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BLUE JAY FEVER
AND SOME OTHER SPORTING FORMATIONS OF CANADIAN NATIONALISM:
AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE LINK BETWEEN
SYMBOLIC AND ANTHROPOLOGIC CULTURE
IN THE CREATION OF A 'REST-OF-CANADA'
IMAGINED COMMUNITY

BY

Sean Hayes, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in Partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Masters of Arts
in Canadian Studies

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

May, 1994

Sean Hayes

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"Blue Jay Fever and Some Other Sporting Formations
of Canadian Nationalism: An Investigation into the
Link between Symbolic and Anthropologic Culture in
the Creation of a 'Rest-of-Canada' Imagined Community"

submitted by Sean Hayes, Hons. B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

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June 1994

ABSTRACT

This study embodies a broad inquiry into the categories of sport and nation, and how the symbolic significance of one acts upon the other. It specifically investigates the role of dominant Canadian commercial sports in the formation of a Canadian national consciousness. It attempts to demonstrate that the commercial dictates of dominant "Canadian sports" embrace, and in turn express, an affinity for Canadian continental integration.

Canadian sport is used in this study as a theoretical filter in which to examine the inter-relationship between "symbolic" culture and its effects upon Canadian "anthropologic" culture or polity. What is demonstrated is that there is no one-to-one ideological manipulation of the "anthropologic" by the "symbolic" (or base by superstructure), rather, they have collapsed upon one another by virtue of the processes of mass communications. And the influences exerted over Canadian polity through the formation of a Canadian consciousness is brought about by the subtle forces of hegemony as opposed to direct ideological manipulation. The Canadian mass-audience, in other words, is not a passive consumer but rather the active producer of its own consciousness -- but the consciousness generated is structurally focussed upon the consumption of goods and the embracement of a "consumer logic". This

"logic", it is demonstrated, favours American and capitalist cultural formations because they are the most readily available and cost effective.

The game of Hockey, "Our Game", is examined for the way in which commercial sport can generate a sense of national pride while encouraging corporate values and beliefs which ultimately undo the sense of a national identity it proposes to create.

Canadian Football is examined as a "master symbol" of Canadian culture. Like Canada itself, it has developed as a compromise between British tradition and American innovation. However, some recent developments in, and popular conceptions of, Canadian football reveal that Canada -- as an alternative North American culture -- has been all but marginalized and defined out of existence.

However, what is also revealed in this study is that the Canadian audience has become potentially the most viable opposition to capitalist structures of exploitation and the processes of "Americanization". And this potential can be seen in some of the "unofficial" nationalist overtones of the Toronto Blue Jays World Series wins -- a potential, however, presently still "contained" by the apparatus of continental-capitalist hegemony and "official" nationalist impositions.

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We weren't playing for Canada.
We're Americans. We want it for
ourselves.

-- Toronto Blue Jay,
Joe Carter

It was though...Prospero had taught Caliban
the use of bat and ball only to find
himself comprehensively 'out magicked' by
his upstart colonial pupil...

-C.L.P. James,
Beyond a Boundry, (1963)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Chapter One	
Defining Sport	10
Play and Display	14
Sport As "Cultural Capital"	26
Consumer Logic And Canadian Identity	28
Chapter Two	
Nation And Nationalism Defined	32
Official And Cultural Uses Of Nationalism.....	42
The Attractions Of Nation	55
Americanization	60
Canadianization	68
Cultural Nationalism As An Oppositional Impulse ..	72
Nation As A Complex Gloss Upon The Word Meanwhile.	78
Chapter Three	
Popular Sport, Nationalism and The Rest-Of-Canada.	85
The Processes Of Mis-Recognition	89
The Common Purpose Of Sports And Nations	92
Official And Other Uses Of Sport	95
Chapter Four	
"Our" Game Hockey	104
"Our" History	111
"Consumer Sovereignty"	117
Chapter Five	
The Art Of Hegemony and Canadian Football	123
The Collapse Of Base And Superstructure	130
Defining Rest-Of-Canada Out Of Existence	139
The Use Of Canadian Football As 'Other'	151
A Football By Any Other Name	158
Canadian Football As Master Symbol	166
Chapter Six	
Baseball -- "Their Game"	180
Canada's World Series	186
Conclusions	
The Real 'Rest-of-Canada'	202
Footnotes	206
Bibliography	221
Filmography	225

INTRODUCTION

This paper is ostensibly about Canadian sport, but it is also an investigation into Canadian identity and the formation of Canada as an "imagined community". It explores the concept of Canadian identity in the belief that the major dilemma confronting its actualization -- or collective recognition -- is that what has been traditionally insisted upon as Canadian culture bears little or no resemblance to the cultural works predominantly consumed by Canadians. Dominant "Canadian" symbolic culture is, in reality, popular culture; and popular culture in a Canadian context is, in fact, almost always American culture. Canadian sport, in its dominant commercial formations, offers itself as a rare example of "genuine" Canadian popular culture. However, what is revealed in this study, is that the commercial dictates of Canadian popular culture also favour continental processes of integration, and, therefore, the ideas of popular and Canadian are, in a sense, incongruous with each other -- at least under the guidance of monopoly-capitalism.

If the concept of a "Canadian popular culture" appears to be an oxymoron, then perhaps it should come as no

surprise that so too, for some,^{*} is the idea of a Canadian identity. But contrary to some dominant theorizations, seen in parts of Tomlinson (1991), Flaherty and Manning (1993) and particularly Collins (1990), this "cultural schizophrenia" does not demonstrate that there is "a weak linkage between polity and culture...."¹ For arguments such as these suggest that since Canadians watch American rather than Canadian television programming,² for instance, and yet still have distinctly different social policies from their American counterparts, there is little or no connection between "symbolic" culture and its "anthropological" form. The evidence presented in this paper, in relation to Canadian sport, will prove that the opposite is the case.

In broad terms, this paper will demonstrate, by references to the formation of dominant Canadian sport culture, that the "Americanization" of Canadian symbolic culture corresponds with, and contributes to, and is a direct aspect of, the on-going Americanization of the Canadian economy and its anthropological culture. Another way of expressing this, is that the wide disparity between the progressive, statist values traditionally espoused by

* Mavor Moore, for instance, once humourously stated: "I have friends who dismiss 'Canadian Identity' as a contradiction in terms, like 'family holiday'."

Canadian "cultural nationalists" (evidenced, to a degree, in the tentative existence of progressive social policies) and the overwhelming fact that Canada is a free enterprise society, and is in the process of dismantling the social policies once used to distinguish itself from the United States, can be more readily explained in terms of a link between culture and polity, than the lack of one.

Instrumental to understanding the contradictions of a link between Canadian culture and polity, (such as having a dominant "Americanized" culture -- yet still being Canadian), is the relationship culture and polity have to the processes of hegemony. Culture is not completely reducible to economics -- it is not a mere reflection of economic influences. As will be discussed throughout this paper, hegemony offers an explanation for how continental-capitalist interests dominate Canadian society, despite a formidable cultural nationalist opposition, which has managed to align progressive, statist values with the concept of national values.

Hegemony, as we shall see, is never complete. It is an ongoing attempt by the elite to secure the collective consent to govern. And in order to achieve this, it requires that the elite embrace and accept some of what might otherwise seem to be antithetical to their fundamental

interests. The net result being, that despite its overriding agenda of articulating continental and monopoly-capitalist values, Canadian popular culture has the potential of being the most meaningful and potent expression of Canadian distinctiveness and national sense-of-self.

This thesis is developed through six chapters. The first three chapters essentially define the concept and uses of sport and nation in Canadian society, and how they relate to one another. The last three chapters specifically examine three separate formations of Canadian sport: hockey as "our game", football as "almost our game", and baseball as "their game". Surprisingly, it is in the last of these chapters that the potential of popular culture as a counter-hegemonic nationalist force is made most apparent.

The first chapter is an investigation into the general concepts and uses of sport. It explores the differences between sport as an intrinsic form of play, and sport as a form of mass spectacle, and how they inter-relate with one and other, and how the latter has essentially usurped the significance of the former. This usurpation, it will be argued, has real costs for anthropologic culture. And it represents an over-all collapsing of the concept of culture as "a particular way of life", with the concept of culture as something we consume. And this, especially within the

context of a national popular framework, is indicative of an elitist attempt to impose a corporate-consumerist logic onto a national logic.

The second chapter is an investigation into the concepts of nation and nationalism, and how they relate to the formation known as the "Rest-of-Canada". As part of this analysis, cultural nationalism is examined and identified as essentially a collective aspiration for a "sense-of-belonging". This, in turn, is contrasted with hegemonic official nationalism, which is examined and identified as an instrument of continental capitalism. Official Nationalism exploits our aspirations for a sense of belonging, and transforms it into an affirmation of the monopoly-capitalist agenda. Benedict Anderson's concept of a nation as an "imagined community" is used to demonstrate how the idea of nation can be constructed outside the official parameters of a nation-state, and also how the role of communications technology, and therefore symbolic culture, is central to this type of formation.

The third chapter attempts to show how sport directly relates to the concept of nation, and, in particular, how Canadian sport relates to the concept of Rest-of-Canada as nation. Sport is demonstrated as a useful tool for solidifying and mystifying a particular monopoly-capitalist

notion of the national community. In turn, this notion is used as a means of mobilizing "the people" in the interests of monopoly-capitalism -- which they falsely perceive as their own interests. In this complex way, the well-being of Official Nationalists and continental capitalist become intertwined with the well-being of commercial sports in Canada. And cultural nationalist aspirations are forced to seek alternative, marginalized strategies of symbolic expression.

The fourth chapter is about hockey. It specifically demonstrates how a sport can mystify a continental-corporate ideology into a national source of celebration and collective affirmation. It proves that sport can foster beliefs which ultimately undo the sense of national identity and pride they propose to create. And in this way, Canada's most important symbolic resource is shown to have tremendous impact on Canada "as a way of life."

The fifth chapter is a complex analysis of how Official Nationalist and continental capitalist hegemony have succeeded, and why progressive cultural nationalism has failed in its efforts to consolidate itself as an hegemonic force. This chapter attempts to account for what has happened to the progressive, statist values so strongly aligned with the concept of Canada as an alternative to the

United States. We discover that cultural nationalists have made a strategic error by abandoning popular culture to market forces. In contrast, continental capitalism has managed to dominate and control Canadian popular culture and through it strongly influence Canadian anthropologic culture. To reinforce this argument in a new way we analyse specifically how capitalist structures of mass communications have abolished the distinction between "base" and "superstructure", and how the audience has become the dominant site for the production of value and meaning in society, and not the "base".

By extension, the audience also happens to represent the best potential opposition to capitalism. This generates a particular dialectical tension which, I argue, strongly informs Canadian national consciousness. This tension is manifested in the dichotomy between what Canadians produce and wish to protect as culture and what they consume as culture; between what Canadians truly are and what they are supposed to be, or are often imagined to be. I suggest that this tension is demonstrably experienced in the simultaneous success and failure of Canadian football as a national sport.

This chapter then continues with an in-depth analysis of Canadian football as a "master symbol" for Canada as an

alternative North American culture. What is revealed in this analysis is that Canada as a viable alternative culture has been almost completely marginalized and defined out of existence by Canadians themselves. I then conclude, that if Canada is unable to formulate itself in symbolic, alternative representations, it becomes increasingly difficult to imagine an alternative North American culture as a valid "way of life."

The final chapter involves a somewhat more optimistic reading of the potential for commercial sport to represent the aspirations of its audience. In an analysis of the national significance of the Toronto Blue Jays, I argue that despite their best efforts, the owners and producers of mass cultural products can not control their ultimate meaning(s). It is the audience who uses these products as cultural resources and gives them meaning.

And Canadian audiences have invested the Blue Jays with a nationalist significance. The Blue Jays offer many Canadians a sense of pride and accomplishment, because they represent the ability of the Canadian hinterland to defeat the American metropole, and at its own corporate game. And as opposed to simply representing more American imperial domination, the Blue Jays actually represent an opportunity for Canadians to benignly "thumb their noses" at an

otherwise indifferent America. However, I am forced to conclude that even this mild gesture of defiance is ultimately "contained" by the hegemonic apparatus which has made it available in the first place. In the final analysis, "Canadian" popular culture, such as dominant sport formations, does influence, touch and affect many parts of Canadian lives, but it also represents the greatest potential for changing them.

CHAPTER ONE

Defining Sport:

At certain times, in certain societies, the theatre had a social purpose: it brought together a whole society in a common experience: the understanding of their own passions. Today this function is fulfilled in a different way, by sport. The society, however has grown. Today it's not just a city, it's a country; and at times the entire world.

-Roland Barthes, OF SPORT AND MEN, NFB Film, 1961.

I remember in high school ... I suddenly asked myself at one point: "Why do I care if my high school team wins the football game?" I mean, I don't know anybody on the team. They have nothing to do with me. Why am I cheering for my team?

-- Noam Chomsky, Manufacturing Consent, NFB/Necessary Illusions film, 1992.

To understand the significance of sport to the formation of nation, it is essential to understand how each of these historical constructs functions in its own right. In this first chapter, I want to establish an understanding of how the historical purposes and meaning of sport relate to contemporary Canadian society. By that I mean, I want to investigate the contexts by which sport has and is related to, and inter-related with, the broader social and political forces which shape Canada. I will argue that the domination of commercial interests in sport has transformed it from a

source of communal validation and self-realization, into a vehicle for valorizing capitalist and consumerist logic. And this has been predominantly achieved through a process which has reduced the 'anthropological' significance of sport as a form of play into the limited ideological uses of sport as a commercialized spectacle.

Raymond Williams has stated that "culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language."⁴ If he had contemplated the significance of the word "sport" he may have included it in the same category. Sport is a surprisingly complex term when one considers the vast and contrasting array of activities functioning under its guise: from "Pro-Wrestling" to chess; from synchronized swimming to children playing ball; from camping to race car driving; from "shinny" to professional hockey. The word sport evokes a contrasting range of connotative associations and meanings: play, work, spectacle, participation, freedom, rules, activity, passivity, popular, elite, amateurism, professionalism, greed, altruism, glory, defeat, community, corporatism, and so on. The meaning of sport, like culture and other "keywords", is, as Williams states, "...inextricably bound up with problems it [is]...being used to discuss."⁵ In addition, the conceptual complexities of sport are intertwined with the complexities of culture

itself. Both terms can be problematic in themselves, and are even more so combined, and cannot be taken in isolation from their discursive contexts.

Central to understanding the use and meaning of the term "sport" in this paper is the formation of a discursive context in which sport, as a symbolic entity, is something that is watched more than played, and has come to supercede the significance and role of sport which is played more so than watched. That is to say, this paper is concerned with the dominant commercially organized configurations of Canadian "spectator sports", but within a critical context which examines the significance of that dominance over other possible meanings and roles for sport.

In its broadest sense the concept of sport embraces so many activities that it might simply be construed as a synonym for leisure. In fact, leisure may be seen as the prime motivation in both the practice and consumption of all sport. In particular, it would be impossible to imagine the present "development" of modern commercial sport outside the historical construct of a leisure time. Historically, as the amount of leisure time grew for the working classes, so too did the efforts to rationalize, organize and standardize their games into sports.⁶ This organization of leisure time is inextricably linked to a larger industrial strategy. Jim

McKay, for one, argues that organized sport offered itself as a means by which capitalist owners and their managers could secure a "leisure discipline" upon their workers which was compatible with a work ethic.⁷ As well, Raymond Melchers clearly demonstrates "...that the organization of recreation in business never had any philanthropic intent, but was aimed at increasing productivity."⁸ Organized sport, outside as well as inside factories, has been used to rationalize and reaffirm capitalist values of individualism, competition, efficiency of labour, and the deferral of gratification, all within a context of a wholesome and fun pastime.⁹

As a means of bestowing a "leisure discipline" onto the wider community, sport began to function as spectacle. Sport had once predominantly been an individual and community-based expression of pleasure, prowess and ritual display, closely interwoven with prominent features of social life. In its modern manifestation, sport has become an isolated social and cultural practice guided by the objective of profit through mass entertainment.¹⁰ Pierre Bourdieu summarizes this development: "In brief, sport, born of truly popular games, i.e. games produced by the people, returns to the people, like 'folk music', in the form of spectacles produced for the people."¹¹ Through the ideological desire to secure a leisure discipline and as a

result of capitalist infiltration into the areas of play, sport, in its anthropologic sense, has been subsumed by sport, in the symbolic sense.

PLAY AND DISPLAY

In societies where modern conditions of production prevail, all of life presents itself as an immense accumulation of *spectacles*. Everything that was directly lived has moved away into representation.

-- Guy Debord, 1983.¹²

To appreciate the developments outlined above, and their overall significance to sport, and its role in the formation of "Canadian identity", it is necessary to examine how these two elements of sport interrelate. Gregory Stone identifies these two fundamental elements of sporting practices as "Play" and "Display".¹³ Play, Stone claims, is essentially something personal. It is done for the sheer joy of physical expression. Display on the other hand, functions as something social. It is behaviour which is symbolic and performed not essentially for oneself, but for those watching. In Display, external factors replace pure intrinsic motivation and the result is sport as spectacle. Play is the impulse inherent to all sport, and Display is a representation of this impulse, made available for general consumption.

In the larger picture, there is an analogy that can be drawn here between the concept of Play as an "inherent impulse" and a national identity created by "the people"; as opposed to the concept of Display, and the idea of a national identity created by an elite and sold to the people. This analogy should be kept peripherally in mind as we proceed with this investigation into the concept of sport. We will analyse the significance of these two perspectives on national identity in the next chapter.

Though sport is sometimes conceived of as a fine balance between Play and Display,¹⁴ it seems apparent that in its contemporary Canadian formations the latter is dominating the former. Susan Willis argues that, in fact, play is antithetical to the consumer impulses of Display:

Play is fascinating because it promotes the creative imagination, challenges social order, and facilitates communal social relations -- everything that capitalist consumer culture aims to eradicate....Opposed to play is an amusement culture that presses play into purposeful activity and limits imagination to menued choices.¹⁵

Stone suggests that if the precarious balance between the two formations is upset, and if, in particular, the element of spectacle predominates, the game itself will be destroyed.¹⁶ As an historical reference Stone cites the glory of Ancient Greece, which emphasized elements of Play

in its sporting formations, and contrasts this with the vainglory of Ancient Rome and its reliance upon Display in sporting formations.

This comparison and analysis of Greek and Roman sport is supported by Jay Coakley. He cites certain qualities of Greek sport which he believes emphasized aspects of Play over Display, such as: their foundation in religious and mythological beliefs; their choice of games to be played based on the athletic interests of the participants; the active participation of women, albeit in separate games; the subsidization of athletes by the state; and the importance granted athletics outside of the games themselves.¹⁷ In these ways, Coakley argues, Greek sport embodied the principles of Play.

Roman sport, on the other hand, embodied the principles of mass entertainment. The athletes were essentially slaves, and were almost always recruited from the slave classes. They had little, if any choice about how and why the games were played. "[Roman sports]...were designed to celebrate and preserve the power of political leaders and to pacify the masses of unemployed and underemployed workers in Roman cities and towns."¹⁸ All of which, Coakley argues, typifies sport as Display.

It has been suggested that the ideological role of modern sports is similar to that of its Roman counterparts. Noam Chomsky, for instance, states:

...sports - that's another crucial example of the indoctrination system, in my view. For one thing, it offers people something to pay attention to that's of no importance....It's a way of building up irrational attitudes of submission to authority. And group cohesion behind leadership elements. In fact it's training in irrational jingoism.¹⁹

One of the objectives of this paper is to demonstrate that any perceived sense of "irrational jingoism" in Canadian sport is not founded upon a genuine felt sense of collective belonging or "Cultural Nationalism", but upon an officially constructed sense of nation, employed by "Official Nationalism", as part of continental capitalist hegemony.

It may be less than original to equate the decadence of Rome with contemporary excesses, particularly as a means of declaring the present as an epoch of decline -- but certain characteristics of dominant Canadian sport formations do bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the Roman model. "Canadian sports", such as hockey, football and baseball are, quite simply, watched far more than they are played. The most celebrated levels of these games are often, appropriately enough, called, "spectator sports." Often the

terms "professional sports" or "major league sports" are also used -- but all of these terms carry connotations which tend to obscure the critical objectives of this paper.

The term "commercial sport" is less commonly used but, argues Bruce Kidd,²⁰ it is the most accurate of all the possibilities. The term avoids confusing issues of commercialization with other aspects of spectator participation -- such as is seen in the Greek model. The term also avoids reducing the critical analysis of sport into an elitist denouncement of professionalism over amateurism, a debate that has shadowed the development of Canadian sport for most of this Century. The paying of athletes for their skills is not in itself socially problematic. In fact, the freedom it affords members of the working class to pursue their athletic development full-time, as has always been the privilege of the ruling class, may be viewed as extremely democratic.²¹ The term also serves to focus critical attention upon the capitalistic determinants of modern sport, and away from elitist denouncements about the decline of culture and civilization. Such denouncements typically and paternally suggest that the cultural proliferation of such things as spectator sports reflects the mass' inability to achieve the necessary intellectual and aesthetic discrimination required to support "real" culture. However, such cultural distinctions

are basically employed to support certain corresponding class distinctions. The term commercial sport specifically refers to the central, and the most problematic, aspect of contemporary "spectator sport", i.e. the ownership and control of community games by a few, elite, privileged members of society, interested in private profit.²²

Within the parameters of Official Nationalist hegemony, Play is all but dead. Through the auspices of capitalist communications, Canadian commercial sport has become all sport. The pervasiveness of Canadian media, which is considered all-encompassing and all-knowing, leads us to believe that if Play were a part of our "national culture", we would hear about it. Even within the historical and sociological literature on Canadian sport the same general assumptions apply: although, occasionally, with some awareness of the issue. One discernable pattern in the historical literature for instance, is that sport is something we (Canadians) or they (British, Natives, bourgeoisie, working class) used to do, and is now something we all watch.

