’s, noted on p. 32 of this work: “More important than the heartbreaking recollection of events throughout the article, is Richard’s provocative claim that despite over two decades of progress towards effective anti-doping measures, we are merely at the end of the beginning of what the struggle looks like.”
publicized doping infractions and earned his lane on the track again, was responding to the wave of criticism that followed his victory. The video of this race on YouTube, when Gatlin beats “the hero” Usain Bolt in the final race of Bolt’s career, confirms the tremendous booing from the crowd upon the announcement of the winner.  

After being declared the winner, Gatlin kneels in surrender to Bolt, who then takes his hand and raises him off his knees for an embrace.  

In the interviews that followed, Bolt proclaimed that Gatlin had earned the titled and that he’d done his time.  

In this post-race display and the countless interviews after, Bolt, like the indigenous women aboard the Polar Prince, demonstrated his true superhuman strength through his gracious act of reconciliation.  

101 “Usain Bolt Loses to Gatlin at the 2017 World Championships”  
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pV6pExNL7IM, accessed 11.02.18  
102 The idea to examine this amazing display of respect and reconciliation between Gatlin and Bolt came from my supervisor, A. J. Schneider.  
103 Sean Ingle, “Usain Bolt says Justin Gatlin had ‘done his time’ and deserved 100m world title,” The Guardian, August 6, 2017,  
https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2017/aug/06/usain-bolt-justin-gatlin-100m-world-championships  
104 Comparing truth and reconciliation amongst indigenous issues and reconciliation in sport is intended to draw similarities in the quality of the individuals and the relationships they engage in, not to equate the years of discrimination towards an entire population with an athletic misdemeanor.
Bolt reconciled with Gatlin, and with his interpretation of “true sport,” on that day of his retirement. But how do we reconcile its meaning in an ever-changing sports culture riddled with political involvement, financial incentives, and ulterior motives? How do we progress from Canada 150 to Canada 150+?

**WADA’s Paradox**

Similar to my impressions of the efforts towards reconciliation during the C3 expedition, my perceptions after researching the clean-sport history of Canada and modern theories confirm that, despite efforts towards progress and journeys such as ours, our cultures are far from ideal in sport and society.

Most recently, in late-September 2018, WADA decided to reinstate the Russian Anti-Doping Agency, perhaps to adapt to forces too big to control, and despite much opposition from WADA’s vice-president and athletes like

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105 WADA has their own version of “true sport” that they refer to as “Play True,” whose aim is to create a world where the clean athlete prevails and stays clean out of self-respect, fairness to their fellow competitors, and for the pure joy that sport brings. [http://www.playtrueday.com/](http://www.playtrueday.com/), accessed 11.18.18

106 Discussed in Day Four of chapter four. Canada 150+ is a Vancouver based reconciliation initiative to recognize that the history of Canada goes beyond 150 years. Unfortunately, when one of the Government of Canada’s Canada 150 representatives joined us for a dinner on the ship and was asked to acknowledge or rename Canada 150 to Canada 150+, he refused. This led to much disappointment, as it indicated that Canada was only somewhat willing to take steps towards reconciliation, as long as it was convenient or ideal for them.
Beckie Scott. The WADA Executive Committee voted 9-2 in favor of Russia’s reinstatement. Critics claim that the decision exposed WADA’s weak governance and destroyed much of its credibility by failing to protect the integrity of sports. Furthermore, they suggest that WADA resembles the IOC more and more and that these conflicts of interest between political powers and governing bodies compromise the global fight against doping.

Proponents argue, however, that the decision was pragmatic to attain laboratory data and, more importantly, that it protects the rights of Russian athletes by allowing them to compete freely. Might this be a gesture of

107 “In November 2015, the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) declared the Russian Anti-Doping Agency (RUSADA) to be non-compliant with the World Anti-Doping Code, the result of a WADA investigation that identified widespread corruption in RUSADA’s activities. This decision led to the removal of the Moscow Laboratory director, withdrawal of WADA’s accreditation of the laboratory, and suspension of the Russian Athletics Federation by the International Association of Athletics Federations. A subsequent WADA report identified the full extent of cheating in Russia and recommended suspending Russia from the 2016 Rio Olympics” (Pound, “Richard Pound: Condemnation of World Anti-Doping Agency Is Misdirection”).


reconciliation with Russia? Or is the clean-sport culture plagued by the same evil forces that loom over our good sportspersons?

**Institutionalized Doping**

The Russian doping scandal and the events that continue to unravel around it epitomize the most dramatic example of institutionalized doping. Schneider and Gonsalves describe institutionalized doping as “doping infrastructures assisting or collaborating with teams, national teams through national federations, coaches, or doctors to strategically and systematically dope athletes” (forthcoming, p. 25). These doping institutions organize a system “of which athletes are a part, and in some cases, as with the Russian whistle-blowing athletes, are forced or threatened” (p.25). In this version of doping, the athlete’s intent, personal morals, and sense of agency are irrelevant. WADA’s strict liability disregards this strong-arming within Russian sports culture; if an athlete tests positive, they are guilty until proven innocent (Schneider & Gonsalves, forthcoming).

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110 *Icarus*, an Academy Award Winner for Best Documentary Feature, follows a journey through the merciless worlds of international sports and politics to reveal “the biggest international sports scandal in living memory.” [https://www.icarus.film/#the-film](https://www.icarus.film/#the-film), accessed 11.16.18

This arbitrary no-nonsense model is problematic because of an athlete’s intent or lack of choice, which forms a critical part of moral approbation/disapprobation, is irrelevant (Schneider & Gonsalves, forthcoming). Such strict liability violates basic fairness principles by treating athletes differently from everyone else in society (Morgan, 2006). Suddenly, the world of sport is refuting its very own model of fair play: respect for the interests of the game.

The prosecution’s perspective deems the problem of athletes’ rights to be irrelevant. After all, if an athlete cheats, then they cease to play the game and thus abandon the right to fair treatment. However, what happens when the athlete cheats through no inclination of his or her own but because of fear or coercion (Schneider and Gonsalves, forthcoming), such as in cases of regularized doping? Further, what is the full scope of institutionalized doping?

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113 Edwin Dellatre’s (1976, p. 136) well-known declaration: “A person may cheat at a game or compete at it, but it is impossible for him to do both. To cheat is to cease to compete.”
Ilira

When Devin recounted stories to me about his time rowing through the Northwest Passage, he mentioned an Inuit word he had learned: “ilira.” The word doesn’t have an English equivalent, but he described it as a feeling of fear or unease resulting from a perceived inequality in power. He used “ilira” to describe the emotions he felt upon seeing a 100-ton, 60-foot bowhead whale surface next to his small vessel, or the sensation he felt when sitting on beaches of Dolphin and Union Strait and an 11-foot Grizzly Bear noticed him and started moving toward him. Ilira, he said, was the fear that comes with a powerful unknown and the profound helplessness that ensues.

I believe that ilira, or a phenomenon like it, is the villain (and not the fictional anti-hero athlete) threatening the clean-sport values of fair play. From personal experience and anecdotal evidence from my interactions with fellow athletes, a perceived lack of choice looms over us. It takes the form of pressure from sports organizations and the political interests that govern them, or it is rooted in the intimidation that an athlete feels from sponsorship funding dependent purely on results. The exhaustion that makes them

114 Recall Makosky’s concluding remarks stating “that there are greater forces at play” p. 98, footnote 92.
wonder how they’ll make it through the week of training also feeds the fear.\textsuperscript{115}

In chapter four, I briefly alluded to the sometimes negative impact of the constant pressure on athletes to maintain a competitive training schedule (i.e., to work harder than the competition). My own experience dovetails with Coakley’s (2015) over-conformity theory, confirming that pursuing difficult-to-achieve dreams, together with the subconscious fear that you might never do or be enough to achieve them and tying one’s identity so tightly to the role of the athlete, renders sports participation burdensome.\textsuperscript{116}

Might this burden, or pressure from fans, coaches, sponsors, and supporters equate to institutionalized doping? If so, what role does our evolving cultural climate in Canada play? I contend that Canada has produced a version of entrenched doping wherein its sports culture inadvertently pressures athletes, to varying degrees, to partake in doping.