The correlation between some aspects of watching and doing in Canadian sport only serves to mystify the process by which dominant symbolic culture has collapsed itself onto the concept of culture as "a particular way of life". It is

not a surprising phenomenon that athletes choose to play what they watch, and watch what they play. One could very easily argue that the growth of minor league baseball in Canada in the last few years is directly related to the tremendous increase in media coverage, marketing, and the success of the Toronto Blue Jays. It appears only logical, indeed "natural", that young athletes would lean towards those sports which are socially, and consequently within a capitalist society, remuneratively valued. However, this "leaning" is often more a process of systematic channeling, reinforced by the paucity of options available for Play in Canadian society. What options there are, have been proven to have dubious psychological, and sometimes terrible physical, impact on their young participants;²³ and are sometimes nothing more than acknowledged or unacknowledged parts of a feeder system for the commercial sports industry -- and thus private profit.

Therefore, the "doing" of certain sports only helps to mask the processes of exploitation inherent to commercial sport. Bourdieu suggests that the mystification of Display by virtue of its association with Play disguises its role in perpetuating consumerist ideology:

We may consider that sport as a spectacle would appear more clearly as a mass commodity...if the value collectively bestowed on practising sports (especially now that sports contests have become a measure of relative national strength and hence political objective) did not help mask the divorce between practice and consumption and consequently the functions of simple passive consumption.²⁴

The argument is not simply that there is no Play in Canadian society - there is. There is ample evidence of Play in most parks, particularly outside the realm of organized sport and even, occasionally, within it. However, the concept of Play as a fundamental signifying practice of Canadian life is undervalued, if not entirely dismissed in contrast with its co-relevant, Display. And as the dominant formations of Display are owned and operated by continental capitalists, Display is almost always articulated towards the reproduction of capitalist social relations. The undervaluing or dismissal of anthropological sport is clearly evidenced in Canadian national media, Canadian educational systems, Canadian governmental interests in sport, Canadian cultural pedagogy and even surprisingly and inadvertently by elements of Canadian sport sociology.*

The final analysis is that Canadians are being repeatedly defined in terms of the games they watch and not

* Including, it would seem, this paper as well.

in terms of the games they play. In other words, the idea of a Canadian identity is continually and forcibly being reconstituted in terms of national consumerism. In this way Canadian sport has become a formative manifestation of continental corporate logic within Canadian consciousness. The questions over which games, and which organized forms of these games, represent "us" and "our" interests, is, as Bourdieu suggests, a "...part of the larger field of struggles over the definition of the *legitimate body* and the *legitimate use of the body*...."²⁵

Canadian "anthropological sport", i.e. Canadian sport as a particular way of Canadian life, or simply, what Canadians play, is perpetually subsumed within the purview of Official Nationalist (read continental capitalist) hegemony, and forced to function as a supporting element of "symbolic sport", i.e. what Canadians watch -- and are identified with and by. If, for instance, the games we played were nearly as valued, and considered almost as significant to the concept of "Canadian-ness", as what we watched, the game of soccer would have to be considered the quintessential Canadian sport. Soccer is participated in by more Canadians than any other single organized sport,

including football, softball* or hockey.²⁶ Yet soccer is constantly referred to as something that "can't get a foothold in North America."²⁷ What is meant by "foothold" here is obviously commercial success. Soccer is not watched by a great number of Canadians, it is merely played by them. Soccer is therefore, presently, an unviable commercial entity and thus, within the hierarchy of a capitalist value system, it is of little significance or cultural use. This, of course, may be changed if the 1994 World Cup series, being held in the United States, spawns the commercial league its sponsors have anticipated. However, the commercialization of soccer in Canada would only stand to exemplify the processes of capitalist hegemonic containment and exploitation.

In contrast to soccer, organized football is played by relatively few Canadians. Yet football is considered a major Canadian historical and contemporary cultural formation. It is often referred to as "Canada's second sport", even though Canadians rarely play it.²⁸ What football does have is spectators, particularly in front of

* I have separated baseball and softball to make this claim more palatable -- though the original source simply claimed that soccer was more popular than baseball or hockey. I have failed to find a reliable independent source for verifying this claim, but the essential point is maintained, whether soccer is the first or the third most popular participatory form of sport.

the television, though even that is a question of some concern for the Canadian brand of the game. But as sport identification is slowly reduced to a flick of the remote control, it should be no surprise that the most proliferate and technologically appropriate games, such as American football, become the most popular.

This reliance upon Display over Play explains, among other phenomena, the ascendancy of the Blue Jays as a dominant national cultural signifier of "Rest-of-Canada" identity. As such, this development has real as well as symbolic costs for Canadian culture. As Lawrence Martin, citing Roy MacGregor, notes:

Toronto City Council voted to close nearly one hundred outdoor natural ice rinks, a breeding ground for hockey greats. The money saved would perhaps find its way to Ontario coffers to pay off some of the massive debt incurred with the new baseball colosseum. The hockey rinks cost only \$400,000 to maintain but would die as Toronto set a new attendance record in baseball.²⁹

As the dictates of consumer logic, and the accompanying aspiration for "world class" consumer status take their toll, "Canada's Team" has come to replace "Canada's game".

By using Stone's framework of Play and Display, it is possible to see how the meaning of Canadian anthropological culture has been transformed by the influences of its dominant symbolic culture. Since the fundamental processes of expressing this symbolic culture are predominantly owned

and controlled by monopoly capitalism, as is the symbolic culture itself, the transformation is obviously one that is favourable to those interests.

This does not mean that all is lost for the Cultural Nationalist forces interested in, and aligned with Play. As Dallas Smythe argues, the audience, not the proletariat, are now the major opposition to capitalism³⁰ (and in this case Official Nationalism). Canadian audiences have demonstrated resistance to complete "Americanization", as will be demonstrated in the reading of "Blue Jay fever", and, on the whole, by their choice of Canadian sports over American ones, particularly hockey (though that raises some other questions which shall also be explored later). And, it can be argued, these audiences choose to play games like soccer, though they do not watch them.

Popular sport forms and practices are an intrinsic part of the hegemonic process, whereby dominant groups are forced to continually renegotiate the terms upon which consent for their rule can be sustained.³¹ What the theoretical conflation of symbolic culture with anthropological culture suggests is the powerful way in which Official Nationalist hegemony has attempted to impose its corporate logic onto and into the "national cultural logic".

Sport As "Cultural Capital"

Canadian commercial sport is reliant upon the principles of Display, not as a functional side-effect, but as part of its very essence. This fact must be appreciated for what it is: a dominant cultural signifier of the national "culture" which produced it. Within this national culture, Canadian commercial sport perpetuates the false myths of capitalist meritocratic achievement and advancement. It does so by symbolically and actually creating, then exploiting the "surplus value" produced through the labours of athletes.

Canadian professional athletes are not just paid they are owned, and they can be bought, sold, traded and even lawfully depreciated as they age. The teams themselves are also owned and controlled by capital interests, and can be bought, sold and moved at the whim of this capital. Neither the athletes, nor the communities they "play" for and are identified with, have any direct say in the "how-and-wherefores" of the game's structures, except, perhaps, as consumers. And that is the key element in the ideological significance of commercial sport. For while owning, selling, trading, buying and moving are all aspects of any commercial enterprise, none are as celebrated and as highly injected with symbolic significance as is the idea of the "home team."

Unlike other industries, commercial sport relies upon the ability to translate the surplus value of its work force into "symbolic value." By dressing foreign athletes in the home jersey, the commercial sport entrepreneur can easily exploit communal loyalty felt for the home town. With rare exceptions, people want to see, and will pay more to see, the home team as opposed to two visiting teams playing the same game. As the "work" of certain players improves, so too does their symbolic value. People will pay much more to see a Wayne Gretzky than a Junior "A" player, no matter how exciting or entertaining the latter may be. The increase in a player's symbolic value generates an increase in his economic value, for both his owners and himself.

Commercial sport is structurally centered around the exploitation of this symbolic value as a means of generating mass interest and consumption. The greater the symbolic value, the greater the potential audience. And conversely, the greater the audience, the greater the potential symbolic value. This is precisely why Wayne Gretzky lives and works in Los Angeles now -- and not in Edmonton.³²

The end result is that consumer capitalism creates a situation in which, in the words of Peter Pocklington,* "Canadian cities need to become more competitive."³³ This of course means channelling public resources away from the maintenance of the social infrastructure, and towards the maintenance of the corporate one. Ultimately, the symbolic value created by commercial sport is used to perpetuate the belief that what is good for private interests, such as the owners of commercial sports teams, is good for the public at large, which identifies with the sports team.

Consumer Logic And Canadian Identity

The abandonment of Canadian sport to the forces of continental capitalism contrast markedly with the interventionist tradition towards elite forms of culture. This contrast demonstrates to some degree the co-option of Cultural Nationalist demands, for the protection of a national culture, within an Official Nationalist (read: continental capitalist) strategy. This strategy allows the protection of Canadian versions of trans-national "high

* Peter Pocklington is a former candidate for the Federal Tory leadership and the owner of the Edmonton Oilers. He has attempted to move the Oilers to Minnesota, but has been prevented from doing so by legal action instituted by the city of Edmonton. He claims that he will eventually move the team to the United States unless Edmonton subsidises his rental of Northlands Coliseum and gives him some other publicly financed incentives to stay.

culture" in the name of nationalism, and, to varying degrees, neglects the area of popular culture "...in and through which the masses are thought to construct their identities."³⁴ This discourse is, once again, part of a much larger struggle over who, or what, determines what is important and what is not. Contrary to the general assumption, sport is of tremendous importance, and that is why it is predominantly controlled by capitalist interests.

Monopoly capitalism's use and involvement in sport serves its interest well. It does so by offering a different criteria for achievement than would otherwise prevail outside of the marketplace. Pierre Bourdieu explains, in a different context, the process by which sport can be used to reconceptualize the framework in which the value of certain social principles are affirmed or denied:

To value education over instruction, character or willpower over intelligence, sport over culture, is to affirm, within the educational universe itself, the existence of a hierarchy irreducible to the strictly scholastic hierarchy which favours the second term in those oppositions. It means, as it were, disqualifying or discrediting the values recognized by other fractions of the dominant class or by other classes (especially the intellectual fractions of the petty-bourgeoisie and the 'sons of schoolteachers', who are serious challengers to the sons of the bourgeoisie on the terrain of purely scholastic competence); it means putting forward other criteria of 'achievement' and other principles for legitimating achievement...³⁵

Canadian Official Nationalist hegemony contextualizes achievement, not in terms of community, or "ontological

security", as might be the case under Cultural Nationalist hegemony, but rather in terms of profit and capital accumulation. This is partially achieved through its involvement in and celebration of commercial sport as part of the national consciousness industry. In this context, Toronto, for example, is celebrated as a "world class" city, not because it has eliminated the plight of the homeless, or created a pollution free urban core for its inhabitants, but because it has Andrew LLOYD Weber musicals, the SkyDome, and because the Blue Jays happened to have won two World Series.

Consequently, the shift from Play to Display as a guiding principle of contemporary Canadian sport reflects

...a shift from a 'production-based' society to a 'consumer-based' society accompanied by a change from a 'production ethic' to a 'consumption ethic'. This has transformed community activities based on traditional and symbolic goals, into commodities that are 'packaged' and marketed in the form of spectacles to be consumed by passive audiences.³⁶

In short, communities, like people, are no longer identified by what they produce, or play, or how they organize their lives, but rather by what they consume. And the limited choices to which Canadians are exposed predominantly reinforce Official Nationalist (read: continental capitalist) conceptions of Canada. The hierarchical structure of consumer-capitalism, in which some consumers are deemed "more equal" than others, further restricts the

legitimation of particular versions of Canadian identity by virtue of what is considered most conducive to capitalist needs.

This 'limitation of identity' is an important and central aspect of understanding the role of Canadian commercial sport to the formation of national identity, but it is an aspect which has been critically undervalued; as Richard Gruneau and David Whitson point out:

What is less widely appreciated is "the imposed loss of identity, the almost 'no person' status of those not able to make meaningful market choices or even present themselves as potential buyers." This is not often remarked upon, precisely because in the discourse of consumer sovereignty, the *buying* public is the only public that counts.³⁷

This kind of "imposed loss of identity" is directly related to the overall concept of the "Canadian identity crisis." This system of consumer hierarchy is related to Cultural Nationalists' aspirations for an identity and sense of belonging, and Official Nationalists' assertions that those aspirations have been met. The dominance of a consumerist logic, with its hierarchy of consumers worth, means that the non-capitalist values of Cultural Nationalism have left Cultural Nationalists still aspiring for an identity; while the marketers of Official Nationalism can assert that we already have an identity -- the one they've provided. These assertions need to be examined further in relation to the concepts of nation and nationalism.

CHAPTER TWO

NATION AND NATIONALISM DEFINED

Do you really believe, Mr. Johnson, that the average citizen in this country really wants to be Canadian?

-- A CRTC commissioner asking, CBC
President, Al Johnson a question. (1979)₃₈

This chapter contains a broad overview of the complexities informing the concepts of nation and Canada; as well as a related investigation into the formidable powers of a cultural force known as nationalism. I will argue that far from being a reified, static concept the "meaning" of any given nation, including Canada, is malleable and open to manipulation. In particular, I will demonstrate that within Canada there are two contending forces of nationalism vying for supremacy over the idea of what Canada is or should be -- one has been successful, the other less so. The latter is predominantly concerned with consolidating a "sense of belonging" and mutual recognition within Canadian collective consciousness; while the former, the successful one, has historically and falsely exploited this aspiration for a "sense of belonging" as a method for mobilizing the national collective in the interest of the ruling elite. The Canadian situation offers a unique perspective on the ability of the elite to maintain its domination over the

collective meaning, because many of the elite's values have come to be associated with an identifiable antagonistic force operating contrary to Canadian self-realization; i.e. "Americanization". This makes the process by which those "values" are maintained more complex than mere ideological manipulation or political domination. For the problem with Americanization, I will argue, is not truly one of imposition, or even of an external concern, but it is in effect an internal manifestation of Canada's embracement of monopoly-capitalism. In order to relate these developments to the importance of sport, as a means of instilling and reflecting a collective with meaning, Benedict Anderson's concept of a nation as an "imagined community" is presented as a theoretical model of how a nation is configured within a contemporary, technologically advanced, capitalist society.

In his book, Imagined Communities: Reflections On The Origins And Spread Of Nationalism (1983), Benedict Anderson defines a nation as:

...an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.... [It] is imagined as limited because... [n]o nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind.... It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordered, hierarchical dynastic realm.... Finally, it is imagined as a community because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship." 39

Canadian nationalists of varying political stripes, cultural interests and economic perspectives have attempted to discover, foster and/or project an imagined community on to the chimera of contending political, regional, linguistic, and ethnic projects which make up Canada. The diversity of other, more easily imagined, imagined communities within Canada have divided, or more optimistically, helped define Canada's sense of "nation-ness". Any evidence of a "deep horizontal comradeship" from sea to sea to sea generally pales in comparison to various entrenched, localized senses of community and the embracement of actual or perceived memories of exploitation, slights and wrong-doings attributed to Confederation.

To define Canada as a nation within the definitional contours of Anderson's imagined community is to define Canada as a nation outside the definitional contours imposed

by the nation-state and Official Nationalism. And in doing so it appears necessary to accept the division of Canada into the spectre of what Susan Crean and Marcel Rioux refer to as the "Two Nations"⁴⁰ and Hugh McLennan refers to as the "Two Solitudes"⁴¹: Quebec and the "Rest-of-Canada". Marshall McLuhan acknowledged this sentiment in the 1960's when he plainly stated: "You can be a French Canadian or an English Canadian, but not a Canadian."⁴²

Even within Canadian Studies pedagogy, this division appears to be quite permissible, if not a necessity. Indeed, the acceptance of the two solitudes formation of Canada is now generally accompanied by the recognition of a third solitude, i.e. the First Nations as nation(s). Though it may be argued that the imaginings of these three nations occasionally overlap, it appears fruitless to continue to suggest that the imaginings are exactly shared.

The use of the term nation in this "imagined" context is predicated upon the supposition of an internal collective sense of identity, "...a sense of nationhood as one looks outward from within."⁴³ This stands in contrast to a sense of nationhood dictated by political imposition or rationalization, as is the case with the official and the dominant Pan-Canadian understandings of Canada. Consequently, the concept of a nation as an imagined

community enhances the conceptual, if not actual, separation of Quebec from the Rest-of-Canada and refutes the monism of the Official Nationalism and its Pan-Canadian purview.

However, the acceptance of a concept of Canada as a three-nation (or more) state does not necessarily mean an acceptance of separatism as an inevitable or even desirable answer to Canadian political and cultural difficulties, as some might suggest. The accommodation of separate nations within federalism is a major foundation for Canadian statehood, but this point is sometimes overlooked -- particularly within Pan-Canadian appropriations of federalism. Pierre Trudeau, for instance, argued that nations do not necessarily, nor should they necessarily be defined by the boundaries of statehood.⁴⁴ This has been a central tenant in the defense of Canadian federalism for many progressive nationalists. Michael Ignatieff contends, in a more recent defence of the concept, that: "Federalism is not a political ideology. It is just a particular way of sharing political power among different peoples within a state."⁴⁵ In fact, Ignatieff even suggests that the Canadian situation might have been uniquely and ideally suited for this experiment in shared 'nationhood(s)': "If federalism can't work in my Canada, it probably can't work anywhere."⁴⁶

Language has played an instrumental role in the development of the concept of nations, but a nation state is not an absolute proviso of language. The fact that Quebecois nationalists' arguments for statehood are predominantly based upon language does not necessarily justify the end of federalism. As the historian Ramsay Cook (1986) points out: "If every Linguistic group became a nation, there would be approximately 8,000 nations; in fact there are only some 200 nation-states."⁴⁷ Theoretically, and some would argue practically, federalism is able to accommodate different languages and different cultures within a single concept of statehood. Federalism is not hampered by the idea of different nations within a single nation-state, but rather it is hampered by the Official Nationalist belief that the nation-state should form a single nation. Within Canadian federalism, but outside of Official Nationalism, there already exists at least three, identifiable, separate, nations: The First Nations, Quebec and the Rest-of-Canada.

It is the proposition of the Rest-of-Canada as nation which emerges as the central problematic aspect of the above equation, and the one this paper is dedicated to addressing. An apparent weakness in applying Anderson's definition of an imagined community to the Rest-of-Canada is that his concept of nation is predicated upon some sense of an "imagined-

self". This would entail an assumption, and some recognition of a Rest-of-Canada identity separate from the larger nation-state of Canada and Pan-Canadian Official Nationalism. Under such circumstances one might more readily and convincingly argue for the existence of Newfoundland or Alberta as "nations", rather than the formation of the Rest-of-Canada as one.

At first glance it appears that only the Quebec and perhaps the First Nations aspect of this "Three Nations" configuration is able to live up to Anderson's concept of nationhood as an imagined community. Even with the dominant problematic equation of Quebec accounted for and removed from the idea of Canada, the Rest-of-Canada appears to be left as an amorphous configuration of a "non-nation". This is exemplified by the inability of the Canadian intelligentsia, and others, to come to terms with what one should even call Canada without Quebec. An examination of the discourse surrounding this question reveals the complexities of understanding Canada as a nation, *sans* Quebec.

Traditionally, Canada without Quebec has been referred to as "English Canada", or sometimes "Anglo-Canada". But, under the auspices of multi-culturalism these two terms have fallen into disrepute. There did emerge the more accurate

and more inclusive term of "English-speaking Canada". Soon, this term was also deemed problematic. This was not only because of the multi-lingual aspects of multi-culturalism, but more pointedly because it contradicted the concept of official bilingualism from Sea to Sea. This is indicative of how sometimes the unreality of a Canada with a Quebec impinges on the imaginings of the reality of Canada without it. The latter term has recently been supplanted by the more accomodating, but ungainly: "Rest-of-Canada", or sometimes "ROC" for short. Though it appears that the idea of the Rest-of-Canada, Canada without Quebec, should be easier to imagine than the "Two Nations" or "Three Nations" as one concept of Canada, it is, as this debate demonstrates, a precarious formation for imagining a nation. The general inability to confidently name the Rest-of-Canada demonstrates a certain vulnerability available to exploitation.

Historically, the subjugation of Quebec within the purview of Canadian Official Nationalism has contributed to a sense of distinction and identity for the Rest-of-Canada as a part of Canada. Likewise, as the "two separate nations" concept serves to accommodate and give credence to the belief that Quebec is a "distinct society", a nation without a state, it leaves the Rest-of-Canada with less of a

distinctive sense of itself, and searching for some sense of belonging of its own. Quebec, it may (easily) be argued, is a lived/living imagined community, a nation in all but name. The Rest-of-Canada, it seems, is somewhere between being imagined and being forgotten; a nation, some might argue, in name only (if that). In the words of René Lévesque: "We believe that we can get along better without Canada than Canada can without us."⁴⁸

Daniel Latouche goes even further and postulates that Quebec's existence has permitted the Rest-of-Canada to avoid the questions of its own nationhood, since the French fact granted an easy delineation between Canada and the United States.⁴⁹

English Canada, which does not exist, or at least which is bent on proclaiming its nonexistence, needs its antithesis to demonstrate that the Canadian reality is 'different'. In short the French-Canadian or francophone minority allows English Canada to dispense with the search for its own identity.⁵⁰

What remains is whether, or how, it is possible to accept and define the Rest-of-Canada as a nation, beyond the fundamental understanding of its political and geographic rationalizations.

There are, of course, less ephemeral definitions of nation than Anderson's, but they too, most often, presuppose some sort of communal imagining and a collective assumption

of identity. For instance, the Canadian sport sociologist, Bruce Kidd offers the following definition of a nation while attempting to define "English Canada" as one: "[It is] an ethnic community with certain specific characteristics: a common language, territory and economic life, a common culture and sense of identity."⁵¹ However, with the exception of territory, these characteristics are, to varying degrees, alien to a Rest-of-Canada reality.

The advantages of Anderson's definition is that it allows for an open, active and on-going interpretation of the concept of nation which can be used to support the supposition that the Rest-of-Canada is indeed one. In other words, within Anderson's definition the pre-required "identity" of the imagined community can in fact be constructed once the communicative parameters of the nation have been established -- and accepted. In fact, as we shall now see, the problem with Rest-of-Canada identity is not that it does not exist, but rather that it exists within the parameters of a communicative apparatus dedicated, for the most part, to articulating continental capitalist values. Such articulations, it will be shown, function as either an element of Canadian capitalist rationalizations for profitability, or as "overflow" from dominant articulations of the American world view.

The Official and Cultural Uses Of Nationalism

No small country can depend for its existence on the loyalty of its capitalists. International interests may require the sacrifice of the lesser loyalty of patriotism. Only in dominant nations is the loyalty of capitalists ensured. In such situations, their interests are tied to the strength and vigour of their empire.

-- George Grant, 1965.⁵²

Before venturing any further into the specifics of Canadian communicative apparatuses, and the impact they have upon the formation of the Rest-of-Canada as a nation, it will be useful to examine the ways and means by which the concept of a nation is used to advance certain political, social and class agendas in Canada. The concept of nation itself has been contested within the contours of the Rest-of-Canada formation. Nationalism, or various types of nationalisms, needs to be examined for the way in which it can articulate the specific goals of one group as the collective aspirations of the entire national formation. Specifically, this will entail an analysis of how the Canadian business elite can obscure its objectives, and coopt fundamental elements of the Cultural Nationalist agenda to serve its own purposes.

The two formations of nationalism to be identified as contesting and confusing the domain of Rest-of-Canada imaginings can be referred to as Official Nationalism and

Cultural Nationalism. The former is an instrument of Pan-Canadian and continental-capitalist ethos; the latter is a more intrinsic aspiration for a genuine sense of Rest-of-Canada identity. Though these two formations need not necessarily be at odds, they appear to be in this discourse on Rest-of-Canada identity, and ultimately they represent opposing philosophical perspectives.

The difference between the two formations can be appreciated by the way in which the concept of nation is being defined: Cultural Nationalism is a strategy by which the people of a nation attempt to define that nation; Official Nationalism is a strategy by which the nation -- or more accurately the state -- attempts to define the people. Official Nationalism endeavors to invent a nation where it does not exist. Cultural nationalism attempts an awakening of a nation into self-consciousness. As the two perspectives appear to be approaching, in this case, the same nation, their oppositional positioning may appear contradictory: if the nation does not exist how can it awaken into self-consciousness? What this contradiction exposes is the underlying, fundamental assumptions about their respective positions concerning the role of nation in people's lives. Official nationalism is a top-down imposition; Cultural Nationalism is a bottom-up aspiration.

Official nationalism accepts the nation-state, and the power relations which form that nation-state, as is. It is instrumental in the maintenance of the status quo, and is an intrinsic part of the present hegemonic apparatus. It functions predominantly as an arm of political society, and is complicit with monopoly-capitalist and imperial interests. Its cultural formations are either elitist and easily recognized as official and nationalist, or they are a part of dominant "mass" commercial culture, mystifying and not quickly associated with nationalism or "officialdom" -- but an instrument of hegemonic Official Nationalism nonetheless.

On the other hand, Cultural Nationalism is fundamentally an arm of civil society and, in Canada at least, it has been an oppositional, anti-imperial and a potentially counterhegemonic force. Its cultural formations are also often elitist, but its most important ones are produced in, or rejected from, the repertoire of texts made available by industrial society; i.e. they are "popular culture." Though the difference between Cultural and Official Nationalism becomes confused in the areas of "high-culture", there is a definite division in its "lower" forms. Official Nationalism is politically aligned with the forces which market and produce that which is commonly known as mass culture. Cultural nationalism, on the other hand, is

manifested by an ongoing process of producing meaning out of the mass culture made available to the people.⁵³ And this is the crucial and most important difference between the "cultural" aspects of Official and Cultural Nationalism.

The division between these two nationalisms is often complex and not as clear cut as one might suspect. Michael Dorland, for one, suggests that Canadian nationalism can be divided more than once:

Whereas nationalism elsewhere has usually been conceived, like the nation itself, as one and indivisible, Canadian nationalism is, like the nation itself, infinitely divisible, from the sell-out nationalism of the Mulroney Conservatives, to the regional nationalisms of a Quebec, a Saskatchewan, or an Alberta; from the opportunistic nationalisms of the various federal and provincial elites to PetroCanada, Air Canada or Molson's corporate nationalism. And beyond these, by infinitely diffused and generally silent, yet nevertheless deeply felt, the multiple nationalisms of the Canadian people itself.⁵⁴

The fundamental point is the same. There exists internal, competing variations of Canadian nationalism and the national purpose of identity: one supporting hegemonic interests, and one embodying counterhegemonic potential.

In the Canadian context, Official Nationalism is more than the mere bureaucratic promotion of bilingualism and biculturalism and is used, particularly under the recent Conservative regime, to embody a Pan-Canadian mythos which

elides concerns about regional alienation and threats to Canadian political, economic and cultural sovereignty. It fails to confront most ethnic, regional and linguistic animosities. It boldly denies that Canada is a colonized nation -- historically, economically, socially and politically. And it perpetuates the belief that Canada is a unified, independent, fully-industrialized, democratic state.

Official Nationalism is defined by Benedict Anderson as an ideology for "...stretching the short, tight, skin of the nation over the gigantic body of the empire."⁵⁵ In this particular Canadian formation the "empire" is, of course, not even its own, but the mere remains of the British dynasty in North America. But to be certain, Anderson makes more room for Canada in his amended definition by expanding it to include national constructs with less imperial motives:

...[I]t is important to stress that the model could be self-consciously followed by states with no serious great power pretensions, so long as they were states in which the ruling classes or leading elements in them felt threatened by the world-wide spread of the nationally-imagined community.⁵⁶

This qualified definition of Official Nationalism could have been conceived solely on the historical construction of Canada.

Not surprisingly, the dominant interpretation of the historical construction of Canada happens to be a part of the fundamental Pan-Canadian myth. It is worth examining this construction in some detail for what it reveals about Official Nationalism's strategy, and the values inherent to the Pan-Canadian notion of Canada.

The interpretation of Confederation as a natural and mutually agreed upon union of like-minded peoples, the coming together of the "two founding races", all living equally in "God's Dominion" which has only recently come under pressure from regional, linguistical and multi-racial forces, is one example of Official Nationalism's use of certain political, economic and cultural resources to perpetuate its own conception of Canada. This Confederation myth is a conception of Canada based upon a form of historical mystification identified by Eric Hobsbawn and Terrance Ranger as the "invention of traditions". Hobsbawn and Ranger explain that history for the elite often functions as a "usable past."⁵⁷ Confederation, being as it is the seminal event of the Pan-Canadian dream, exemplifies the Canadian elite's, and thus Official Nationalism's, command over Canada's "usable past".

The Confederation of Canada in 1867 was instigated by the colonial ruling class of British North America for three

major reasons: 1) fear of annexation by the United States; 2) the potential profits of operating in an extended, but protected market; 3) the profits to be incurred through the building of a national railroad, which could only be subsidised by the combined populations of the colonies.⁵⁸ Confederation was not the result of a collective rebellion against an imperial power, nor a mutual, organic, understanding of an evolutionary inevitability. In fact, Confederation has been resisted by a significant number of Canadians since its inception. The union had to be achieved, in the words of Sir John A. Macdonald, "per saltum" [in one leap], in order to avoid almost certain defeat at the polls.⁵⁹ It was a marriage of profitable convenience orchestrated by the ruling classes, and was met with general popular distrust. Both Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland backed out of the original arrangement because popular sentiment was opposed to the idea. The Prime Minister of New Brunswick, and all the members of his parliament who supported confederation, lost their seats in the following election because of the deal. All eighteen of Nova Scotia's elected representatives to Canada's first parliament were "separatist"; they wanted Nova Scotia out of Confederation. British Columbia at the time contained more Americans than Canadians⁶⁰ and their loyalty lay not with a burgeoning Canada, but with annexation of the territory by

the United States, as had happened with Oregon in 1846. The reality of Confederation, whether in the past or today, is far from that which is generally postulated and typically celebrated. The reality behind most of Official Nationalism assertions appear equally as vacuous.

Comprehending the fundamental motivations behind Official Nationalist mythologies would entail a depth of theorizing beyond the scope of this paper. There is however a discernable, historic relationship between Official Nationalism and the interests of the Canadian ruling class which should be emphasized. Nationalism, as a collective force for independence, has maintained meaningful political clout in Canada for as long as it was deemed profitable by the business elite.

Under the guidance of Central-Canadian businessmen, and in the name of nation building, early Conservative governments established a system of protective tariffs, along with the transcontinental railway, and called it, appropriately enough, the National Policy.⁶¹ The significance of this policy cannot be overstated. As Sylvia Bashevkin points out, in her treatise on nationalism, the National Policy formed a pivotal structure for Canadian political and economic perspectives:

With reference to Pan-Canadianism, the National Policy is significant because it defined what would become a basic parameter of this world view for at least the next hundred years.⁶²

This was achieved and maintained despite the arguable fact that the National Policy may not have benefitted most Canadians, or even most regions of Canada, economically. National protectionist policies were, according to Collins, an economic strategy in which the "...Central-Canadian metropole exploits the Western-Canadian periphery in the name of nationalism...."⁶³

The merger of business nationalist interests with Official Nationalist agenda has been fortified throughout Canadian history. In particular, such key political victories as the defeat of the 1911 Reciprocity Agreement helped reinforce the ties between a particular nationalist sentiment and the business elite. As Sylvia Bashevkin again points out, it was "[t]he well-financed opposition of business nationalists, combined with extensive disunity in the Liberal party, [which] helped to ensure a Conservative victory in 1911."⁶⁴ In 1948, Prime Minister William Lyon Mckenzie King withdrew from the instigation of continental free trade because of the political risks of confronting such a formidable opposition of business elites.⁶⁵ This alliance continued to shape Canadian trade policy, and the Canadian "world view", throughout the 1950's, '60's and

'70's under the Pearson, Diefenbaker and Trudeau governments.

It was not until 1984, when the so called "business nationalists" switched sides, that the underlying self-serving core of this nationalism was more openly revealed. In that year, in what has been called "an historical shift in the climate of business opinion,"⁶⁶ the Canadian Manufacturer's Association reversed its historical position on "free trade" and mobilized its support for it. This momentous reversal was, of course, paralleled by the Conservative party's reversal of its position on this same issue at the same time. Which is not to say that the Mulroney Conservatives or the business elite abandoned nationalist rhetoric; the opposite is the truth, but they abandoned the policies that once gave it some substance. And though the processes of United States continental domination is far more complex than this brief historical sketch, it does illustrate how Official Nationalism has been an instrument of capitalist hegemonic authority.

Cultural Nationalism on the other hand has been, and can still be, a potentially counterhegemonic force. The term "cultural nationalism" however, has at times been associated with the production of what Susan Crean calls, "official culture"⁶⁷ (See also Collins (1986), Tomlinson

(1991) and Flaherty and Manning (1993)), which of course, in the Canadian experience has often been a supportive element of state hegemony, and is not the sense in which the term is employed here. In fact, its use throughout this paper is more closely aligned with Crean's argument for a more independent, grassroots form of cultural life.

The confusion of terms underlies the complexities of dealing with any aberration employing the word "culture". Raymond Williams' offers three fundamental definitions of the word to help clarify its complexities. First of all, culture can be used as "...a synonym for *civilization*,"⁶⁸ as in references to "haute culture" or *kultur*. Secondly, culture may be used to indicate "...a particular way of life."⁶⁹ This is the anthropological sense of the word and can be used, for instance, to define the concept of Play as a form of culture. Finally, Williams suggests that culture can be used to refer to "...the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity."⁷⁰ This is culture as a "signifying practice", culture in its symbolic sense. And this definition can be used in reference to the concept of Display, for instance, as a form of culture.

The term "cultural nationalism" is sometimes employed to distinguish the *cultural* sphere of nationalism from the *political* and *economic* spheres.⁷¹ With such a use there is

a definite, definable distinction being made between the areas of influence for Official and Cultural Nationalism. Official Nationalism in this sense is used in a political context, and Cultural Nationalism is used in a (symbolic) cultural context. On the other hand, if both terms are used to signify (symbolic) culture, as is sometimes the case, their meaning is confined to examining different sides of the same coin; i.e., Official Nationalism being simply the state-sponsored version of (symbolic) culture, and Cultural Nationalism being the grassroots version of that type of culture. But as we have seen above, Official Nationalism can operate as a political, economic, and "cultural" force -- ultimately a cultural force in a proactive anthropologic sense -- as we shall see, so too can the forces of "Cultural" Nationalism.

The confusion surrounding the idea of Cultural Nationalism is furthered by the deliberate attempt this paper makes to align the use and meaning of Cultural Nationalism with an aspiration for national identity. This is a proposition to which Philip Schlesinger, for one, would take exception:

Nationalism, one may agree, is a particular kind of doctrine, but the term tends to carry the sense of a community mobilized (in part at least) in the pursuit of a collective interest. National identity may be invoked as a point of reference without thereby necessarily being nationalistic....once the political boundaries of the nation-state have been achieved, a national identity, with all the accompanying mythico-cultural apparatus, may be in place and is not necessarily identical with nationalism as such.⁷²

Unfortunately, within the Rest-of-Canada milieu, national identity, with its "accompanying mythico-cultural apparatus," has not emerged as an adjunct of its political boundaries and, indeed, Canadian identity has been a cause for collective mobilization, no matter how peaceable. It is indicative of the embattled state of Canadian identity that the aspiration for it may so easily and sympathetically be aligned with the forces of (cultural) nationalism. However, in a major point of agreement with Schlesinger, a central argument being proposed here is that it is Official Nationalism which is not "identical" with Canadian identity.

In fact, within the (Rest-of-Canada) nationalist discourse, Cultural Nationalism may be best understood as an aspiration *for*, as opposed to an assertion *of*, identity. The question(s) of identity has been a central preoccupation of Canadian nationalists for decades. As the poet Irving Layton remarked: "A Canadian is someone who keeps asking the question, 'What is a Canadian?'"⁷³ In this way, Canadian Cultural Nationalism is a part of the aspiration

for what Gidden calls "ontological security"⁷⁴, rather than with fulfilling some national destiny, or other such vainglorious objectives. This helps explain Bashevkin's observation that:

...[U]nlike many European nationalisms of the twentieth century, Canadian nationalism since the late 1960's has attracted considerable numbers of well-educated, socially progressive people to its ranks -- people who consistently defend civil rights and cultural diversity as an integral part of their democratic politics.⁷⁵

Cultural Nationalism then can be understood as the complex ways in which the Rest-of-Canada expresses its sense of collective being.

This is congruent with Michael Ignatieff's estimation of nationalism when functioning as an element of social value:

As a cultural ideal, nationalism is the claim that while men and women have many identities, it is the nation that provides them with their primary form of belonging.⁷⁶

Cultural Nationalism is the aspiration for, and sometimes the symbolic expression of this fact.

The Attractions of Nation:

There are of course other forms of belonging which, theoretically, should sublimate those of nation, but in practice that does not appear to be the case. The most obvious alternative for a collective focus of identity, if

not the most logical from the critical perspective on hegemonic relations, would be the embracement of class affiliation above all else. Marx's statement that "the workers have no fatherland," typifies this point of view. But, as logical as this assessment may appear to be, it has not resulted in any universally legitimate form with the potency of nationalism. Slavoj Zizek points out how historically international solidarity, "the working class without country", crumpled and died, despite preparations, when challenged by the mass identification and allegiance to nation;⁷⁷ or more precisely: when challenged by the social, historical and culturally constructed attractions of nation.

However, this fact does not demonstrate the "natural" dominance of nation as a source of ontological validation, but rather it demonstrates why the nation is of central importance to the maintenance of hegemony, and conversely, why it is an important site for counterhegemonic resistance.

Two of the so called "attractions" of nation are, according to Schlesinger, the territorial space and the juridico-political boundaries which form it⁷⁸ (In other words, Official Nationalist trappings.). It is within, or

within the aspiration* for, this space and boundary that such things as class differences are systematically elided in favour of national in-group acceptance and out-group exclusion. In order for this to occur, and be maintained, the definition of nation, and the meaning of national identity is continually contested and renegotiated within a framework which perpetually favours the elite.⁷⁹

The meaning of a nation, in other words, is not a "given". Schlesinger cites the argument presented by Giulio Bullati⁸⁰ as a pointed example of how particular elite elements in a society dictate and prevail upon the construction of a nation's purpose and meaning. Giulio asserts that membership of the Italian national in-group was expanded to include the peasantry only because of the elite's need for "cannon fodder" in their expansionist wars. The newly "included" were made to empathize with the cause by negotiating a part of their agenda into a larger, national context (an intricate element of hegemony). "But the broadening of membership involved the construction of a particular, dominant image of 'the nation'...."⁸¹

* One might easily argue that Jewish diaspora, for example, constituted a nation before the existence of Israel. However, one could also argue that the attractions, or the perceived need for, such things as borders is what eventually made Israel a reality.

In the same context, one must approach Canadian Cultural Nationalism and the quest for a legitimate Rest-of-Canada national identity as a process of chronic contestation, as opposed to a search for a reified "given", gone lost. Cultural identity is not something static or frozen in time; rather it is something that is constantly changing and developing.⁸² As part of this development, hegemonic Official Nationalism and the potentially counterhegemonic Cultural Nationalism (Canada as an imagined community), compete over the meaning of Rest-of-Canada identity.

This "contest" over the meaning of Rest-of-Canada identity is class based, but the typical class-versus-class perspective now appears slightly archaic and reductive. Rather, the most useful perspective might be one borrowed from Stuart Hall: i.e., the Canadian people (Cultural Nationalism) versus the power-bloc (Official Nationalism). Hall identifies this alignment as a central dynamic in the workings of culture:

The people versus the power-bloc: this, rather than "class-against-class," is the central line of contradiction around which the terrain of culture is polarized. Popular culture, especially, is organized around this contradiction: the popular forces verses the power-bloc.⁸³

This oppositional positioning of two formations of Canadian nationalism may appear severe; particularly in

consideration of the commonality of their subject, their shared historical resources, and their potential purposes. But, the basic premise being offered here is that the quest to recognize or develop a tangible and agreed upon Rest-of-Canada identity is frustrated and thwarted by an inability to align the reality of Rest-of-Canada culture with the Pan-Canadian model insisted upon by the power-bloc and Official Nationalism. And in turn, that Official Nationalism, as the dominant and state controlled form of Canadian national aspirations, has been co-opted by a monopoly capitalist agenda, dedicated to a continental, as opposed to national, vision. Official Nationalism, for the most part, has abandoned any serious pretensions of galvanizing the in-group/out-group distinctions that are pivotal to any nationalist world view.

This leaves the Rest-of-Canada with the almost untenable task of recognizing or constructing its identity outside -- or at least beside -- the realm of official "nationdom", as opposed to within it. This is particularly detrimental when one considers other important elements of the Canadian predicament, namely: the lack of any racial, ethnic or religious union; and, importantly, that this task must be pursued in direct relation to a dominant, almost suffocating, imperial force intrinsically allied with the continentalist vision, known as "Americanization".

'AMERICANIZATION'

We may dislike American influence, we may develop a Canadian underground movement, but we are compelled to yield to American policy.

-- Harold Innis, 1956.⁸⁴

It is perhaps impossible to intelligently discuss Canadian culture, identity, or nationalism without discussing the presence and role of the United States in those formations, and the process of what is generally referred to as the "Americanization of Canada". Americanization is a complex and contentious term. It is difficult to clearly define because of its close association with other more complicated words, particularly culture and imperialism. Indeed, the term is typically used to indicate a form of cultural imperialism which aids and abets American economic expansionism (See for example the critical assessments of the Americanization of Canada by Gonick, Lumsden, Naylor, Teeple, Smythe, Martin and Watkins, *inter alia*.). In this context, Canadian economic dependency is directly related with the burgeoning Americanization of the Canadian "mindscape", as is witnessed by the American domination of Canadian television, magazines, film, theatre and sport. This, is not an uncontested understanding of the term (See particularly Tomlinson (1991) and Collins (1990)), but it does reflect the dominant use and understanding of it in Canadian nationalist discourse.

Within that discourse, Canada's economic relationship with the United States is, with exceptions, understood to be a form of colonial dependency. As Tony Wilden writes in The Imaginary Canadian (1980): "...our colonialization has been a more complex and less barbaric process than elsewhere in the world..."⁸⁵ -- but it is a colonization all the same.

The historic roots of this colonization are often interpreted in relation to the "staples theory", introduced by Harold Innis in his book The Fur Trade in Canada (1956, first published 1933). The staples theory is a branch of, and sometimes used synonymously with, dependency theory. Dependency theory is a dominant theoretical hypothesis influencing much of the thought on Canadian political economy. In a nutshell, the staples theory proposes that Canada's over-reliance upon natural resources, at the sake of developing a more complex economy, has forced it into a cycle of dependency. Within this cycle, Canada sells its raw materials to the more industrialized centers of the world (the United States), only to buy them back at an increased value, and higher cost, as finished goods. This, it is claimed, has stifled the development of Canada as an independent, fully industrialized, sovereign state. And so, in the words of Alexander Ross, "Canada is probably the world's richest underdeveloped Country."⁸⁶

The cultural ramifications of Canadian dependency on the American metropole are not altogether straightforward and clearly relational. Raymond Williams suggests that, in the case of "American imperialism", there is a certain ambiguity between the political, economic and cultural aspects in the use of the term.⁸⁷ John Tomlinson, for one, insists that economic imperialism cannot simply be understood as a hand-maiden to cultural imperialism. He argues strongly that the two concepts are separate forms of imperialism and are not inherently linked.⁸⁸ This is also the underlying position of Richard Collins in Culture, Communications and National Identity (1990), where he states that despite the economic (and cultural) dominance of America "...the Canadian polity appears robust..."⁸⁹ Simply put, what Collins appears to argue is that since Canada is not explicitly occupied or governed by the United States there is some contention about whether or not it is an American "colony"

Americanization is not an imperialism in the traditional political sense of the word, and it follows then that it is not, strictly speaking, an imperialism of one nation over another. The progression of this argument would appear to sensibly lead to an acceptance of the neo-marxist conception of Americanization, as a problem of global capitalism, rather than of nation-states. Correspondingly,

the term refers not to American cultural practices but to the impact of monopoly capitalism by the dissemination of a corporate "world culture".

In this argument Americanization conflates into monopoly capitalism. And in many ways criticism about the Americanization of Canadian sport, for example, could equally, though arguably, be understood as a criticism about the commercialization of Canadian sport. This is the general theoretical position subscribed to in this paper, with some caveats.

Even within this context, and while clearly accepting American (symbolic) cultural domination of the Canadian mindscape, Collins dismisses the impact on Canadian identity formations. He insists "...that political institutions are more important than television and culture, or even language, in producing and reproducing a solid sentiment of national identity among Canadians."⁹⁰ Collins, like other conservative elements, insists on separating the link between symbolic and anthropologic culture, a link which, as I have previously demonstrated, has all but disappeared in the area of sport.