In my view, institutionalized doping represents a spectrum that exists to some degree in every country and individual organizations in sports such

\textsuperscript{115} I am referring to anecdotal examples of athlete’s perceived feelings of coercion from my personal interactions with NHL hockey players, semi-professional cyclists, and Olympic alpine ski racers, rowers, and speed skaters.

\textsuperscript{116} I believe this is a neglected element when critics claim that the coercion an athlete feels is not justified (See: Kirkwood, “Considering Harm Reduction as the Future of Doping Control Policy in International Sport.”). I would compare saying an athlete made the choice to dope to saying that a person on the street is homeless by choice.
as cycling and weightlifting. I believe Ben Johnson was on the spectrum, just as Lance Armstrong was and as Russia is, but each to varying degree. To deny that Ben Johnson was influenced or pressured by an institution or federation is to neglect the complexity of the athlete’s mind and consequent behavior, as it interacts with the societal forces that we discussed in chapter three. Moreover, the presence of such a spectrum, or even its absence, suggests the need for more thoughtful evaluation of accountability with possible revisions to strict liability.

Even though the primary purpose and highest priority of the WADC are to protect the athletes’ right to participate in doping-free sport and promote fair play values, it is clear that some aims take precedence over others. According to the new demands the athletes want to have enshrined into the WADC, every athlete ought to have the right to:

1) Clean and fair sport, 2) equality of opportunity, 3) equitable and fair testing programs, 4) protection of health, 5) corruption-free sport, 6) the right to justice, 7) the right to accountability, 8) the right to representation, 9) access to information, 10) freedom of expression, 11) whistleblowers and substantial assistance, 12) the right to education, 13) the right to
participate, 14) the right to data protection, 15) mutual respect of rights, and 16) the right to an effective remedy. 117

Right now, the athletes have argued that the WADC does not meet all these rights equitably. 118 Meanwhile, those who worry about WADA’s current direction suggest that the athletes must drive the change that is absent in the less-than-robust WADA leadership. 119

In a system like WADA, whose primary objective is to protect athlete’s rights, I believe that it is impossible for strict liability and ili— or, more simply, a system where fear and an imbalance of power between the athlete and external factors affect decision making—to exist simultaneously. 120 If athletes experience external pressure or coercion, or if there are instances in

117 This list represents a summary of a two day symposium hosted by WADA, the COC and the CCES in Calgary this past summer and was recorded by Angela J. Schneider who was invited to attend.
118 Based on the summary of the Calgary Athlete’s Rights Symposium.
119 Dan Palmer, “Scott claims bullying by WADA officials at meeting where Russia were reinstated”, Inside the Games, October 12, 2018, https://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1070994/scott-claims-bullying-by-wada-officials-at-meeting-where-russia-were-reinstated
120 Recall that this version of athlete protection differs slightly from Kirkwood’s 2002 harm reduction theory mentioned earlier (p.83), which dismisses this notion of coercion as a reason he believes banning doping is unjustified.
which we can’t be sure, someone other than or in addition to the athlete needs to be held accountable.

In my opinion, WADA’s gradual but drastic increase in control over the athlete represents a Catch-22 for athletes’ rights. I believe that the athlete, as a good sportsperson, wants the right to a fair-play dope-free environment, for it is in this environment that the interests of the game are best respected. However, as Morgan (2006) describes, to gain such assurances of a fair-play climate, they have to cede their rights to privacy, and during the testing protocol, regardless of their agency in the matter, they are subject to strict liability.