Collins' theoretical assessment that the "...linkage between the symbolic and anthropologic is rather weak"⁹¹ has

practical applications for the Canadian power-bloc. Collins' position is similar to the "cultural" position taken by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his government, and others advocating the Free Trade Act (FTA), during the 1988 general election. As part of a vociferous and nationalist, on-going, pre-election debate, Mulroney and his supporters promised that "culture was not on the table" while openly advocating an arrangement for the further economic integration of Canada into the American imperium. This is a perfect example of how an argument concerning imperialism is directly related to the mire of complexities surrounding the concept of culture. In the above example, for instance, Brian Mulroney was able to play upon the confusion inherent to the word culture, and used it to his political advantage. He was able to imply that the Canadian "particular way of life" (to use one meaning of the word)⁹² would not be changed, by simply promising to protect certain aspects of Canadian "artistic production" (another meaning of the word). In this way Mulroney, like Tomlinson and Collins (though the latter two with more complexity and intellectual rigor) insist on separating the "base" from "superstructure", and in fact, see, or claim to see, little or no relation between the two.*

* The concept and use of base and superstructure will be examined in more detail in chapter five.

Within other fractions of the "nationalist discourse" the cultural ramifications of economic colonialism are generally interpreted as having a strong superstructural relation to the base. This type of analysis is in fact dominant within the more progressive elements of Canadian nationalist debate, and is worth examining here for what it reveals about the functioning of culture within that framework. The basic claim of superstructural analysis is that superstructure is a direct reflection, or imitation, or the reproduction of the reality of the base (the economic infrastructure). Dorfman and Mattelart in How To Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic, (1975), suggest the relationship between the two spheres is quite explicit: "Our Countries are exporters of raw materials and importers of superstructural and cultural goods."⁹³ Sylvia Bashevkin argues that the Canadian (cultural) nationalist inclination to link American economic imperialism with American cultural imperialism is due to an historical reliance upon a "spatial definition" of Canadian identity, which links culture to territorial sovereignty:

This physical and intensely landscape-oriented definition of identity retains a pivotal place in the Anglo-Canadian world view. Its continued presence helps to explain how nationalists have linked perceived economic threats resulting from foreign investment or continental free trade with a loss of cultural identity.⁹⁴

The major criticism of such base-superstructural analysis is that it has the propensity to reduce and confine Canadian culture to being nothing other than a "branch-plant" derivative of American culture, an argument that is not without its supporters. Such a reduction fails to account for some truly original, idiosyncratic elements of Canadian culture, or any unique Canadian "use" of American Culture -- or, indeed, Canadian complicity in the entire process. Ultimately, it also fails to allow for the emergence of Canadian Cultural Nationalism. It is, in a phrase, an over-determined analysis.

A more useful and insightful critical tool is that of hegemonic analysis. Such an analysis does assume some correlation between base and superstructure, but not as a debilitating form of ideological determinacy. For, as Raymond Williams argues:

...[I]f ideology were merely some abstract, imposed set of notions, if our social and political and cultural ideas and assumptions and habits were merely the result of specific manipulation, of a kind of overt training which might be simply ended or withdrawn, then the society would be very easier to move and to change than in practice it has ever been or is.⁹⁵

Americanization is not merely an imposed ideology, it is a hegemonic force arising out of and helping maintain the identified 'base' problems of Canadian dependency. It does so not as a form of imposition, but rather as a form of subtle ideological persuasion, pressure and containment.

Hegemony penetrates the collective consciousness and imbeds itself there as a form of "common sense." And Raymond Williams suggests that this is a key to appreciating its potential:

This notion of hegemony as deeply saturating the consciousness of a society seems to me to be fundamental...That is why hegemony is not to be understood at the level of mere manipulation. It is a whole body of practices and expectations; our assignments of energy, our ordinary understanding of the nature of man [sic] and of his world. It is a set of meanings and values which as they are experienced as practices appear reciprocally confirming. It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in society, a sense of absolute because [it is an] experienced reality beyond which it is very difficult for most members of society to move, in most areas of their lives.⁹⁶

It is through this saturation that the continual making and remaking of an effective dominant culture is maintained.

The hegemonic meanings and values of Americanization suffuse almost every institutional sphere of Canadian society -- the economy, education, science, the media, politics, the arts, and sports. It is not the American state, or even the evil machinations of capitalist exploiters imposing their will upon the Canadian collective psyche which maintains Canadian economic and cultural dependency; it is the "cultural logic" of monopoly-capitalism which does. Leo Panitch writes:

It is not the state that primarily sustains American imperialism within Canadian society. The imperial relation is secured and maintained more fundamentally within civil society itself -- in the integration of all the dominant fractions of capital under the hegemony of the American bourgeoisie in a continental labour market and international unions, and above all in our culture -- not so much the 'haute culture' of the intellectuals but the popular culture which is produced and reproduced in advertising, the mass media and the mass education system. Just as it is by virtue of cultural hegemony in civil society that bourgeois domination is made compatible with liberal democracy in advanced capitalist societies, so Canadian dependency remains compatible with liberal democracy by virtue of the penetration of civil society itself by American culture.⁹⁷

From this analysis it is possible to see that Americanization functions not as an exterior form of subjugation, as is often imagined, but rather as an interior and integral form of Canadian Official Nationalist hegemony.

"Canadianization"

The hypothesis of an internal Americanization of Canada, under state and capital hegemony, is perhaps best understood and exemplified by the concept known as "Canadianization". Canadianization is not as one might suspect a reference to Canadian imperial practices - but rather the opposite.* Canadianization more accurately

* Which is not to say that such practices do not exist - they do. But, in typical colonial fashion, they are generally considered to be carried out second hand, as by agents of "imperial interests", and are thus safely assumed under the guise of American Imperialism.

refers to a particular form of colonialism not imperialism. As the British communications critic, Richard Collins, points out, it is a metaphor increasingly used in Europe to suggest the cultural and political domination of a nation-state by the American metropole - particularly in relation to communications and broadcasting.⁹⁹ Tony Asper, writing in the British humour Magazine PUNCH, ironically brags of this "accomplishment":

We even gave a new word to the language, Canadianization, which means one country that is completely dominated economically and culturally by another, as our home and native land is by the star-spangled banner. First you...and now them!¹⁰⁰

The fact that Europeans are relying upon a concept of Canadianization to clarify their concerns about the concept of Americanization reinforces the extent to which Canadian identity is intertwined -- not necessarily with America -- but with the processes of Americanization. In order to avoid the use of the latter term, yet understand its impact, Europeans evoke the Canadian experience to examine it. In the use of this term, Canada functions as a warning, or at the least a pointed example of cultural colonialism and the debilitating impact of American corporate culture. This is becoming an increasingly important topic for Europeans as American corporate culture becomes more available to them through the auspices of global capitalism and developments

in communications technologies. Canada represents a unique reflection of the impact of these forces because it has been dealing with them in one way or another since its inception. In many ways what is implied by the use of the term Canadianization is that Canada's cultural and economic underdevelopment is directly related to its economically "rational" reliance upon American cultural products. That the term Canadianization is used as a clarifying euphemism for Americanization, is ultimately more revealing of the "Canadian predicament" than the numerous statistics which verify dependency theory.

For obvious reasons, the formation and use of the term Canadianization implicates the concept of Canada and Rest-of-Canada with the idea of Americanization. Why the term Americanization, with ostensibly the same potential meaning, is not continued to be used instead, is not clear from Collins. Perhaps as a strategic euphemism, Canadianization focuses attention on the *impact* of American imperialism, as opposed to the source of it. It also focuses attention on the complicit acceptance of a cultural and ideological infringement by the receiver nation, as opposed to its imposition by a foreign power. This deflects common accusations of anti-American racism and nationalist jingoism, which often surrounds and confuses the use of that term. The term Canadianization would prove to be eminently

useful within a national cultural discourse challenged by the accusations often vented towards nationalism, as being an anachronistic force in the age of a global economy.* Likewise, it allows an expression of inner-group anxiety about outer-group domination, without explicitly adopting unfashionable and problematic, accusatory, nationalist rhetoric in the epoch of a supposedly "nationless world". After all, as John Tomlinson points out, contesting variations of United States culture(s) have had to struggle under the same homogenizing influences of a dominant American culture force¹⁰¹-- known externally as Americanization. It is this very same force that is both a significant, and sometimes welcome, part of Canadian culture, and at the same time precisely that which Canadian Cultural Nationalism defines itself against. It is not so paradoxical then, that the term Canadianization necessarily implies the concept it is being used to avoid. Canada does not have an American culture, but its culture is dominated by, and contained within, hegemonic Americanism.

* Ironically, this is the same argument employed by the "Free Trade"(sic) forces in the 1988 Canadian general election to negate nationalist criticisms about the loss of cultural and economic sovereignty in light of the agreement. The term 'Canadianization', which essentially precludes nationalist fears as a present reality, was not, and is not, generally available to the Canadian discourse on Americanization of that culture.

CULTURAL NATIONALISM AS AN OPPOSITIONAL IMPULSE

Perhaps the most striking thing about Canada
is that it is not part of the United States.
-- American historian, Bartlett Barbner.¹⁰²

Rest-of-Canada Cultural Nationalism has emerged as a counterhegemonic force by virtue of a symbiotic/dialectic relationship with hegemonic Americanism -- and Official Nationalism. In other words, Cultural Nationalism is and has been an attempt to define the Rest-of-Canada in opposition to the American imperative -- but this also means that that definition has become dependent on Americanism.* As a result of this process Cultural Nationalist forces have become situated ideologically and strategically "left-of-centre".

What has emerged from this oppositional impulse, at least tentatively, is an idea of a nation that is, if nothing else, decidedly not America. In ideological terms, this has meant a rejection of America's political embracement of unfettered capitalism, and a collective disposition towards a more "mixed economy." From early on, the straight-forward choice confronting Rest-of-Canada nationalists has been, in the oft-quoted words of Graham Spry, "the State or the United States."¹⁰³

* We shall return to this formulation, and examine its implications on the processes of identity in chapter five.

It is believed that state economic intervention and guidance is necessary compensation for the geographic immensity and sparse population of Canada, and the dominating presence of the larger and more powerful neighbour to the south. Laissez-faire capitalism, it was/is argued, would eventually and inevitably result in complete continental integration. More importantly for some, laissez-faire capitalism was synonymous with Americanism and therefore countering it would contribute to Canadian distinctiveness. This is the sentiment behind Ramsay Cook's statement that:

It is not merely that the state alone has the resources necessary to finance cultural survival, though that is important; it is also that a statist or socialist approach to culture would in itself be evidence that Canadian culture is different from the free enterprise culture of the United States.¹⁰⁴

It was from this impetus that a Rest-of-Canada -- though recognized simply as Canadian -- Cultural Nationalism emerged.

The historic roots of this process is originally both capital and small "c" conservative and official, but it has, over time, become viably progressive and potentially socialist. As mentioned earlier, it was the Conservative party which instituted the National Policy, a key basis for nationalist assumptions that "in-group loyalty equalled commitment to an assertive, economically interventionist,

highly regulative federal state."¹⁰⁵ However, as Gruneau suggests, these statist policies were exploited by the self-serving, dominant, business elite for their own agenda: "[k]ey fractions of the Canadian capitalist class pursued their own interests in a continentalist fashion which worked toward economic and cultural underdevelopment throughout the country."¹⁰⁶ In the same vein Libbie and Frank Park argue that the Canadian power-bloc had come to see "the path of profit and class stability in collaboration with foreign capital, not in opposition to it."¹⁰⁷

Eventually the resulting economic (under)developments fostered numerous intellectual interventions concerning Canadian dependency and colonial exploitation. During the 1960's and 1970's such interventions helped spur the Canadian oppositional relation towards the United States, and, to a degree, laissez-faire capitalism even further.

In the 1960's and 1970's, mobilization of nationalist sentiment against American control of Canadian culture and economy grew, and moved the agenda surrounding the "National Question" even more to the left.¹⁰⁸ During this period such nationalist and "leftist" magazines as This Magazine Is About Schools and Canadian Dimension were established, as were such nationalist, "statist" institutions as the Writers' Union of Canada, the Independent Publisher's

Association, and the Council of Canadian Film-Makers. The Waffle wing of the New Democratic Party, which believed the goals of economic nationalism and socialism were inseparable, emerged in 1969 under the leadership of Melville Watkins and James Laxer. Then in September 1970, the Committee For An Independent Canada, a more moderate force advocating investment nationalism but not necessarily socialism, was founded under the leadership of Walter Gordon and Peter C. Newman. Throughout this period the Liberal government's reaction to growing nationalist sentiment was to initiate economic policies such as Bill C-58 (also known as the Time/Reader's Digest Bill) in 1976, the formation of the Canadian Development Corporation (CDC) in 1971, the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA) in 1973, and the National Energy Program (NEP) in 1980. Though hardly socialist, these policies did raise the rancour of laissez-faire capitalists.¹⁰⁹ The left's agenda also, no doubt, benefitted from the traditional "anti-American" perspective of Canadian nationalism being fused, and perhaps confused, with anti-American thought and sentiment permeating from the American left throughout this period. The degree to which the right has conceptually tied its version of Canada into American capitalist hegemony was evident in the reactionary labelling of Canadian (Cultural) nationalism as simply "anti-Americanism". In this way the Canadian right

inadvertently consolidated the link between the 'imagined Canada', Cultural Nationalism and hegemonic resistance. This was nicely and succinctly exemplified by a slogan on a popular poster issued by the Committee for an Independent Canada in 1972, which read: "It's UNAMERICAN to be a Canadian."¹¹⁰

In the 1980's, Canadian Cultural Nationalism maintained its left-of-centre ideological zeal, but lost formal political clout. During the "Free Trade"(sic) debate and the election of 1988, the continentalist, market-oriented, pro-free trade, Mulroney Conservatives positioned themselves in opposition to the left-of-centre, nationalist and, in the words of Conservative Trade Minister John Crosby, "CBC-type snivelers, the Toronto Literati, the alarm-spreaders and the encyclopedia-peddlers."¹¹¹ The traditional pattern was set and followed, but this time the Continentalist prevailed, and hegemonic Official Nationalism and ideological Americanism emerged even more consolidated.

In conformance with this pattern, it is significant that much of the "Free Trade" debate centered around the potential loss of "socialist" things. These same 'things' are often cited as making the Canadian "way of life" distinct: the universal accessibility of health-care, unemployment insurance, the "baby bonus" and the general

universality of social programmes, *inter alia*. As Seymour Lipset observes, Canadian oppositional strategy has been constant; only the perplexities of the reasoning has matured:

Canadians have deprecated American values and institutions, mainly those seen as derived from excessive emphasis on competition, which they once identified as an outgrowth of mass democracy and equalitarianism but which in recent years are explained by their intellectuals as endemic in the hegemonic capitalist values and institutions.¹¹²

The question is, how did these "hegemonic capitalist values" completely gain the upper hand in the national debate? How was the "imaginary left-of-centre Canada" (Cultural Nationalism), so easily consumed by its oppositional imagining? The answer, in part, lies in the way the Canadian imagined community has been co-opted and re-constructed within the sphere of dominant symbolic culture.

This sphere, as John Tomlinson writes, is paramount to appreciating the construction of national identity formations:

Now the realm of the 'public' in modern societies is, largely and for most people, the realm of habitual routine practices: commuting, working, shopping and so on. And this context is not one out of which significant cultural identities are likely formed. These are more likely to arise in 'marginal' realms of meaning of the 'private' sphere of family and sexual relations, or the essentially representational sphere of 'mass ritual'....The media, then are potentially the source of strong national identification, as when they act as 'the arenas of mass ritual' of spectator sports and political ceremonials.¹¹³

As Canadian "arenas of mass ritual" become increasingly Americanized the ability to express the counterhegemonic version of the Rest-of-Canada imagined community appears to be systematically compromised. To fully appreciate this argument, it is important to return to Anderson's theory of nation.

THE NATION IS A COMPLEX GLOSS UPON THE WORD 'MEANWHILE'

The value of Anderson's definition of nation as an imagined community over reified attempts to define "English Canada", is that it accounts for the active development of a collective identity within a technological, modern context. Anderson explains that the nation has become the dominant form of cultural definition only as a replacement for other earlier forms of cultural belonging, and that this has only been possible as a result of technological and economic changes which have produced the modern capitalist state.¹¹⁴ In particular, he cites the mechanized developments in

communications as the major impetus in the formation of the nation. The area of communications, of course, has long been a central emphasis for Canadian Cultural Nationalists. In fact, Collins states that there is "...a long established Canadian conception of the nation being synonymous with its communication systems."¹¹⁵ He also claims that this Canadian emphasis on communications and nation "...has pre-echoed global preoccupations..." with the same thing.¹¹⁶

Specifically, it is the newspaper and the novel which are cited by Anderson as having a decisive role in forming national consciousness and, indeed, which appears to support the concept of the Rest-of-Canada as a nation.

The increasing capacity of the dissemination of printed material made possible by the dynamics of capitalism and the development of print technology had two major consequences. It 'fixed' a vernacular language as the 'national' language, and it made possible a new apprehension of national 'community' by the convergence of time and space that it created in its representations.¹¹⁷

This convergence of time and space created a national imagination, an imagination informed by the reading of national newspapers.

In the process...[of reading,] [people] gradually became aware of the hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people in their particular language-field, and at the same time that only those hundreds of thousands, or millions belonged. These fellow-readers to whom they were connected through print, formed, in their secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally-imagined community.¹¹⁸

In spite of the tremendous inundation of American cultural products into most avenues of Canadian life, the onslaught has thus far been unable to destroy the popularity of Canadian novels, or replace Canadian daily newspapers with American ones. Though American books dominate Canadian distribution systems it is not uncommon for Canadian novels to top Canadian best seller lists. By contrast, Canadian film and television dramas rarely, if ever, outdraw their American counterparts on any consistent basis. Even within the important medium of television, news and sports remain the only form of Canadian programming widely consumed by Canadians.¹¹⁹ Even "America's national newspaper," USA Today, the most widely distributed and highest circulating newspaper in the United States, has failed to make significant inroads into Canada, despite concerted efforts to do so. In fact, the creation of two Canadian newspapers in the state of Florida, to serve Canadian tourists, reinforces Anderson's thesis and the supposition of Rest-of-Canada nationhood in relation to it. For whatever the reasons, these two bastions of culture and communication, novels and newspapers, have been able to survive within the amorphous, cultural contours that form the Rest-of-Canada. It is significant then that Anderson specifically points to both these mediums to explain his concept of nation.

Anderson's theory extends the function of the newspaper in creating a national consciousness far beyond that of merely expounding on national topics of interest, or national themes, or events, or describing national places and people. The newspaper, according to Anderson, creates an imaginary, recognized, common space which is fixated from a wash of dispersion and confusion by the boundaries of a particular nation.

Central to this theory is the employment of "temporal coincidences" as an organizing principle of newspapers and, subsequently, in the formation of nations as well. These temporal coincidences are conceptually predicated upon the understanding that "sacred Messianic time" has been replaced by a modern concept of calendrical temporality; or what Walter Benjamin calls "homogeneous empty time.". Anderson argues that this modern concept of temporality, measured as it is by clock and calendar, makes the collective process of reading newspapers "...a device for the presentation of simultaneity..."¹²⁰, or more simply, it creates "a complex gloss upon the word 'meanwhile'."¹²¹ The nation is an assumed relationship of disparate events happening simultaneously, and it is the newspaper which creates, then shares this assumption with its readers. To which Anderson expounds:

The idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogeneous, empty time is a precise analogue of the idea of nation, which also is conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history. An American will never meet, or even know the names of more than a handful of his [sic] 240,000,000-odd fellow-Americans. He has no idea what they are up to at any one time. But he has complete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity.¹²²

If the 'Rest-of-Canada' is indeed a nation, as Anderson's assertions and this argument seems to testify, then the phenomenon of spectator sports fits prominently into how it is imagined.

Examining any Canadian daily newspaper for evidence of the national consciousness reveals the centrality of sport to such a formation. In Toronto, for instance, roughly eight to twenty-five percent of each newspaper, depending on which of the three daily newspapers you look at, is composed of a section entirely dedicated to sport.¹²³ This is, on average, the largest percentage devoted to any one single section of a given newspaper. Sport has also become a dominant, or near dominant (depending once again on which newspaper you examine), fixture on the front pages of newspapers, and inside the front pages, as well as in the "life" and "entertainment" sections. It is frequently within the "business" and "financial" sections, and occasionally, sport even makes the editorial columns. In this way sport supplants the position and the authority of the, so called,

"real news". It is extremely rare for any other non-news items to be positioned outside their proscribed sections. This allowance for sport emphasizes its importance, and the way in which it is sometimes understood to be a cultural "way of life", as much as a signifying practice.

By way of extending Anderson's thesis to sport, it is of significant note that sport itself is a major element in the sustenance of newspapers as a viable medium. The popularity of sport is central to the survival of many newspapers. The sport section is a part of the newspaper that is "reader driven". This means that unlike most other sections of a newspaper, which are "advertisement driven", the sports section is not generally used to sell specific audiences to certain advertisers; it is used to attract over-all readership and increase circulation figures. This fact supports the notion that spectator sport is a central cultural force in the over-all imaginings of the nation. Sport can be a major contributing aspect of a nation's sense of identity. Specifically, it may also be seen as the central element in the Canadian formation of Anderson's "complex gloss upon the word meanwhile."

There is perhaps no greater proof within a Rest-of-Canada milieu of the presence of a "deep horizontal comradeship", or the shared assumption of "simultaneous

activity" occurring "calendrically through homogeneous empty time", within a common social space, than the confidence of universal acceptance, and the casual preponderance to which one is greeted with: "What about them Blue Jays, eh?" A Canadian may never meet, or even know the names of more than a handful of his or her 27,000,000-odd fellow-Canadians, but he or she knows many of them watched the game last night, and all of them know who the Blue Jays are.

CHAPTER THREE

POPULAR SPORT, NATIONALISM AND THE REST-OF-CANADA

While American popular culture is generally understood by Americans both as "given" and as essentially apolitical, Canadian popular culture is, to Canadians, just the opposite: problematic and political.

-- Frank Manning, 1993.¹²⁴

We have seen how the role of sport and nation are used separately as a means by which the power bloc can entrench its interests as the guiding principles of collective "common sense". I now want to discuss the practical validity of discussing the Rest-of-Canada "cultural dilemma" in terms of sport by examining how these two things function in relation to one another. In doing so, I argue that symbolic culture does have a direct effect on the polity of a nation and, despite the pretext that outside of government sponsored realms "the people" get the culture they want, mass culture is the central means by which the Official Nationalist agenda is ingratiated into the social and political priorities of the Rest-of-Canada collective.

It is perplexing that an avowed neo-Marxist such as Benedict Anderson ignores the complexities of hegemony in his theorization of communications, and their relationship to how an imagined community is imagined.¹²⁵ Indeed, it is perplexing that he fails to address important technological

advancements in communications, such as television. But his model of the "imagined community", more than other generally reified concepts of what a nation is or might be, accounts for how economic imperial impositions do affect culture. The dominance of baseball,* "America's favourite past time", as a central cultural imagining and national cultural signifier of contemporary (rest-of-) Canadian life, is the effect of American, monopoly-capitalist hegemony on the systems and practices of Canadian communications. Whereas once the games of lacrosse, curling, Canadian football, and hockey (still tentatively central) might have been considered dominant articulations and signifiers of Canadian culture and important expressions of Canadian enjoyment and cultural imagination -- the game of baseball, which so inextricably symbolizes America, has come not only to replace them as dominant forms of entertainment, but as a central articulation of national pride and sense of being.

This chapter will examine how and why Canadian commercial sport has become such an integral force for continental capitalism and not Cultural Nationalism, and how this force formulates itself through hegemony as opposed to some direct ideological imposition.

* Baseball and the Blue Jays will be examined in some depth in chapter six.

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PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

There is no one, specific, concrete meaning for Rest-of-Canada sport. "Canadian sport" can mean different things to different people. The fact that this paper focusses upon the dominant commercial formations of Canadian sport as a cultural expression of "Canadian-ness" might be considered, like the sports themselves, as being a particular masculine, predominantly white, Central-Canadian reflection of what Canada is. However, this paper does not argue that commercial sport, or that any sport for that matter, functions on some pure representational level, but rather that it embodies and is embedded in a complex set of power relations. Canadian commercial sport both reflects and re-articulates the dominant power relations of Canadian society as a cultural "text." Canadian commercial sports, to rephrase the words of the anthropologist Clifford Geertz in his highly influential work Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight (1972, reprinted 1991):

...provides a metasocial commentary upon the whole matter of assorting human beings into fixed hierarchal ranks and then organizing the major part of collective existence around that assortment. Its function, if you want to call it that, is interpretive: it is a ...[Canadian] reading of ...[Canadian] experience, a story they tell themselves about themselves.¹²⁶

Rest-of-Canadian sport is a text which can be understood as an allegory of Rest-of-Canada culture. Rest-of-Canada sport, to re-work Geertz interpretation of the Balinese cockfight again,

...renders ordinary, everyday experience comprehensible by presenting it in terms of acts and objects which have had their practical consequences removed and been reduced (or if you prefer raised) to the level of sheer appearances, where their meaning can be more powerfully articulated and more exactly perceived.¹²⁷

Canadian commercial sport can be understood as both a metaphor and metonym of Rest-of-Canada identity. That is, Canadian sport represents and is, at the same time, a part of Rest-of-Canada culture; it both represents the distinctiveness of Rest-of-Canadian society and functions as one of the operative distinctions within it.

...art forms generate and regenerate the very subjectivity they pretend only to display. Quartets, still lifes, and cockfights are not merely reflections of pre-existing sensibility analogically represented; they are positive agents in the creation and maintenance of such sensibility.¹²⁸

As such, the meaning of a given text does not reside in the text itself but in the negotiation between the texts and readers. But in proposing this, one must also recognize the limits of the reader's choices.¹²⁹ Canadian commercial sport is structured by, and representative of, the general socio-political predicaments confronting Rest-of-Canada cultural production and identity formation.

These predicaments include, but are not restricted to, the difficulty of creating a national identity formation within a multi-cultural, geographically immense, regionally

and linguistically divided country that borders, and is economically dependent upon the most powerful imperial nation in the Twentieth-Century. If and/or when such identity formations are created, the predicament is compounded by how such formations become relevant in the wake of American cultural domination of the Canadian "mindscape". The cultural significance of sport in 'Rest-of-Canadian' society cannot be separated from the broader debate concerning the Americanization of Canada, previously discussed, but in some ways the debate becomes even more complex.

The Processes of Mis-recognition:

Through a symbiotic process of identification and reflection, and as a part of the complex power relations which inform it, Canadian commercial sport operates not as a site for Cultural Nationalist expression or representation, as one might hope, but more predominantly as a site for continental assimilation (or in other words: Official Nationalist expression and representation.) If the playing and watching of truly unique sports were a dominant element of the modern Canada, sport in this country would clearly be seen to express and reflect the Rest-of-Canada as a "distinct society". However, dominant "Canadian" sport formations are gradually looking and becoming the same

formations which have helped distinguish the United States from other countries. This is but one more example of how Rest-of-Canada's cultural signifiers are being replaced by American ones. It follows that as the signifier becomes American, so too will the sign and, theoretically, so too will the subject of them both.

Compounding this entire process is a specific, modern, phenomenon inherent to spectator sport: the affirmation of collective identity through mass ritual. The emotional and sensual appeal of sport sets it apart from other forms of culture expression. Sport is generally recognized as an important purveyor of cultural meanings and values, but in some ways it is much more than that. It is a social phenomenon which can engender team, sport and, sometimes, community loyalty to such a degree that fan identification and community representation transcend the symbolic and becomes the ontological. That is, sport no longer simply remains a symbol for/of a society, but becomes an intrinsic part of the "way of life" for that society. The source of sport's cultural power is that it is simultaneously real and representational.¹³⁰ From this context it is possible to perceive how a community no longer simply identifies with a team, but the team becomes the community. That is to say, it becomes the dominant shared experience, if not the only way of saying "we" belong together -- "we" have something in

common. It is for this reason that sport is such an important site for the examination and analysis of the contesting formations of national identity .

Through the critical examination of the intertwined, symbiotic processes of identification and reflection, compounded as it is within the phenomenon of "spectator sport", it is possible to see how the formation of Rest-of-Canada identity has been compromised by Official Nationalist desires. Official Nationalist hegemony excorporates the resistive potential of Cultural Nationalism into an affirmation of dominant cultural values, practices and institutions. Consequently, the dominant American presence operating within these practices and institutions transforms the processes of cultural and social identification and reflection into one of "mis-recognition."

Most sociological treatments of sport attempt to reveal the function of sport in the transmission of social norms and values to a society at large. Here "Canadian sport" functions more as a theoretical filter through which to examine the construction of the dominant notion of Canada under the auspices of Official Nationalism, and the attempted emergence of a Rest-of-Canada identity through Cultural Nationalism. And in this way sport and nation become inextricably linked in a common goal.

THE COMMON PURPOSE OF SPORTS AND NATIONS:

There is an historic parallel between the emergence of the nation-state and the formation of sport which suggests they share a common social morphology. Despite the common assumption that they have ancient pasts, both phenomenon are relatively modern, in fact. The perception, however, lends an air of eternal naturalism to these transitory formations. Benedict Anderson cites this perception as one of the major paradoxes in the theorizing of 'nation'. Specifically, he states that: "The objective modernity of nations to the historian's eye vs. their subjective antiquity in the eyes of nationalists."¹³¹

Jean Marie Brohm takes exception with the same issue in the theorizing of sports: "Such mystical conceptions present sport ahistorically, as a transcendent entity, over and above historical periods and modes of production."¹³² In this context, both formations can be understood to be serving common socio-political interests: in particular, those socio-political interests which benefit from the undervaluing of social and historical constructs, as social and historical constructs.

In reality both sport and the nation, as they are known today, share their origins with the advent of industrialization. Both are made possible only within the

context of technological and economic changes that produced modern capitalist societies.

In sport, the limited amount of personal time and lack of available space for play, directly related to the processes of wage labour and urbanization caused by the Industrial Revolution, set the pattern for its development into its present dominant, commercialized state. Correspondingly, Jay Coakley, among others, has connected the industrial development of sport to the commodification processes of capitalist expansionism:

...[O]pportunities for involvement were primarily shaped by the needs of an economy emphasizing mass production and mass consumption. It was out of this context that modern sport emerged.¹³³

Likewise, the modern nation emerged out of the same context. Schlesinger, citing Ernest Gellner, argues that the ramifications of industrialization not only shaped the formation of nations, but it also established a deep relationship between polity and culture:

...[T]he formation of nation-states is the inevitable outcome of processes of centralization set in train by the demands of industrialization, with its concomitant complex division of labour. The impact of industrial forms of production ...results in the reorganization of earlier (agrarian) forms of social organization....The new formation entails "the organisation of human groups into large, centrally educated, culturally homogeneous groups" with the consequences that "Modern man [sic] is not loyal to a monarch or a land or a faith, whatever he may say, but to a culture." By this account "state and culture must now be linked."¹³⁴

It is in sport that the state and culture are inextricably linked. Sport has become the industrialized reflection, and an industrial expression, of a people in an industrialized age.

What these two social and historical formations, sport and nation, share through their common industrial inception is that they are both modern sites of contestation; that is, they are in themselves strategic sites for maintaining or challenging the dominance of a given group. This is best understood as a symbiotic relationship between sport, nation and industrialization. In the following comment by Smith sport could easily be substituted for nationalism, and a third layer of the relationship would emerge:

Nationalism is a sine qua non of industrialization because it provides people with an overriding, easily acquired, secular motivation for making painful changes. National strength and prestige becomes the supreme goal, industrialization the chief means.¹³⁵

Sports' role then, at least in this context, is to engender the people of a community to the national interest, and through it, industrial (capitalist) interests will be served. Sport is, in this way, intrinsically useful to the processes of a national industrial strategy, and to the formation of a collective sense of identity and national purpose in the service of monopoly-capitalism.

OFFICIAL AND OTHER USES OF SPORT:

National identity is a socio-historical construct manifested in, and dependent upon, the apparatuses of culture provided by, but not completely controlled by, the economic elite. Sport is a part of these apparatuses and is also therefore, as stated above, a significant site of contestation. As a symbolic form of representation and identification in which a collective experiences meaning, sport is extremely useful in solidifying a particular notion of national community.

Sport can be highly instrumental in the Official Nationalist agenda of Pan-Canadian political socialization. The viability and success of a particular Canadian political system, both at home and abroad, can be reaffirmed and even celebrated through sport. This type of direct political interest is openly evident in the mission statements of the federal government's official sports body, Canadian Fitness and Amateur Sport:

The federal government "invests" in the sport system for several important reasons.... [S]port forms a part of our national identity and is an expression of our culture and who we are... [Sport] provides opportunities for Canadians in general to observe and share in [the athletes']...pursuit and...celebration and to draw important meanings from their performances.... Finally, the federal government invests to ensure that certain social benefits and objectives are attended to by the sport community, including bilingualism, gender equity, more favorable regional access and ethical conduct of sport.¹³⁶

Through direct financing, the state has more control over what messages are being conveyed through sport. This partially explains why each year, despite constant pressure for economic restraint, the Canadian federal government is willing to "invest" over 75 million dollars in "amateur sports".¹³⁷

International competition, such as the Olympic games, is the most obvious and the most 'official' realm in which sport symbolically represents a nation and gives it meaning, but it is not the only one. Commercial sport in Canadian society has a powerful impact on the symbolic expression and representation of the nation to itself. Commercial sport is an important site for examining Rest-of-Canada imaginary formations, because it is located outside the official realm of state sponsored culture. However, the fact that commercial sport favours American or continental integration, for the maximization of profits, has profound effects upon a Rest-of-Canada as nation conception. It is the formation of Canadian sport within this context, that is central to understanding the Rest-of-Canada identity crisis, and the failure of Cultural Nationalism to become the dominant force for national cohesion.

Despite the general perceptions, commercialized sport represents another, more surreptitious, form of state subsidization of the Official Nationalist message within a

dominant cultural sphere. This subsidization includes tax write-offs for sport team owners and business consumers (tickets as a deductible expense), and publicly financed hand-outs to private industry interested in sport or building sport facilities. This is done, as the rational goes, in order to encourage private investment and foster capital accumulation in Canada. The most notable examples of this form of state subsidy are the federal financing of the Olympic facilities in Montreal and Calgary,* the construction of BC Place in Vancouver and Commonwealth Stadium in Edmonton, and the Ontario government's initial 300 million dollar, and five-year debt financing, of the Canadian corporate and multinational consortium-owned SkyDome. These facilities, among many others, now house, and therefore publicly subsidize, privately owned commercial sport franchises.¹³⁸

* One can also include here the proposed \$80 million reconstruction of the ten-year-old Calgary Saddle Dome as part of the federal government's new National Infrastructure Programme. The money will be used to build exclusive luxury "skyboxes" for hockey's more wealthy patrons. Negotiations presently being made are, reportedly, to insure that all proceeds from the boxes will go directly to the private owners of the Calgary Flames, and not the city.

It is more than ironic that the politically orchestrated, public subsidization of these facilities is instrumental in the production of mass commercial spectacles valorizing the meritocratic, capitalist, elitist, and continentalist values of sport. This valorization is, through the processes of signification, direct association, and cultural inference, extended to society at large. Through these processes, the values of so-called "free enterprise", and the capitalist ethos of the "survival-of-the-fittest", are enshrined as a natural and desirable order for all things (falsely including capitalist-owned, but publicly subsidized, commercial enterprises.)

For instance, within that hallowed shrine to Canadian technological and capitalist accomplishment, the publicly financed Skydome, there is an orchestrated visibility and a preponderance of advertisements acknowledging, if not celebrating, the private-enterprise consortium partners, particularly Labatt Brewery, McDonald's Restaurants and the right-wing "newspaper" (sic) The Toronto Sun, but there is no recognition that the facility only exists because of public finance. In fact, under the terms of ownership provided to the original consortium members, they, and the profitable Blue Jays, are subsidized by the state. This is highly ironic, when one considers the draconian, anti-interventionist, vitriol flowing daily from the pages of The

Toronto Sun. The publicly financed message, which private capital is being subsidized to deliver, is that capital success, like sport success, is natural, fair, and available to all. And therefore, capital excess is the natural and fair reward for those who have it -- and those without it failed to give it "the old college try". The message in other words reinforces the Official Nationalist agenda, as sponsored by continental-capitalist interests.

This form of social and political indoctrination is more hegemonic than the direct political manipulations of Official Nationalism attested to earlier, and therefore it appears a more "natural" and open form of cultural expression and belief. Ultimately, this makes commercial sport a more devastating force to the aspirations of Cultural Nationalism and the struggle for Rest-of-Canada survival. For within the sphere of popular culture Cultural Nationalism should, and can most readily and demonstrably appear as a collective expression of the nation. This is not to dismiss the importance and the potential insights available from other realms of Canadian cultural expression, as Collins has:

How far can generalizations about the consciousness and culture of a society be made on the basis of the society's high culture?...[Gail McGregor, in her The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations In The Canadian Landscape (1985), for instance,] assumes, rather than argues, that culture and *Kulture* are synonymous, and that the Arnoldian forms of literature and painting are adequate indices of collective consciousness.¹³⁹

Popular culture can be considered a more democratic expression of the indices of collective consciousness, but as Collins fails to realize, that does not mean it is entirely constructed outside the exigencies of a specific agenda.

Contemporary popular culture, in and through which the masses are thought to construct their identities and aspirations outside the realm of "official culture", does in fact lie within the hegemonic purview of Official Nationalism. It may appear paradoxical then, that it is also within this purview that Cultural Nationalism appears most visible, and most potent as an alternative or oppositional force. However, this paradox is explained by Raymond Williams as a strategic necessity of on-going hegemonic maintenance and negotiation:

The facts of alternative and oppositional forms of social life and culture, in relation to the effective and dominant culture, have then to be recognized as subject to historical variation, and as having sources which are very significant as a fact about the dominant culture itself...[A]t certain points a dominant culture cannot allow too much of this kind of practice and experience outside itself, at least without risk.¹⁴⁰

This symbiotic/dialectic tension is the core of the relationship between Official and Cultural Nationalism, and it is most readily apparent in Canadian popular culture machinations, such as commercial sport.

It is perhaps easier to appreciate the inter-relationship between the theoretical oppositions suggested, and about to be suggested, in this acaption of Perry Anderson's "explicit set of oppositions."¹⁴¹ Anderson proposes the following as oppositions:

Political Society	Civil Society
Force	Consent
Domination	Hegemony
Violence	Civilization ¹⁴²

To which I would like to add:

Official-Nationalism	Cultural Nationalism
Nation-State	nation (imagined community)
official culture	popular culture
official sport	commercial sport

This is one way of theorizing the divisions and alignments operating in the complex formations of sport and Rest-of-Canada national identity. In reality, the oppositions are not so much contradictory as they are degrees of the same thing. For example, there is no reason for Political Society to employ Force, when Civil Society is maintaining the status quo by Consent. In Olympic sports, for instance, Official Nationalism and sport are functioning together at a near explicit level of political expression, but also as an

integral part of the general hegemonic process. If commercial sport is maintaining hegemonic consent, there is no need for official sport to explicitly reinforce a dominant order. The oppositions are not necessarily situated as either/or propositions.

Canadian Cultural Nationalism, the Rest-of-Canada as a "genuine" imagined community, is and is not a part of Official National hegemony. Cultural Nationalism is a potentially resistive, counterhegemonic entity. However, it is ultimately contained by the hegemonic order it threatens: Official Nationalism. This is achieved by the expropriation of Cultural Nationalist sense of belonging and independence, into the mystifying, continental-capitalist agenda of Official Nationalism. This is partially a result of the confusion created in sharing a common historical and symbolic resource. It is also a direct result of the strategic ability of the power-bloc to maintain an agenda which favours its interests. Resistance to the exploitation of Rest-of-Canada symbolic culture is ultimately contained by the same political and economic forces that control state and capital (Official Nationalism hegemony).

It is the concept of a hegemonically constructed imagined community, as opposed to a reified concept of a nation, which allows for an understanding and acceptance of

the Rest-of-Canada as being both technically American(ized) and decidedly un-American at the same time. It is, however, an element of hegemony that the officially constructed meaning of the Rest-of-Canada is stealthily maintained and politically dominant.

CHAPTER FOUR

"OUR" GAME: HOCKEY

The reflection of certain geographic determinants, at least in the foundation of some sports, inevitably serve to link sports with the questions of nation. There is in fact a discipline of Sport Geography which is dedicated to the examination of the co-relation between these two entities. (See for example John Bale's book Sport Geography, (1989)). For what some would say are obvious geographic and climatic reasons, a winter sport, hockey, has emerged as a quintessential, defining element of Canadian culture. However, this geo-climatic connection between hockey and Canada mystifies the social-historical determinants, and the ideological uses of the game in Canadian society.

Hockey, it has been argued, is the one, if not the only thing that truly transcends linguistic and regional divisions in this country.¹⁴³ When most of the world, perhaps including Canada, ignores Canadian film, art and literature¹⁴⁴ and, indeed, our very political existence, hockey has managed to place us on the world stage as an acknowledged source of excellence, albeit hockey excellence.

As Canada's "national sport", hockey is often positioned and used, at least within the dominant elements of the Canadian consciousness industry, as a source and

focus for national pride and unity. Hockey, it appears, has been universally accepted as "the language which pervades Canada",¹⁴⁵ and celebrated as our "national religion",¹⁴⁶ "our only genuine puberty rite",¹⁴⁷ and "our common passion".¹⁴⁸ Hockey is for various and even, some would argue, quite credible reasons considered to be "Our Game"; as Maclean's magazine recently (April 26, 1993), boldly, and uncritically proclaimed on its front cover, and within its pages (to cite but one example). However, any critical appraisal of who and what controls hockey, and how it is organized and why, reveals that "Our Game" is controlled by a certain "Them". And while hockey does generate a sense of national pride, its dominant commercial formation encourages beliefs which are ultimately responsible for undoing the sense of national identity it helped foster.¹⁴⁹

Associating sport with national pride and prowess is not unusual -- just problematic. It is hard to imagine any large-scale sporting event without the trappings of Official Nationalism, such as flags, anthems and uniforms -- despite contrary declarations about world harmony and unity. Sport is often presented within a context of national ownership: it is our flag, our anthem, our athletes, our team and sometimes our sport.¹⁵⁰ When this national and proprietary articulation is extended to commercial hockey it generates a

false notion of collective control, social consensus and national unity. This, in turn, legitimates the vested interests of the continental-capitalist elite as being integral to the common-good, if not essential to "common sense". It also pushes the alternative values and aspirations of Cultural Nationalists out of the hockey arena -- and it marginalizes those values and aspirations as belonging to a certain, radical, "them".

The notion of "the people" -- which is formulated within the "popular" of popular sport and the "our" of "Our Game" -- is not an ideologically neutral construction. Gruneau, citing Stuart Hall, reiterates two central problems found in the use and conception of this pervasive formation:

First, "the people" exist only as an historical abstraction that can easily have a fetishized character, that is, "the people" can be represented as a conceptual thing having seemingly objective properties that mask real relations of class, gender and race. Second, "the people" can also be employed as an abstraction designed to mobilize individuals by positioning them historically in reactionary ways.¹⁵¹

Hall notes how Margaret Thatcher repeatedly employed the notion of "the people" to justify her own agenda. "The people" are the ones wanting to limit the power of trade unions, for instance.¹⁵² As a contemporary Canadian example, one need only look to Reform Party leader, Preston Manning's repeated assault on public institutions by claiming: "The

Canadian people are fed up with wasteful government spending."¹⁵³ Through the conception, presentation and mythologization of hockey as "Our Game", a similar use and reference to "the people" is being imposed.

As an initial point of contention and focus, one need look no further than the question of national unity implied in the manifestation of hockey as "Our Game". The assumption of a shared, Pan-Canadian vision of "Our Game", and therefore "Our Nation", is not equally received within the "two solitudes." In fact, Quebec nationalists see, and use hockey as a cultural expression of their nationhood as opposed to "ours". As Philip Corrigan states: "Despite massive efforts to anchor and stabilize their meaning in advance, cultural productions are only made meaningful in specific contexts of use..."¹⁵⁴ The context of use, and the meaning of hockey, changes as it moves from the Rest-of-Canada to Quebec.