*Protect the Integrity of the Athletes → Protect the Integrity of Sports*

When it comes to the issues of the land, the participants of C3 and I learned during the expedition that we are foolish not to consult those who are native to it and know it best. Devin once disclosed that, during his Northwest Passage expedition, he spent time with an Inuit oral historian who

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121 Butcher and Schneider, “Fair Play as Respect for the Game.”
122 Christof Breitsameter, “How to Justify a Ban on Doping?” defends against paternalistic claims against doping bans, stating that “[b]y means of a mutual self-commitment or collective voluntary agreement, the parties involved can submit to a rule, which they can universally approve of. Self-legislation is autonomy and needs to be distinguished from paternalism” (p. 291); WADA defends its policy and claims that there is no way around strict liability because of the history of certain athletes who have later been proven guilty without actually testing positive, such as Lance Armstrong (Schneider & Gonsalves, forthcoming).
described an island called Oomiak Talaq, which in his language meant “place of the boat.” The historian’s story suggested an ancient shipwreck, whose masts were visible for two seasons until the ice knocked them down. He had often gone out toward the island to look for the wreck, but given his small tin boat, he always came back empty-handed.

In September 2014, after decades of searching, the HMS Erebus of the Franklin Expedition was discovered near this island, sitting on the ocean floor in shallow water. Devin realized and passionately believed that this solution to one of our greatest maritime mysteries exemplifies the neglect towards indigenous history and knowledge. He couldn’t help but wonder how much sooner the Erebus could have been discovered had the Inuit people collaborated.

Upon hearing this story, I quickly detected the parallel between how we as settlers have historically blunted the voices of indigenous people and how WADA has undermined the athlete’s voice. Reconciliation in culture and sports depends upon listening to and learning from those who know the issues best; the only way to align sports so that they protect athletes’
interests and rights while promoting fair play as respect for the game’s interests is to increase athletes’ participation in the process.\footnote{In his recommendations for Improvements to AD outside existing sport system and governance, Makosky prioritizes the role and contribution of athletes and suggests that athletes have a more critical role in “shaping and governing the direction, conduct and integrity of sport thru: participation on significant seats on governing councils; signoff/veto on directions or actions that materially affect the well being of athletes; 50% vote on intended accountability and control processes/regimes” and encourages athletes to create a self governing movement for true sport. (Makosky, “Anti Doping in Sport in Canada Keynote Talk.”)}

Beckie Scott, who I mentioned earlier, resigned her position on WADA’s Compliance Review Committee after its decision, and alleged that she was treated disrespectfully during the meeting, whose outcome was "disappointing beyond measure" (Scott, 2018). Scott continued:

There was laughter when I read the list of Athlete Committees who had produced statements and who were confronting the [Russia] decision. At the time it was upsetting, and on reflection it's a tactic, a maneuver, and born out of a long-standing belief that athletes don't have to be part of this conversation.\footnote{Dan Palmer, “Scott claims bullying by WADA officials at meeting where Russia were reinstated”, Inside the Games, October 12, 2018, https://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1070994/scott-claims-bullying-by-wada-officials-at-meeting-where-russia-were-reinstated}

Athletes from all over the world have come together to unite with Beckie against the hegemonic attitude that silences the athlete’s voice at the table. Following Beckie’s resignation and the community of support that gathered around her, we can see that solidarity provides a model for our working notion of good sportspersonship and “true north” strength.
Against it stands the lack of solidarity and accountability within the sports institutions, currently omitted from the headlines that blame the “bad guys,” the athletes, as the sole agents of their demise.

Hēchwšun

Throughout this work, we have come to understand that doping issues are not black and white. We even reviewed an example of a cultural relativist approach to the permissibility of doping in the Tour de France at the end of chapter two. Because of the inevitable variability between sports cultures like amateur and professional cycling, it would be beneficial to examine psychosocial and sociocultural concerns when creating policy, evaluating sanctions, and establishing educational programs on the value of clean or true sports.

Given the growing conflicts of interests between political and financial involvement in sport and the organizations that oversee fair play, I believe that WADA should immediately reconsider strict liability. I propose that, as

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125 Lentillon-Kaestner et al., 2010, 2012
126 Based on the history review in chapter one and the references on RUSADA and institutionalized doping; Makosky’s recommendations for improvements to AD within existing systems include: monitoring and control regime; governance (reform WADA- more independent of IOC; increase athlete voting seats; screening of council reps) and increase influence and council seats for reputable anti doping agencies; institutional and state accountability; investigative approach; institutional
an arbitrator of established sports, WADA’s assumption of greater accountability in the case of individual and institutionalized doping would better serve athletes’ rights.

Protecting these rights acknowledges that someone who abandons the meaning of the game by over-conforming to their goals isn’t necessarily a villain, but is a blind agent on the spectrum of what I refer to as institutionalized doping. Furthermore, safeguarding an athlete’s right to innocence acknowledges the sustained and sacred relationship between the athlete and the meaning of the game with which doping behavior is so deliberately inconsistent. It is my view that strengthening this relationship could potentially inoculate future generations against moral disengagement towards transgressive behavior by encouraging an honest and conscientious reflection of the meaning of their sport.

As someone with experience and continued exposure to the institution of sports, I encourage a more humanistic understanding of the athlete within it. The athlete is meant to compete, grow, and thrive. It is clean sport advocacy and influence. (Makosky, “Anti Doping in Sport in Canada Keynote Talk.”)

Kirkwood claims that the IOC has put idea of sacred sport “on sale, and business has never ben better” (p. 81) This claim states that although a great marketing strategy, this notion of Olympism is a brand and not related to the true meaning of sacred. Though this may be true, this view neglects the interaction the athlete may have with the meaning of sport itself.
crucial to understand the role of over-conformity in doping (see chapter three), where an athlete tries too hard to be the hero that their sportsperson identity demands.

As spectators acting within an institution, we must regain conscientiousness; we cannot simultaneously cheer on our heroes when they perform and turn on their character when they stumble. Comparatively, we cannot drive by the bad parts of town, shake our heads, and call the people inhabiting them lazy. We are too often placing character flaws on people whose behavior is an outcome of the culture we’ve created around them.

My experiences driving across Canada to give presentations at various schools led me to conclude that the young people with whom I engaged throughout the nation reflect the values Dubin identified in 1990. Although I avow that we are primarily a culture composed of people like myself and my fellow C3 participants who maintain a firm belief in ethical precedence, amongst the young (or those who wish to promote change), there remain barriers between recognizing what constitutes a moral situation and connecting principles to action.128

128 Recall my experience presenting in Ottawa where the students valued reconciliation as a priority, but I wasn’t able to gather that any steps to actual engagements were being taken.
While the young are the future, I believe that they depend on education and on us as members of the institution to protect their pathway through sports. Developing within flawed systems, such as a team with a win-at-all-cost mentality, will tarnish or encourage the disengagement of these moral values.¹²⁹

My recommendation for Canada would be to cast aside its Earn the Leaf mentality in favor of teaching its athletes and team members the true meaning of sports and show them the path to “true north” strength as reflected by true-sport values.¹³⁰

This advice does not imply that we should remove the notions of competition and striving for gold, or that we should cease testing our mettle and setting goals to protect the interests of sports.¹³¹ Instead, it suggests that by rediscovering the meaning of fair play as respect for the game’s interests and significance, we can strengthen our very relationship with sports.¹³² As

¹²⁹ Kelsey Erickson et al., 2015 A qualitative analysis of the factors that protect athletes against doping in sport.
¹³⁰ For more on true sport values visit https://truesportpur.ca/
¹³¹ “Just as the quality of a metal ore was determined long ago by the intensity of the colour streak produced by rubbing it against a mica-like material called a touchstone, so in competition, one’s opponent is his touchstone. In rubbing against a worthy opponent, against his skill, dedication and preparation, the quality of a competitors mettle is tested” (Delattre, 2007, p.196-197).
¹³² Makosky declared that the way forward meant aspiring to Values Based Sport (the Sport We Want) and claims that this version of sport: “recognizes, acknowledges, and celebrates the timeless “founding values” of sport and ensures
athletes we must raise our hands, like Beckie and the kids at St. Josephat School did during my informal survey, and prove that we would prefer to finish second by playing fair than win by cheating.

that today’s sport is consistent with those founding values; promotes and optimizes the “experience of sport”; enables and supports “access to and involvement in sport”; and assesses the destructive forces and negative values affecting sport and that are putting “sport at risk and under threat”; undertakes to prevent, counter and control those destructive forces/values and to advance to the right, preferred, desirable alternative values and principle based sport.” (Makosky, “Anti Doping in Sport in Canada Keynote Talk.”)
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