In the preface to his play, Les Canadiens (1977), Rick Salutin addresses the point of the shifting significance and meaning of hockey within the Two Canadas, when he writes:

In English-speaking Canada, hockey sometimes seems to be the sole assurance that we have a culture. That is something never in question in Quebec.¹⁵⁵

And Michael Ignatieff, in Blood and Belonging (1993), laments the dilemma of the two nations sharing this game, but not its nationalist meaning.

I have hockey in common with Dennis [a Quebecois], as any Canadian does....I sit watching him... wondering, finally, why I feel such fierce separation from a Canadian scene which is just as much mine as it is his. We share all these things, and yet we don't....We play the same game, in the same arenas and we cannot quite connect....[W]hat exactly is it that people must share if they are to live together in a political community[?]....[O]ne can sit in a hockey arena...and wish...we did actually love the same nation and not merely cohabit the same state.¹⁵⁶

The notion of hockey as Our Game is a constructed one, not a real or natural one as is often suggested. And the ideological impetus operating behind this construction reveals why commercial hockey is ultimately useless as a genuine force for national unity.

The constructed notion of "Our Game" functions predominantly as a part of Official Nationalist hegemony. Linguistic and regional divisions of Canadian society may indeed be "transcended" by the game of hockey; but that transcendence is used to mystify a corporate and continental-capitalist ideology which is articulated through the dominant (commercial) formations of the game. And consequently, as the expansion of market ideology into hockey has grown, the game has gradually acquired the features of industrial factory production which include

... a strict division of labour, specialized positions, the enactment of efficient, repetitive, standardized tasks, a preoccupation with maximum output and an obsession with making profits by owners and players.¹⁵⁷

Athletes and teams no longer represent their villages or towns; rather, they represent corporate ethics, such as efficiency, productivity, performance, winning, perfection, and individualism.¹⁵⁸ As the commodity market of players and teams becomes an even more celebrated aspect of the game the notion of communal representation becomes highly suspect. And perhaps the most suspect element of all is the mystification of ownership. Canadians do not own or have control over "Our Game" someone else does.

The historical development of hockey is an illustration of an all too familiar refrain concerning the influence and control of American capital over the cultural institutions of this country. Indeed the history of Canadian sport, like much of the history of the country itself, is a blueprint for the cultural effects of dependency economics. Despite much of its nationalist baggage, hockey functions as a cultural branch plant of the American entertainment industry, and ideologically legitimates that role for all Canadian industries. The history of Canadian sport demonstrates the ineffectuality of the state apparatus in the assertion and protection of the cultural autonomy of its people, when that apparatus has been all but usurped by monopoly capitalism.

The "Them" who perpetuate the myth of the "our" in "Our Game" are of course the private owners of commercial hockey. They are mostly, but not necessarily, Americans, but the term Americanization will, once again, suffice as a shorthand. However, this elision of Americanism with commercialism is more than just an instrument for brevity. The American domination of hockey has its origins with the initial impetus towards the commercialization of the sport. After the game became a commercially viable entity, the nature of Canadian economic dependency made the American control of the game somewhat inevitable. In his co-authored book, The Death of Hockey, (1972), and elsewhere, Bruce Kidd critically examines how the "entrepreneurs" of commercial hockey basically conspired amongst themselves to establish monopolies (a one seller's market) for Canadian hockey loyalty, and monopsonies (a one buyer's market) for players' skills. The teams and the players essentially went to the entrepreneurs with the deepest pockets, who were mostly Americans. Hockey, of course, was widely played and very popular all across Canada, and was thus an easy object for commercialization. Kidd and Macfarlane sum-up the commercial evolution of hockey in this way: "As with so many of our resources, the sellout of hockey was the inevitable consequence of our proximity to the United States, and our cheap faith in free enterprise."¹⁵⁹

"OUR" HISTORY

Contrary to the selected, historicized, image postulated by the National Hockey League (NHL), and reinforced by the dominant Canadian media, there is nothing particularly original about the NHL's "Original Six": Montreal, Toronto, Detroit, Chicago, Boston and New York. The notion of the Original Six mythologizes the ascendancy of the privatized, commercialized, centralized, Americanized version of hockey as the historical origin of the game. But, in fact, the original five teams of the NHL hailed from three small Ontario towns, Cobalt, Renfrew and Haileybury, and two from Montreal.¹⁶⁰ Well before 1893, when the Governor General, Lord Stanley, donated a trophy for the Canadian national championship, hockey had been widely played right across Canada. In 1856, the Winnipeg Victorias became the first team from Western Canada to win the Stanley Cup. And Between 1900 and 1913, three Nova Scotia teams tried unsuccessfully to win the Cup in the finals. In 1904 the Brandon Manitoba Wheat Kings just lost the Stanley Cup final to the Ottawa Silver Seven. And in 1905, the Dawson City Nuggets, from Dawson City, Yukon, made a 26-day journey by dog-sleigh, rail and ship to Ottawa, to challenge the Ottawa Silver Seven for the Stanley Cup and lost.¹⁶¹

Professional hockey expanded across Canada in the early part of the Twentieth-Century. As late as 1925, there were two other Canadian regional professional leagues, the Pacific Coast Hockey Association and the Western Canada Hockey Association, competing with the NHL for players, profits and prestige as well as the Stanley Cup. Top level hockey was available in most of the major centers from Quebec city to Victoria. With some apprehension of over-romanticizing what was still essentially the commercial origins of hockey today, one can claim that hockey, at this time, was a unique, Pan-Canadian site of focus, exchange, and pride.

However, the measure of success of any commercial sport enterprise is, of course, not based on the performance of players or success of teams, or the proliferation of the game around the country, but rather it is based on the financial rewards for its owners. The essence of commercial sport is the production of profit, not competition. With a capitalist propensity for controlled expansion, and thus more profit, the owners of the NHL teams decided to look for larger, richer, markets in which to sell their product. This of course meant expansion into the United States. Through the obvious direct economic advantages of increasing the size of their market, and thus their revenue, expansion into the United States positioned NHL owners to take

complete control over hockey in Canada. This control ultimately extended to every level of hockey in Canada, from the youngest amateurs to the seasoned professionals. By 1928, the NHL could dictate not only who could play the game for money, but also how the game was played, how many players were on a team, where teams were to be located, what professional team a thirteen-year-old boy "belonged" to (up until 1967);¹⁶² and, essentially, how much any particular player was worth and would be paid.

The NHL accomplished this by tapping into the larger, more affluent, geographically more accessible cities of the American north-east and mid-west. In doing this, the NHL entrenched itself as the dominant market for players' skills. By attracting the best hockey talent in Canada, the survival of the irksome rival leagues quickly became suspect. The NHL destroyed its competition, and no longer had to compete with anyone for players or audience. This, of course, adds a layer of irony to the way in which even today commercial sporting formations valorizes capitalist "principles", such as open and fair competition, when they in no way practice them in reality.

Unlike in Canada, hockey was not, and to a degree is still not (relatively speaking), a widely played game in the United States. Hockey's dominant in-roads into the United

States were, and remain, founded upon spectacle rather than participation, marketing rather than demand, Display rather than Play. Originally, to sell hockey in the United States it was necessary to "...ignor[e] hockey's grace, speed, and finesse [and] emphasize its violence."¹⁶³ In an ironic contrast to this, contemporary attempts at "gentrifying" the game are being pursued for the same reasons:

...it is especially notable how the NHL's current pursuit of new markets are leading it to move away, albeit haltingly, from the "Canadian" tradition of toughness and aggressive masculinity that have long occupied a privileged place at the core of the hockey subculture.¹⁶⁴

The selling of hockey in Florida, California and Texas is predicated upon an emphasis of the "curiosity factor", in the hopes of acquiring a lucrative national television contract in the United States. The awarding of the new Anaheim team to the Walt Disney Company, the subsequent naming of the team after the children's film The Mighty Ducks, and in Florida*, the hiring of Manon Rheaume, the first woman ever to play professional hockey, as a publicity stunt, is indicative of how the symbolic significance,

* A humorous demonstration of 'hockey culture shock' occurred when a knowledgeable fan, visiting Tampa Bay, threw his hat on the ice to salute the very first three goal effort by a Tampa Bay player. Unfortunately, the security guards had never heard of a "hat trick" and threw the fan out for disrupting the game.

distinction and unifying potential of "Canada's national game" has been abandoned to the opportunistic whims and desires of monopoly-capitalism.

Historically, this process began in 1924, when commercial hockey was exported into the United States by the NHL. Though hockey has been celebrated, by some, as "our most successful cultural export,"¹⁶⁶ what Canada got in return has rarely been examined. In 1924, a Boston millionaire wanted to utilize a dormant arena in his home town so he bought a hockey team. Despite having a dismal season on the ice, the result was an economic success at the box office. The following year, another American millionaire, inspired by the success of hockey in Boston, bought the Hamilton Tigers and moved them to New York City. Hamilton's loss was precipitated by the fact that the players were locked in a salary dispute and refused to play the championship game.¹⁶⁷ As a means of destroying the development of a players' union, which might have emerged quickly if commercial hockey had remained in the confined Canadian market, the new owner quickly moved the team to New York and called it the "Americans". He honoured most, but not all of the player's contracts, after they had paid the league's hefty \$200 fine for their part in the dispute -- confirming once and for all who, in fact, actually owned the game. And, once again, despite a dismal season on the ice,

hockey was an economic success at an American box office. Very soon after, the NHL awarded franchises to Chicago, Detroit and another to New York city.

Hockey's expansion into the United States quickly marked the end of top level hockey for the less affluent, more geographically dispersed, and less populated Canadian cities, outside of Montreal and Toronto. In 1926, the Edmonton Journal reported that, despite a dismal record on the ice: "New York pro hockey outdrew the combined attendance of any four cities of the Western Hockey League."¹⁶⁸ That very same year, just two years after the introduction of the first American team into the NHL, every professional team west of Ottawa folded. The Western Canada Hockey League could not compete with the new American dominated NHL. As a last grasp for profit, the owners of the western teams sold their best players to the highest American bidders in the NHL, split the profits, and disbanded the league in 1926. For the men who actually played the game, the numbers of games played nearly doubled, from twenty-four to forty-four, as average salaries declined.¹⁶⁹

In 1927, the Toronto team, the St. Patrick's, was about to be sold and moved to Philadelphia until the intervention of Conn Smythe. Conn Smythe, drawing heavily upon national

pride and public sentiment, convinced the St. Patrick's ownership to accept his lesser offer to keep the team in Toronto. In recognition of its new national significance, as most teams were now American, the team's name was changed to the more patriotic sounding "Maple Leafs". In other words, as the game became less Canadian, the symbolic rhetoric intensified to obscure this fact.

The Ottawa Senators were not as fortunate as the Maple Leafs. Ottawa was unable to compete with the salaries American teams offered players, nor could it afford to build, what was perceived to be the new necessity, a large artificial ice arena.¹⁷⁰ The Senators were moved to St. Louis, and renamed the Eagles in 1934,¹⁷¹ and did not re-emerge in Ottawa until nearly sixty-years later. Even this re-emergence appears somewhat tentative, as market forces similar to those that controlled hockey in the 1920's¹⁷² begin to take their toll on the smaller Canadian cities in the NHL.

"Consumer Sovereignty"

Commercial hockey in Canada today, even with the presence of more Canadian teams in the NHL, is still subservient to the whims of American capital concerns and dictates. In fact, for the first time, all top executive

positions in the NHL are held by Americans, and as one observer has commented: "The league is now run by men who have never laced-on skates!"¹⁷³

The most recent and direct implication this type of American stewardship has on Canadian cultural formations can be seen in the refusal of the NHL to allow Glen Anderson to play for Canada's 1994 Olympic hockey team. The NHL would not release Anderson for the Games, despite the contractual agreement he had reached with the Toronto Maple Leafs, and despite a sizable out-cry on the part of the Canadian public, the national media, and by some politicians. This is similar to other incidents in the past, most notably the refusal of the NHL to allow Bobby Hull, or other WHA players, on the 1972 Team Canada roster. And as Gruneau and Whitson argue, this illustrates

...the NHL's continued hold over Canadian hockey, as well as the unwillingness of its largely U.S.-based owners to make any sacrifice to a "national interest" that they perceive as counter to their own commercial interests.¹⁷⁴

In contrast, one can only imagine the swiftness of the NHL's reversal of policy if a United States senator had appeared in the offices of the NHL commissioner, with television cameras and a young hockey fan clutching a petition in tow, requesting the release of an American

player to play for the United States Olympic team.*

Within the NHL hierarchy, the Canadian market is taken as a "given", and public complaints about league affairs are apparently treated with little concern. The NHL is transfixed with the idea of creating and establishing an American market, and landing a lucrative American network television contract. For instance, during the 1993 Stanley Cup Play-offs games, scheduled almost a year in advance and for which the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) had advertised and scheduled, nine games were switched to different days and times in short notice. This was done to accommodate an American network television market test. In the context of what is known as "consumer power", the greater, the more affluent, or indeed in this case, the more *finicky* the consumers, the more "power" they possess. This means that American audiences and their tastes dictate more about "Our Game" than Canadian audiences can ever hope.

The American control and dictation over commercial hockey can be partially explained by what might best be referred to as the ten-percent rule. The ten-percent rule refers to the proportional size of Canada's population in relation to the

* Liberal Member of Parliament, John Nunziata, did just this with a young constituent from his riding who had gathered several thousand names on a petition for Glen Anderson.

United States, and how it is used to justify American domination of cultural formations, particularly those aspiring for continental acceptance. Within the capitalist system, the standardized qualities of a product are dictated by an accommodation to the largest possible market. Within such a system, Canada is forever consigned to accept American popular culture formations and demands as its own, because Canada does not have the population base to dictate taste cost effectively. In hockey this means, among other things, that the so-called, "small market teams", which are all, incidently, Canadian teams, are continually threatened with the removal of the franchise to a larger (American) market, unless their owners receive more public subsidy. For obvious reasons most of these teams find it financially difficult to compete for players with the larger market teams. And, as in the case of the infamous "L'affaire Lindros", even some players now refuse to sign with these teams for fear of losing potential endorsement money.

The situation in Hamilton, a city which could conceivably support an NHL franchise due to its regional population density, and proximity to Toronto, the Canadian financial metropole and "hockey Mecca", appears to be a matter of American parochial taste, rather than the size of market. Hamilton has been repeatedly denied an NHL

franchise, despite the fact that the city had, according to many observers, the best application in the 1992 expansion bid. It also already had a brand new, seventeen-thousand seat hockey arena with the obligatory "skyboxes", and a population base of knowledgable, avid, hockey fans who had pre-bought every season ticket available. Despite this, Hamilton has been repeatedly denied a team.

In the past few years expansion teams have been granted to four American cities instead: San Jose, Tampa Bay, Anaheim and Miami. These cities are all located in the burgeoning American south and have, or had, substandard playing facilities, no tradition of playing hockey, little fan knowledge, and small interest in the game or even in the awarding of the franchise. A hockey market, in the lexicon of the time, has to be created in these cities, because none genuinely exists.

It should be noted that Ottawa was also granted a franchise during this period of expansion. Some observers believed this was an appeasement to Canadian interests. It has also been suggested that an Ottawa team would be palatable to American audiences because the city might be recognized as the Canadian capital. Hamilton, like Regina before it, is considered, it seems, unsaleable to the American buying public -- and therefore unworthy of professional hockey in a continental marketplace.

"Our Game" is only ours in a very limited *felt* sense, not in an actual productive way. Like Cultural Nationalism itself, the sense of "belonging" to hockey is irreducible and intangible, but it does still exist. Unfortunately, the more tangible, more flashy and less complex imitation of these feelings are easily offered through Official Nationalist (commercial) stratagems, but in the end they only foster beliefs that ultimately undo the sense of national identity they propose to create.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE "ART" OF CANADIAN FOOTBALL

We hope we have taken commercialism out of sport by taking commercialism for granted. With no financial problems, we can concentrate on Olympic ideals. If you are struggling for money, then you will probably struggle for ideals too.

-- Andrew Young, former mayor of Atlanta,
commenting on the awarding of the 1996
Olympics to that city. 175

So far I have discussed some of the ways in which the Canadian commercial sports industry has transformed a genuine and potentially liberating form of cultural expression into a commodified celebration of continental corporate logic. I have argued that commercial sport helps "naturalize" corporate (continental) logic, by glorifying it within a context strongly associated with community representation and the pursuit of the collective good. And through this process, the values inherent to the success of commercial sport are offered as the new "criteria of achievement" to the community as a whole. This new criteria is in fact a method for entrenching consumerist ideology and is embodied in the structural shift in emphasis from Play to Display in commercial sport. I have examined how this shift affects the cultural and political aspirations of a nation, like the Rest-of-Canada, which shares a language, and a technologically pervious border, and is economically

dependent upon a country with a consumer base ten-times its size. I have explained how such an unequal consumptive relationship creates unequal power relationships, particularly, in this case, in the processes of forming a "meaning" for a nation. My analysis has sought to establish that Benedict Anderson's concept of the nation as an imagined community best explains how non-direct imperial impositions, such as the "Americanization of Canada", do have a real effect on the polity of a nation. This effect, I argue, is to be understood in terms of the hegemonic construction of the imagined community and not in terms of a physical and/or ideological imposition. I have used hockey as a key example of how commercial sport incorporates the continental-consumerist agenda of the power-bloc into the agenda of the nation as a whole -- and in so doing, the extension of corporate values into the public sphere seems natural, logical and beneficial.

At this point I want to shift the perspective a little to examine why Official Nationalist (read: continental capitalist) hegemony has succeeded, and why Cultural Nationalism has failed to establish itself as the dominant hegemonic force. If 'Rest-of-Canada' identity is constituted in its antithetical relationship to American culture, why has it not formed its own hegemonic order in

Canada -- instead of functioning as a counterhegemonic force within Official Nationalist hegemony? In other words, why is it that despite the strong basis and orchestrated movements for an independent Canada, Canadians have so evidently and enthusiastically embraced that which is American? Sport proves to be an eminently useful tool for examining this question, because, unlike in other cultural spheres, Canadians, it appears, have a choice between American sports and Canadian ones. A choice, as we shall see, that is somewhat limited by the options made available, but a choice all the same.

Canadian Cultural Nationalism is not necessarily defined by, or confined to, questions of American content in Canadian art, television, or sports. The defence of Canadian symbolic culture is, as Ramsay Cook points out, instrumental to Culture Nationalists' desires to "preserve, or develop, a set of social or cultural values that will guarantee Canadian distinctiveness from the United States."¹⁷⁶ The defence of Canadian symbolic culture perpetuates the already discussed, left-of-centre inclinations of Cultural Nationalism. Canadian Cultural Nationalists have successfully managed to appropriate the "national" into what Collins calls "a broadly non-market, statist system of values differentiated from rival values labelled as 'foreign' and usually American."¹⁷⁷ These rival

values are, of course, identifiably right-of-centre, monopoly-capitalist and continental. But if this is the case, why has Canada been, and why is it increasingly becoming such a strongly definable free enterprise society? What has happened to the statist values Cultural Nationalist appropriated?

If, as most Cultural Nationalists argue, Rest-of-Canada can be distinguished by its left-of-centre values, in contrast to the right-of-centre values of its American co-relevant, it would seem logical that Canada would be developing, as opposed to dismantling, what Herschel Hardin calls our "public enterprise culture" (culture as a particular way-of-life is what is meant here). However, with the growing harmonization of Canadian and American monetary, tax and social policies, particularly through the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Canadian culture, in its broad sense, is becoming less differentiated from American culture, in its broad sense. After all, "Free Trade is a code word for privatization and liberalization; it's Thatcherism through the back door."¹⁷⁸ And, as Clarkson has stated, "Free Trade is the slogan of hegemonic imperial economies."¹⁷⁹ Its acceptance in Canada can be read as acceptance of the same values once thought

antithetic to a 'Rest-of-Canada' existence. In fact, Ramsay Cook argues that "only when Canada has developed a distinctive way of life, or culture in the broad sense, would it produce culture in the more restricted sense of works of imagination and intellect."¹⁸⁰ Canada appears to be heading in the opposite direction.

The answers to these questions can be partially determined and explained by examining how each separate force of nationalism approaches the subject of sport differently. Such an examination will reveal two central points instrumental to the success of the Official Nationalist agenda over the Cultural Nationalist one: first, Cultural Nationalists have predominantly limited their interest in culture to aspects of elitist culture, including film and certain areas of television programming, at the expense of its more popular realms such as sport; second, Official Nationalist have dominated the popular realm, and more importantly, in the process they have managed to collapse the two central concepts of culture into one. By controlling the symbolic concept of culture, they now control the larger concept of culture as well. These ideas need to be explored further.

The unequal power relations of Canadian capitalist social structure have systematically marginalized sport,

from the realm of what is hegemonically deemed to be of legitimate "cultural value". Though sport is part of Canadian symbolic culture, it is not part of elite culture. Within the dominant cultural hierarchy, sport is not considered to be as important as art. Sport, it is claimed, does not possess certain civilized qualities which constitute the elite formations of symbolic culture. Nor does it have the intellectual tradition, or sense of higher pursuit associated with other serious aspects of culture.

The contrast between sport and culture in the artistic sense, is probably best understood in relation to the word "nature". Sport is closely aligned with the concept of nature, by virtue of its emphasis and reliance on the body; the concept of artistic culture is dominantly conceived of as a "...progress away from the state of nature."¹⁸¹ In this sense it is the body which banishes sport from the world of art, and until recently, made it unworthy of intellectual pursuit. The low value ascribed to the body, can be attributed to its connotations with labour, subsistence and utilitarianism. Whereas "high-culture" celebrates the civilized refinements of non-productive leisure activity, sport demonstratively emphasizes the work involved in leisure -- and is thus systematically deemed inferior to bourgeois cultural manifestations within a hegemonic capitalist society.

It is precisely for these reasons that the realm of popular sport has been abandoned to the whims of capitalist exigencies. This also partially explains why an otherwise vociferous community of Canadian nationalists have been all but mute about the continentalization of the Canadian sport landscape. The dominance of baseball and the rapid expansion of hockey into the United States, followed now by Canadian Football, are all prime, visible, contemporary examples of the Americanization, and direct American control, of Canadian culture -- but the sphere of popular culture has been abandoned by nationalists as irrelevant, or already lost.

The general antipathy of the national(ist) intelligentsia towards sport is demonstrated most clearly in recent developments concerning the Canadian Football League (CFL). Specifically, in 1993 the CFL expanded its operations into the United States, almost without a single nationalist whimper. The CFL is one of the oldest cultural institutions in Canada. It has a strong established heritage, of generating regional and city to city contact, interchange and rivalry. The national annual championship, the Grey Cup game, is, with very few exceptions, consistently viewed by more Canadians than any other television programme. The Grey Cup "classic", and the

celebrations surrounding it have been proclaimed by its supporters, promoters and even its detractors as a vehicle and focus for national unity.¹⁸² Bruce Kidd, though critical of the CFL in general, places the game's national significance into one commonly held perspective when he asks: "Can Canada really be Canada without the Grey Cup?"¹⁸³ But, with few exceptions, most notably by Liberal Member of Parliament Lloyd Axworthy, the expansion of the league into the United States was dismissed by nationalist forces as irrelevant. The almost uniform consensus in Canadian newspaper editorials was that the move was lamentable, but a justifiable part of *doing business*. The New Democratic Party's cultural critic, John Brewin, dismissed the issue by saying: "I can't imagine very many issues in which I would have no comment but this is it....[I] don't care one bit."¹⁸⁴ And Canadian critical and cultural journals completely ignored the issue, including such erstwhile nationalist magazines as This and The Canadian Forum.

THE COLLAPSE OF BASE AND SUPERSTRUCTURE

The privileged place given to some forms of culture as opposed to others, or indeed to some forms of sport and not others, does not develop naturally, but is the result of the unequal distribution of resources in the on-going struggle over which particular vision of a people will prevail. The

fact that Cultural Nationalists have all but abandoned the popular to the whims of capital, indicates a strategic flaw in the larger struggle for a more even distribution of those resources. In embracing a restricted "superstructural" notion of culture, Cultural Nationalists have relinquished their potential to influence the "base." Meanwhile, Official Nationalists have appropriated the popular, and have managed to set the agenda for the "base" by virtue of its control over "superstructure".

Without falling into the deterministic trap of relying on one-to-one correspondence between base and superstructure, as has been discussed and dismissed earlier, it is necessary to examine the ways in which hegemonic capitalism has essentially abolished the distinction between the two stratifications of "culture."¹⁸⁵ In Dependency Road: Communications, Capitalism, Consciousness and Canada (1981) Dallas Smythe proposes that capitalist structures of mass communications have created, what he calls an "audience commodity". This audience commodity is a contemporary site for the production and reproduction of cultural meaning and value, and as such, argues Smythe, it represents the collapse of base and superstructure.

The base/superstructure dichotomy as currently accepted is ahistorical and unrealistic. Evidence of its unrealism is the fact that the mass media of communications which Marxists tend to place in the "superstructure" when they notice them at all, are a principal part of the "base." This is so because their *principal* product is audiences which perform a materially productive service in accomplishing the mass marketing of mass-produced consumer goods and services.¹⁸⁶

The audience commodity is sold to advertisers who wish to influence it -- but the audience is the product being sold, not the advertisers' message.

The audience therefore is not a passive consumer of 'culture' or ideology, but an active producer of it. In this way it is the audience which produces its own consciousness (superstructure), and not the base. But, argues Smythe, the "...Consciousness Industry produces a particular kind of human nature or consciousness, focussing its energies on the consumption of commodities."¹⁸⁷ The core "consciousness" produced and reproduced through what Smythe calls "audience power" is the ideology of consumerism. In short, the collective consumption of Americanized sports, brought about by the American ownership of Canadian games, and/or by the inundation of American sport in Canadian media, enables the audience to reproduce the conditions for the legitimation of Canadian economic dependency. Dependency becomes an extension of consumerists' logic, within the consciousness of the audience. Culture

(symbolic) and culture (anthropologic) become one as the site of reproduction -- as opposed to production -- becomes the paramount site of struggle.

By forming itself into an identifiable and serviceable audience commodity the Canadian sports fan, for instance, has made itself, and the national, available for appropriation or re-appropriation into continental capitalist hegemony. In exchange for consuming the cost effective cultural goods of continental capitalism, which intrinsically contain ten times the production value of a comparable Canadian national good, the audience commodity not only agrees to be influenced by continental consumerist dogma, but it also systematically produces the conditions for the legitimation of this form of cultural dependency, and in a way which appears beneficial. Consequently, Cultural Nationalist aspirations are dismissed as non-conducive with consumerist logic. In this way, it is the audience itself which introduces continental consumerist ideology into otherwise non-economic spheres of (symbolic) culture and (anthropologic) culture.

But far from being a process of manipulation, Smythe claims that the 'audience commodity' can be the major opposition to capitalism, replacing organized labour and other progressive formations. "For, in inventing the mass

media and the mass audience as its principle protagonist, monopoly capitalism has created its chief potential antagonist in the capitalist core area."¹⁸⁸ Audience members are expected to perform for the advertisers to whom they have been sold. They are expected to buy goods and services and/or public opinion and political candidates, and to spend their income accordingly.

In short, they work to create the demand for advertised goods which is the purpose of the monopoly-capitalist advertisers....While people do their work as audience members they are simultaneously reproducing their own labour power....But in reproducing their labour power, workers respond to other realistic conditions which may on occasion surprise and disappoint the advertisers.¹⁸⁹

This opposition should not be confused with the capitalist myth of "consumer sovereignty" and there so-called "freedom of choice." Rather, it reflects the potential of the audience commodity to recognize and come to terms with the inherent contradictions of capitalism.

...[I]n producing their own labour power, audience members experience the dialectical tension between their two "faces," i.e., that which deals with their work as audience members in choosing brands and candidates, and that which deals with their non- or anticapitalist values in living and raising children.¹⁹⁰

I would like to suggest here, with a reference to Canadian football, that this dialectical tension has manifested itself as a form of Canadian national

consciousness. That is to say, there is a struggle between the work Canadian audiences do in consuming American commercial sport, and their desire to belong to a genuine national community. One must be careful not to romanticize the CFL as some authentic cultural artifact, corrupted by American capitalist ideology; Canadian capitalists have profited and exploited the role of football in Canada through the CFL since its inception. However, certain allegiances are declared when a person or an audience chooses one league, like one team, over another. When that choice is between an American league, like the NFL, and a Canadian league, like the CFL, the allegiance becomes, at least partially, nationalistic.

The tension generated by the incredible media inundation of NFL football in Canada, along with the possible demise of the CFL, and more recently the expansion of the league into the United States, is hard to demonstrate in empirical terms. The opposition to these developments in Canadian football appears most readily at the grassroots level, and outside of official channels. It can be seen in letters to the editor, heard on radio talk-shows, and in bars, as Canadian football fans vehemently defend "their" version of the game -- against what appears to be all logic.

One of the most revealing demonstrations of nationalist resistance on the part of the Canadian football audience commodity is the popularity and proliferation of two unofficial buttons worn in every CFL stadium in Canada. One reads: "The CFL Is Doing Swell -- The NFL Can Go To Hell.". The other simply states: "Keep the C in the CFL." These buttons reflect some of the oppositional ardour of the Canadian audience commodity which must dialectically struggle between the "consumptive logic" of Canadian football's expansion into the United States, and/or the arrival of the NFL in Canada, and the desire to have some control or relation to the cultural manifestations which inform their lives.

It can be argued that Canadian football, prior to its American expansion, has survived in spite of mass communications and the domination of consumerist ideology, and not because of it. Though Canadian football does have national television exposure, unlike other major commercial sport enterprises it predominantly relies upon gate receipts to survive. The fact is, television is perhaps more responsible for its current state as a "beleaguered" continental business endeavour, than any other single contributing factor. Mass communication has brought with it the onslaught of National Football League (NFL) football.

NFL football is available on a total of seven networks^{*} in Canada, compared to only two for the CFL. In Toronto, "Canada's only all sports radio station", FAN 1430, carried a total of 36 NFL games in 1993, compared to only one CFL game (The Grey Cup game). Continental-wide media coverage of NFL boxscores, "hi-lites" and off-the-field stories flood Canadian homes, compared to negligible and solely Canadian media coverage of similar areas of the CFL. When the CFL is discussed in Canadian media, it is often done in disparaging tones with references to the CFL as "minor league", "cash-strapped" and "beleaguered."¹⁹¹ In fact, as Reginald Bibby points out, when one considers the forces that the CFL is up against, it is not surprising that the league is in a precarious state; rather, "...the shocker is [that] there is any league at all."¹⁹²

Bibby's statistical research into Canadian "teen trends", which is also the title of his co-authored book, shows that Canadian teenagers are opting for American heroes in every sphere of their lives. Their favourite athlete (Michael Jordan), their favourite television programme (Beverly Hills 90210), their favourite music group (Guns N' Roses), their favourite author (Stephen King), their

ABC, NBC, CBS, ESPN, TNT and the "Canadian" Networks GLOBAL and TSN.

favourite news person (Dan Rather), their favourite politician (George Bush) are all American. But as Bibby points out, there is one Canadian institution that has managed to stay up with the American competition -- the Canadian Football League. The national average for teenagers who say they closely follow the NFL is 26 per cent; those who say they closely follow the CFL is only slightly behind at 22 per cent.¹⁹⁴ In his 1990-91 survey of adult Canadians the CFL fared even better: 16 per cent said they follow the CFL closely, and 11 per cent said they follow the NFL closely.¹⁹⁵

The "success", if one can call it that, of the CFL in these terms, and in this otherwise overbearing continental context, reflects the potential of Cultural Nationalist sentiment to affirm its aspirations despite the dominant imposition of continental consumerist ideology. Robert Stebbins allusively ponders the dilemma of whether to celebrate the CFL's survival or mourn its sorry state in an article appropriately titled: "Ambivalence At The Fifty-five Yard Line."¹⁹⁶ The persistent survival of the CFL reflects a dialectical tension between what Canadians are being asked to be (good continental consumers), and what they want to be (an imagined community).

In spite of this optimistic reading, which remains valid within the context described, the CFL, as a Canadian cultural institution, is for all intents and purposes now dead. The Canadian audience commodity, despite the possibilities within the dialectical tension described, has once again embraced "the American" at the sake of the Canadian. We must further explore the reasons for this.

Defining Rest-of-Canada Out Of Existence

See, the Grey Cup still means something to Canadians. if only those living west of Portage and Main. Its a *Canadian thing*. Toronto wouldn't understand.
[Emphasis added]

--Rosie DiManno, Toronto Star,
November, 30, 1992.

At the level of ordinary consciousness the individual is the centre of everything, surrounded on all sides by what he or she isn't.

Northrop Frye₁₉₇

As discussed in Chapter Two, Canadian Cultural Nationalism has attempted to define the Rest-of-Canada, in opposition to the United States and in response to dominant "American Culture"; Official Nationalism, as a fundamental instrument of continental capitalism embraces "Americanization" as natural, logical and profitable. I now want to demonstrate that the overall success of the Official Nationalist social and economic agenda is a result of its

use of the ubiquitous presence of American popular culture as a defining element of what Canada is today. Contrary to this, Cultural Nationalism has failed to consolidate its power base because it has, for the most part, ignored the realm of popular culture and has attempted to define Rest-of-Canada in historicized, residual and static terms -- or, more importantly, in negative relation to the (American) popular culture which is so much a part of its own cultural fabric. As Rest-of-Canada begins to look and function more and more like the society it is being defined against in Cultural Nationalist terms, the Official Nationalist version of Rest-of-Canada becomes the only recognizable, and therefore sensible version for the audience commodity to identify with. In other words, by defining Rest-of-Canada in opposition to Americanization, Cultural Nationalism has essentially defined Rest-of-Canada out of existence.

To see how this hypothesis relates to the subject of Canadian sport, it is useful to examine it in terms of what Žižek calls the "Nation-Thing".¹⁹⁸ The processes of representation and identification inherent in the formative and productive processes of sport, transforms the concept of Canadian sport into something more than simply another national feature, symbol, or cultural signifier. Canadian sport is not just one of many active variations upon the 'Mountie' or the Maple Leaf. It is much more than that. It

is in fact a form of national enjoyment. And membership in the national community is about having a shared relationship to the things "we" enjoy -- that is the Nation-Thing.

The concept of the Nation-Thing is central to Žižek's dissertation upon the processes of national identity and racism, which was derived by Žižek from the psychoanalysis of Jacques Lacan. Considering the Canadian preoccupation with the subject of identity, it should come as no surprise that Žižek and Lacan prove imminently useful to this discussion on Canada, identity and Cultural Nationalism. This is particularly true in light of Lacan's conception of the "mirror phase", and the notion of sport as a cultural reflection. The Nation-Thing in its simplest form is the collective recognition of a "...visible and unique way a community organizes its enjoyment."¹⁹⁹ Or simpler yet, it is "enjoyment incarnated."²⁰⁰ For obvious reasons, sport appears to be a legitimate formation in which to examine this theoretical proposition. However, sport by no means can be seen as the whole of the Nation-Thing. As Žižek states, the Nation-Thing itself ultimately resists definition and symbolic reduction. Canadian sport functions as an allegory, a representation of the abstract meaning of the Rest-of-Canada Nation-Thing.

Central to its theoretical formation is that the Nation-Thing, like Rest-of-Canada identity (if not Rest-of-Canada itself), exists only insofar as its subjects believe it exists. That is to say, there is no "authentic", trans-historical Canadian identity or culture -- or for that matter sport -- to be found. Despite some Cultural Nationalists' claims to the contrary, Canadian identity, or Rest-of-Canada identity, has no fixed meaning. There is no idyllic, pre-industrial, essentialized past for Canadian identity to return to. Its formation, as it is, is socially and historically constructed and exists precariously and kinetically. That means that Rest-of-Canada national identity is not contingent upon lists of its symbolic and/or real features and peculiarities, or on the summation of the thematic underpinnings in its art, literature and social and political institutions -- the gathering of which could ironically be seen as a quintessential Canadian trait in itself -- but rather, it is contingent upon the fact that Canadians believe in other Canadians' belief that these things are important and have meaning. This is the substance, the something-extra of the Nation-Thing that separates it from mere symbolic representation.

'I believe in the (national) Thing' is equal to 'I believe that others (members of my community) believe in the Thing.'...The national thing exists as long as members of the community believe in it, it is literally an effect of this belief in itself....In other words the whole meaning of the Thing consists in the fact 'it means something' to people.²⁰¹

"Believing that others believe" in the importance of a particular sporting event, or season, or team is central to the success and the "cosmological significance" of a given game, or sport, or team. Others have to believe for the mass ritual to be a ~~mass~~ ritual. In a self perpetuating way, one of the complaints often labelled against Canadian professional and "college" football is it does not draw the big crowds of its American equivalent -- it is unable to "draw heat", to borrow a term from Jim Freedman.²⁰² This circular process of generating meaning, by meaning something to others, is also central to the constructed sense of a nation, and bears resemblance to Anderson's concept of the nation as an imagined community. Rest-of-Canada's historical preoccupation with the issue of identity, or lack thereof, reveals a particular displacement in the process of "believing in the belief" that should constitute its Nation-Thing. As Seymour Lipset states:

National identity is the quintessential Canadian issue. Almost alone among modern developed countries, Canada has continued to debate its self-conception to the present day.²⁰³

The inability to "believe in the belief" is a fundamental aspect of colonial (or post-colonial colonial) existence. This phenomenon was identified in another, and more severe context of colonial existence, by another psychoanalyst turned social critic, Frantz Fanon, in The Wretched Of The Earth :

Because it is a systematic negation of the other person and a furious determination to deny the other person all of the attributes of humanity, colonialism forces the people it dominates constantly to ask themselves the question: "in reality, who am I?"²⁰⁴

In the Canadian context this systematic negation is a part of the processes identified earlier as Americanization. Many Canadians, and literally hundreds of Canadian writers have grappled with the same question raised by Fanon. It is, in fact, what is generally referred to in Canada as the "national question." And this question forms the core of Cultural Nationalist aspirations.

As part of those aspirations, Canadian Cultural Nationalists, entrapped in a binary logic, have attempted to fill this definitional void by constituting the Rest-of-Canada self in antagonistic relation to the American-Other. Official Nationalists, on the other hand, have simply attempted to merge the Rest-of-Canada self into the Other. Carmen Kuhling, in a different context, explains the phenomenon this way:

...[W]e posit the Other as something which we can either consume or consummate with, annihilate or merge with, repudiate or identify with, devalue or idealize. The boundary between self and Other is experienced as intolerable; we must either forcibly erase all vestiges of the Other's existence or construct an ideological fantasy that the Other is really us in disguise.²⁰⁵

For this reason, the Canadian Cultural Nationalist conception of the Nation-Thing is generally expressed not in terms of what it is, but rather in terms which proclaim that it is "not-like-the-U.S.". Many considered definitions of Canada evoke this paradoxical relationship, and reveal its legitimacy as the substance of the Rest-of-Canada's ontological being. It can be found in Richard Gwyn's appropriate, but coincidental, use of Lacanian jargon, in his assessment that "We are the Other North Americans."²⁰⁶ It can also be seen in J.M.S Careless' insightful comments concerning the duplicity of the American role in Canadian identity formations:

One is tempted to conclude that there could not be a Canada without the United States, and that there may not be a Canada with it.²⁰⁷

And the Historian Frank Underhill states:

If we are eventually to satisfy ourselves that we have at last achieved a Canadian identity, it will only be when we are satisfied that we have arrived at a better American way of life than the American's have.²⁰⁸

Blair Fraser tries to sum up this Canadian proclivity to define itself with and against the American Other:

Of all general definitions of the Canadians, this is the most nearly valid: twenty million people who, for anything up to twenty million reasons, prefer not to be Americans²⁰⁹

The thrust of this discourse, and there is much more like it, is that the meaning of Rest-of-Canada identity, within the Cultural Nationalist context, is antagonistically-dependent upon the United States. Left all but unsaid, except perhaps in Careless' comment, is that this antagonistic-dependency, which forms the basis of a Rest-of-Canada identity, is also responsible for the precarious state that that very (non)entity is in.

Though there is no shared recognition of what exactly constitutes a "Canadian-Thing", only what it is not, there is a process by which this Non-Thing becomes consolidated by the threat that it is going to be stolen. This is a concept which Zizek refers to as the "theft of enjoyment."

This Nation-Thing is determined by a series of contradictory properties. It appears to us as 'Our Thing' (perhaps we could say *cosa nostra*) as something accessible only to us, as something 'they', the others, cannot grasp, but which is nonetheless constantly menaced by 'them'.²¹⁰

Appropriately, several Canadian writers have attempted to express similar sentiments about a Canadian Nation-Thing, that is supposedly accessible only to us but still constantly menaced by "them", long before Zizek's postulations. For example the humorist Sean Kelly, in 1973, stated:

Canada is a private joke shared by all Canadians, but we don't like other people getting in on it. Of course it's a nitwit country, of course there are too few of us... and we keep building enormous monuments to a Canadian culture that doesn't exist. ...But it's our private joke - we'll laugh at it, but nobody else had better. Canadian's don't like Americans getting in on the joke.²¹¹

And this comment, made by Harold Innis, predates Žižek by thirty-nine years:

It is perhaps a unique characteristic of civilization that each civilization believes in its uniqueness and its superiority to other civilizations. Indeed, this may be the meaning of culture - i.e. something which we have that others have not. [Emphasis added.]²¹²

The idea of having and sharing something we enjoy, but not always knowing precisely what it is -- but all the while being quite certain that it is threatened by those that don't have it (Americans, Quebecois, immigrants) -- has been a constant in Canadian ponderings about identity and culture. "Americanization threatens to steal our Canadian enjoyment of crime free cities and harmonious ethnic relations. Their 'cultural industry' threatens to rob us of our culture."²¹³

The logistics of defending the intangible, tenuous Canadian-Thing from the ravages of the American-Other is a constant to Cultural Nationalism's defense of Canadian culture. Perhaps the following excerpt from the

influential, 1957, "Fowler Commission on Broadcasting", best exemplifies the circular logic involved in defending Canadian culture, not as an entity in itself worth preserving, but as something that is not American. This excerpt demonstrates the essence of defending the undefinable Nation-Thing, justified solely by a fear of American "theft of [our] enjoyment".

There are many ...examples of steps taken to make Canada a nation despite the forces of geography and powerful attraction and influence of the United States. The natural flow of trade, travel and ideas runs north and south. We have tried to make some part, not all, of the flow run east and west. We have only done so at the added cost borne nationally. There is no doubt that we could have had cheaper railway transportation, cheaper air service and cheaper consumer goods if we had simply tied ourselves into the American transportation and economic system. It is equally clear that we could have had cheaper radio and television service if Canadian stations become outlets of American networks. However if the less costly method is always chosen, is it possible to have a Canadian nation at all?²¹⁴

This process of antagonistic-dependency is imbedded into the construction of the Canadian-Thing. One need only look at the amount of past and recent literature dealing with the concept of Canada which antagonistically defines its subject in relation to the United States, to appreciate the extent to which the Canadian identity has become so contingent upon it.²¹⁵¹

Correspondingly, the United States has become the focus for Cultural Nationalist allegations about the "theft of our

enjoyment." And in this context, Canadian Cultural Nationalism has created a complicated process which requires that Rest-of-Canada identity be somehow negatively defined into existence. The end result is that the Rest-of-Canada is formulated and then postulated, in Lacanian terms, as "lack" (*manque a etre*), or "a hole surrounded by something." That is, Rest-of-Canada identity is forcibly constituted, by paradoxically identifying with, but at the same time differentiating itself from the American presence. As Žižek explains:

What we conceal by imputing to the Other the theft of enjoyment is the traumatic fact that *we never possessed what was allegedly stolen from us...* 216

In other words, what Rest-of-Canada Cultural Nationalist hate and fear about America's "excess of enjoyment" is that it reflects a fear and hatred of Rest-of-Canada's semantic void, the source of angst and anomie, the lack of (shared sources of) enjoyment. Official Nationalism on the other hand, fills the existential void, the lack, by simply embracing the Other as part of the self.

Within the hegemonic confines of "Americanization" the Official Nationalist task of embracing the Other is imminently easier than the Cultural Nationalist task of rejecting it. Defining the Rest-of-Canada by virtue of its antagonistic-dependent relationship with the United States

leaves the national psyche and the cultural meaning of Rest-of-Canada vulnerable to hegemonic American and official cultural exigencies. The Cultural Nationalist process necessitates that the Rest-of-Canada interpret itself through elements that differentiate it from the American imperium. That means the Nation-Thing is constituted in its 'different pleasures'. This entails that Canadian sports, for example, be necessarily different from American sports. However, through the forces of American economic and cultural expansionism, "Canadian sport", that is sport which is predominant within the Canadian mindscape -- particularly through newspapers and other media -- appear to be, and indeed are, more and more often American. American cultural domination, as outlined earlier, has become so pervasive that it is increasingly difficult to distinguish the Canadian from the American. Mass American culture, from McDonald's restaurants, to the World Series and the Super Bowl, is now as pervasive an element of Canadian society as it is American. Marshall McLuhan, for one, suggests that American culture is so ubiquitous, and naturalized within Canadian society that it is not even noticed:

Canadians don't see American culture domination because it's the environment, and the environment is always invisible.²¹⁷

As a result, not only does it become increasingly more difficult to define the Rest-of-Canada against the Other, but Canada begins to be defined as the Other. The American becomes the pervasive reality of what Canada is, and the Canadian becomes foreign to itself. The American Thing is now Canada's-Thing, and the Canadian national-Thing is merely a residual Other.

THE USE OF CANADIAN FOOTBALL AS "OTHER"

Canadian football must be a great game -- because it survives in spite of the men who run it.

-- Jim Coleman
in The Grey Cup Years (1974).

The Canadian grocery store chain, IGA, had a series of television advertisements which they ran under the title "Great Canadian Values". One of which makes a revealing, if not theoretically significant use of Canadian Football. A critical analysis of this commercial reveals how Canadian football, and by extension Rest-of-Canada itself, is constituted within a mass media context as the Other to the American Real. These advertisements are patently intended to create an association between IGA and what its advertisers propose to be "great Canadian values." The advertisement in question is made up of several short

vignettes with explanatory captions over each, such as: "Thanksgiving in October" and "Free Healthcare". The accompanying voice-over warmly discusses the idea of "Canadian values" and their supposed association with IGA. The use of the word values has a double connotation within the advertisement. Its purpose, of course, is to signify some inherent link between the sense of value for money one might expect if one shopped at IGA, and the larger sense of moral or cultural value which might be attributed to Canada as a whole. What is so revealing about these advertisements, in relation to the wider context of national identity formation, is the way in which the concept of "Canadian values" is defined.

The said advertisement is constructed so that the values of Canada it chooses to evoke are not just cliched homages to "Mom and maple syrup" as one might expect, but rather distinctly and deliberately Canadian values as *opposed* to values which might be considered American. In fact, the opposition created within the advertisement is not truly one between Canadian and American values per se, but more precisely, Canadian and American cultural events or things. For the most part, the central values expressed as exclusively Canadian could easily have been understood as exclusively American in another context.

The fact that the advertisement can surreptitiously equate Canadian to the concept of values, by opposing it to that which is American, and by inference suggest that the latter is lacking in values, betrays a certain moral smugness. This smugness, particularly in response to things American, is itself often cited as a Canadian cultural trait. Sylvia Bashevkin, for instance, writes:

...[S]ince nationalist thinking is defined by distinctions between in- and out-groups, pan-Canadianism has had to argue for the 'differentness' and, ultimately, the superiority of Canada vis-a-vis the United States.²¹⁸

The advertisement in question initially draws upon this sense of Canadian superiority. Specifically, the advertisement works upon the premise, and one must assume the advertiser's expectations of audience culpability in the creation of the premise, that value, particularly Canadian value, is created in contrast with things American.

Therefore, Canadian value, like Canadian identity, is dependent upon an American presence. By evoking the "American", IGA is able to draw upon already established prejudices to structurally endear itself with the Canadian in-group. This establishes a sense of shared loyalty between itself and its intended audience. To accomplish this the advertised message is structured in a series of vertical binary oppositions: Canadian/American, Us/Them, IGA/Other-supermarkets. The vertical dimension functions to

align Canadian, Us and IGA together: against American, Them, and Other-Supermarkets. This facilitates an alignment of IGA with an already established in-group loyalty (Canada), and its rival supermarkets to an already established out-group resentment (America). The commercial draws upon an assumed nationalistic sentiment, indeed, an anti-American sentiment, in order to establish this Us/Them equation. In the Canadian milieu, it would have been impossible to establish this parallel of antagonism without reference or inference to the United States.

The fact that nowhere in this advertisement is the United States actually mentioned, nor is it in any way visually alluded to, underlies the depth to which this antagonism, and sense of value by contrast, functions naturally within Canadian collective consciousness -- or the audience commodity. The United States' presence is inferred by the qualifying aspect of each explanatory caption. For instance, in the vignette captioned "Thanksgiving in October", a large, extended family settles down for turkey dinner. The caption could have simply read "Thanksgiving", and still kept much of its "home-town-values" meaning, but none of its specifically "Canadian values" meaning. The pivotal Us/Them, Canadian/American dichotomy would have been lost without the qualification. The qualifying of the

caption "Thanksgiving" with "in October" implies that there is another time for Thanksgiving; which of course there is, November, the American celebration. What is significant is that it is the Canadian element in the advertisement, not the American, which is continually qualified.

The qualification of the Canadian underlines another important cultural assumption at work within the advertisement, and consequently and presumably, within the intended audience as well. That assumption is that things Canadian are understandably perceived as the Other to the American Real. To fully appreciate the colonial implications of this assumption, and the validity of the assertion, one need only imagine the improbability of a comparable American ad, with the caption: "Thanksgiving in November". "As opposed to when?" -- would be the most likely American response. The American is the definable Real, not only for Americans it appears, but also as a part of Canadian cultural consciousness.

As previously stated, throughout this advertisement the American alluded to is never qualified, only the Canadian is. The assertion being made again and again is that the American is Real and the Canadian is a qualified version of it -- Canada is less than real. America is the centre to

which Canada compares itself from the margins -- but its own margins as well. The American is offered as neutral, recognizable and ever present. The definition of Canadian is offered only in relief of this (omni)presence; a presence, as has been stated, that is never mentioned, but is understood, always there and imminently familiar. The Canadian in this case evokes a sense of "value" because it represents that part of the dialectical-tension, discussed earlier, which is associated with the non-capitalist part of one's life, the sense of national "belonging". What is revealed in the advertisement's use of the Canadian in this way is that those values are presently foreign to Rest-of-Canada dominant culture; and, ironically, they are also a legitimate source of exploitation for the consciousness industry of that very same culture.

This definition of Canadian as Other, by relief and contrast to the "Real" (American), is central to understanding the role and perception of Canadian Football in dominant Rest-of-Canada culture. Significantly, the only symbolic cultural reference made in this IGA advertisement is the one made to Canadian football. In another vignette, a sepia-toned film clip of an old football game is captioned: "Three Downs." The implied meaning is that "Three Downs" is a distinctive alternative to an unmentioned, yet understood, natural number of downs. It

is surprising that this advertisement, with its strong nationalistic overtones, uses Canadian football as the sole reference to an actual Canadian "cultural" form. If the advertisement had employed an image of hockey, our "national sport", or an image of a Canadian Olympic athlete winning a gold medal, the meaning would have had been simpler and the nationalistic implications more cliched, but precise. After all, when the world thinks of Canada and sport, (if the world ever thinks of such things), it thinks of hockey -- not football. The value of Canadian football lies in its ability to represent itself as distinct in relation to something American; i.e., to represent itself as the Other to the Real. The advantage of this for Official Nationalist hegemony is that it positions the commonly perceived and attributed statist values of the "Canadian" outside the dominant realm. As long as these values are perceived as foreign or Other to the continental capitalist values of dominant Rest-of-Canada culture, there is little chance of them affecting or overriding the dominant social and economic agenda of Official Nationalism.

The use of Canadian football as a signifying element of Canadian value is predicated on its ability to evoke a self-contained dichotomy between itself and an American equivalent, which favours the American in a contemporary

context. The Canadian is valued, but as a residual entity. This is precisely why the advertisement evokes the image of Canadian football in sepia tones, and not in full colour. The meaning of Canadian football is discursively qualified and theoretically constructed as not only Other in contrast to the American Real, but as a nostalgic Other to the modern American Real. Likewise, Canadian football itself, (as opposed to its advertised representation above), is also qualified and constructed as Other and residual in contrast to the American modern Real. In fact, the name itself, "*Canadian* Football", signifies not only the national, if not nationalist origins, but also its quality as a version of something else. The naming of football is worth briefly examining here for what it reveals about the construction of the Canadian thing as not only Other -- but ultimately as inferior.

A Football By Any Other Name...

Each country seems to have a Foot-ball spirit of its own, and that spirit can be satisfied only with a characteristic game.

-- Walter Camp, (1910)²¹⁹

It is rare for any sport to attach to its official moniker a specific national reference. This is so whether the sport is associated with a particular nation or not. The names hockey and lacrosse, for instance, make no

explicit reference to any national affiliation, nor does baseball or soccer. Yet all these sports are more likely to be considered quintessential national games than football is for Canada. The national qualifier in the title, it could be argued, functions as much to attract a nationalist sentiment to the game where it does not naturally exist, as it does to distinguish the Canadian brand from other brands of football. It should be noted that it was not until 1956 that the name "Canadian football" was officially sanctioned, and then only by the professional ranks involved in the game. It should also be noted that the following year, these same "guardians" of the game Americanized the names of the positions on Canadian football teams:

At that body's meeting in January, it was decided that snaps should be called centers; inside wings, guards; middle wings, tackles and outside wings, ends.²²⁰

Few other sports in the world employ a purposeful national association in the title of their national sport(s), but it is worth considering those which do. Two which readily come to mind, also happen to be forms of "football"*: Gaelic Football and Australian Rules Football. The common relationship between these games and their Canadian counterpart, beyond their respective use of

* The term 'football', appropriate to this discussion of naming, is a misnomer in all three cases considering the predominant and essential use of the hands in each game.

national titles and the fact that they are each a form of football, is that all three countries were colonies of England. All three of these countries were exerting aspirations of nationhood at the same time that the organizational form of these sports was being established. It is significant, in light of these facts, that the name "football", without any national qualifying prefix, was reserved for the game originating from the Imperial centre: England.

Each one of these games is connected with the national aspirations of its respective countries. Gaelic Football established its present organized form out of a strident nationalist movement called the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA). The GAA is an Irish nationalist organization, formed in the late Eighteen-hundreds to preserve and foster the growth of Irish culture, particularly its language, music and sport. This was done as a direct political and cultural form of resistance to English Imperialist rule. The nationalist significance of sport in Ireland was inadvertently created by the English themselves, when they outlawed Irish games. The 1916 "All Ireland Football Championship" was held in a prison camp in England, because most of the players from both teams were interned there. It is significant to the understanding of the colonial/imperial relations of sport, that though Irish immigration to North

America was immense and proliferate during the formative years of North American sport, none of their games emerged in their wake.* This, of course, is only one of many examples of the imperialist spread and development of sport in Canada, and throughout the world. The fact that certain games became dominant and others disappear is not a matter of natural selection, but hegemonic confluence.

Australian Rules Football developed directly out of Gaelic Football. Its emergence as a dominant sport form in Australia, along with the English games of rugby, cricket and soccer, is indicative of the initial settlement of the Irish as English prisoners. It is not, therefore, the proverbial exception to the rule. Australian Rules Football has remained a "colonial" and solely national game, despite concerted efforts to make it more worldly and imperial in stature and use. Several attempts to export the game have failed, and today only Ireland and Australia play each other in a hybrid version of both country's games. This contrasts with the imperialist, English introduction of rugby (and

* Hurling, Ireland's other national sport, does not have a national title as a prefix to its name, but neither did it have to discern itself from other forms of a similar sport. That is unless you include hockey. The origins of hockey in Canada can be linked to hurling. The first written record of hockey is dated 1833 and describes two women skating on Lake Lily, New Brunswick, while "playing hurly".

thus football), cricket (and thus baseball) and soccer throughout "the Empire" and beyond. And it also contrasts with the newly initiated, (re)exportation of American football, and the post World War Two introduction of baseball throughout parts of the world where America has held "influence". The widespread use of these games is indicative of England's once mighty imperial reach, and America's more recent assertions. Consequently, it also demonstrates how sport can reflect social and historical constructs.

The success or failure of the Canadian attempt to "export" its football game to the United States has yet to be determined. However, it should be noted that this Canadian maneuver is more of a survival strategy for the "owners" of the Canadian game, operating as they do within the context of a continental market, rather than as some attempt at Canadian cultural bravado and nationalist assertiveness. It is a response to American cultural imperialism, and not an imperial strategy in itself. Notably, the resistance to the export of the game comes not from the nation being "imposed" upon, but rather from within Canada itself. And significantly, but not surprisingly, there are now strong suggestions being made that the name of the Canadian Football League (CFL) will be changed to the North American Football League (NAFL, or perhaps just NFL?).

The national prefix before the word "football" in each case above, ostensibly might function as a simple means of delineating between various rules of football, and where these rules arose and are predominantly observed. However, this benign, functional reading of the naming process denies the imperial supposition behind it. The effect of qualifying the title of each game instills them with a colonial signification. The "Canadian" in Canadian Football, for example, signifies it as derivative of another form of football, which in turn is signified by its purer name "football" -- which is, within a North American context, American Football: "Real Football".* The name "American football" is sometimes casually used outside of North America, but rarely within it -- unlike its Canadian equivalent within Canada. This qualification of the Canadian version of football occurs despite the fact that it was Canadians who introduced Americans to the game in 1874, and not the other way around.**

Even within England there has emerged a hierarchy of footballs, which is reflected in the naming and the

* I'll discuss the concept of "English football" below.

 ** That this fact is not commonly known or heralded denotes another layer in the Canadian colonial mind-set.

general mythologizing and positioning of each game. It is generally believed that rugby was "developed" in the English public school of its namesake, Rugby. Some sources claim the game was "invented" in 1823, when a student unwittingly picked up the ball and ran while playing soccer. This story is largely discounted by sport historians. Numerous games of the time, whose origins pre-date the middle ages, allowed the handling and kicking of the ball. In fact, the first written rules of "soccer" in 1863, allowed for some handling of the ball:

If a player makes a fair catch, he shall be entitled to a free kick, provided he claims it by making a mark with his heel at once.²²¹

These two sports, soccer and rugby, emerged differently from a common English source. Both sports were originally variations of informal folk games, and both were originally called "football." During the processes of rationalization, and the consequential codification of the rules, rugby lost the title of football to the game which was predominately played in London, the economic and cultural metropole of England and the Empire. Rugby became marginalized as essentially a derivative of the real game, though it was not, and acquired its site specific title, while soccer became the universal English game of "football". Soccer, of course, maintained and continues to maintain the non-

qualitative title of "football" in England and throughout most of the world, including non-English speaking countries, outside of North America, Australia and Ireland (where it is commonly known as soccer).

Even its nom-de-plume, "soccer", has a non-reductive quality about it that seems to indicate its imperial stature. The word "soccer" derives from the name of its founding organizational and ruling body: Association Rules Football. For short, it was commonly referred to as "Association football", which evolved into "asosh", then "sock", and finally "soccer". The name derives from the initial 'qualification' that distinguished this brand of football from the many others. The word soccer now functions as a stand-alone referent to the same game, in places where the word "football" refers to a different game. In other words, it refuses to be qualified, even outside its hegemonic domain.

This examination of naming illustrates how a supposedly apolitical formation such as football embodies the inculcation of its formative and discursive processes. In this context Canadian football can arguably be understood as the "master-symbol" of Rest-of-Canada culture.

Canadian Football As "Master Symbol"

'Pro football is a sick society's projection of itself into public spectacle.'...the first principle of football is possession -- maintaining control of the desired object (the ball) and excluding competitors by rule governed violence from getting it: 'Possession' the key to football, 'private property' the key to this society; legalized violence the ultimate sanction of both.

-- Paul Hoch,
Rip Off The Big Game (1972).

As a master symbol, Canadian football embodies some of the social and historical influences which have acted upon its development. By taking a brief look at some of its more recent historical transformations, it is possible to see how the hegemonic influences of the Official Nationalist agenda have formulated the concept of Canadian football, and by inference "Canadian" itself, as being both foreign and inferior.

Canadian football reflects a particular Rest-of-Canadian compromise between British and American influences, which have historically informed many Canadian institutions. Likewise, its modern development reflects some contemporary trends in the social-political development of Canadian society. Perhaps one of the most revealing of these trends, if not historically significant to a discussion of national unity, is what can be read into the demise of the Montreal Alouettes. Historically, Montreal had a Canadian football

team since 1872, and with it a strong tradition of support. In 1987 that historic tradition came to end, mainly due to lack of community interest. A mere ten years earlier a record breaking crowd of 68,318 people 'feted' the Alouettes as they won the Grey Cup game at the Olympic stadium; in 1987, the team was disbanded because it could not attract more than ,000 season tickets subscribers.

There are several contributing social factors which explain the demise of Canadian football in Montreal, but the most convincing scenario revolves around the developments of Quebec "independence". Such a scenario suggests that the end of the Alouettes reflects a socio-psychological separation between Quebec and the Rest-of-Canada. With the maturity of Quebec as a "nation", and the corresponding decrease in the perception of, and interest in "Anglo-Canada" as the source of oppression and economic control, the Alouettes lost what cultural significance they had as an instrument of metaphoric hostility, and symbol of community in-group recognition. "Anglo-Canada" was no longer perceived as a truly significant site for cultural interchange.

Correspondingly, in 1991 the World League of American Football (WLAF) established a Montreal team, called the Montreal Machine. This team was one of the very few teams

in the fledgling league able to attract modest community support. Significantly, the Montreal Machine was highly and deliberately marketed as *American* football -- and it was strongly perceived as a prelude to the National Football League (NFL) "awarding" a team to the city. The successful selling of the American element reflects a cultural shift in the assumptions of who or what had become socially, economically and culturally relevant to Quebec society. The economic and cultural metropole to which Quebec defined itself, with and against, had moved from "Anglo-Canada" to the United States. And as this became readily apparent in Quebec society, it began to be reflected in its cultural formations.

Similarly, the introduction of the Blue Jays into the Toronto "market" signifies a similar cultural shift. The decline in the attendance and popularity of Canadian football, particularly in Toronto, corresponds directly with the introduction of Major League Baseball. In 1977, the year the Blue Jays arrived, average attendance for a Toronto Argonaut home game was 45,395, and by 1987 attendance had slipped to 26,969 a game.²²² By 1993, average attendance for Canadian football in Toronto was, in real terms, less than 20,000 people a game.²²³ Meanwhile, in the same year, the Toronto Blue Jays set their second, consecutive, Major League single-season attendance record, attracting over

four-million fans.* Major League Baseball offered Toronto** (if not the Rest-of-Canada) the opportunity to compete in the "Big Leagues" against continental rivals, of presumably equal or greater stature. Baseball became a site for metaphorically challenging and associating with the economic and cultural (American) metropole(s) which increasingly dominated Canadian lives.*** The prospect of engaging in the traditional rivalries from football teams based in cities like Regina and Hamilton paled, when compared to creating new ones with "world class" cities like New York and Los Angeles and, one must assume, Cleveland.

Under the Progressive Conservative regime of the Eighties, the North/South continental flow of goods increased along with social and economic integration. The historical impulse to generate East/West links were weakened, and often let wither and die. So too has the significance of engaging in cultural exchanges, and

* Total league attendance for the CFL in 1991 was 2 million.

224

** In Ottawa, the Lynx, an expansion entry in the Triple-A International League (IL), set a single-season IL attendance record, outdrawing the CFL Rough Riders by about 450,000 people.

-----225-----

*** I will examine the significance of this "rivalry" in more depth in the next chapter.

metaphoric competitions such as football games. Ottawa and Winnipeg no longer represent significant sites for real or symbolic "one-up-manship" for many Torontonians. These cities are not serious contenders for "world class" status (whatever that means) -- nor are they sites for confirming or denying Toronto's cultural arrival. For instance, defeating the Calgary Stampeders in the last seconds of the Grey Cup game will not make CNN Headline News -- but winning the World Series, or better yet the Super Bowl, will.

Not surprisingly, as the "Canadian metropole", Toronto, loses its interest in Canadian football, so too does the "Canadian hinterland". This is perhaps most clearly evident in the case of Hamilton, "long the hotbed of the Canadian game."²²⁶ In the late 1960's, when the governors of CFL decided to erect a Hall of Fame, Hamilton was quickly acclaimed as the most logical site for it.²²⁷ Today, Hamilton is precariously close to losing its team due to lack of interest on the part of the community. In the 1970's, average attendance at Tiger-Cat football games averaged nearly 32,000 fans; in 1993 that average was reduced to about 15,000 people a game. An important element in Hamilton's interest, and once strong embracement of football has revolved around its rivalry with Toronto. In Hamilton, for instance, it is possible to purchase "Toronto

Sucks" buttons from souvenir vendors, and frequently hear the crowd chant "Argos suck" -- no matter who the Tiger-Cats are playing. But as Toronto has lost interest in Canadian football, as is evident by the treatment of the game in the Toronto media as well as by sparse attendance, it becomes increasingly difficult to consolidate a sense of Hamilton in-group solidarity, because there is no out-group animosity. In other words, there is no glory in humiliating the metropole on the playing field when the metropole has not even bothered to watch.

It comes as no surprise then, that in almost exact historical correspondence with the implementation of the Free Trade Act (FTA), the owners of the CFL have sought to salvage the league by expanding into the United States. This move can be read not merely as a strategy for tapping new markets, but also as a reflection of current social and economic rivalries and cultural assimilation. As Canada becomes increasingly American, so too does its football.

Frank Manning, in the Foreword to Robert Stebbins' book on Canadian football, A View From The Helmet (1987), outlines some of the other aspects of Canadian football which supports the hypothesis of Canadian football as master symbol:

The game dramatically depicts recurrent themes of Canadian life: imported symbols, unique rules, east-west conflict, compromise between English tradition and American innovation, a shifting balance between smugness and inferiority, and the sense of an elusive identity and uncertain future.²²⁸

Gerald Redmond makes similar observations and suggests that football reflects

...both the differences and the similarities between Canada and the United States, symbolizing shared North American values as well as the tension of some inevitable dissension between the two independent and neighbouring countries. In short, it is an integral part of Canadian culture, a remarkably durable mirror of the Canadian identity problem and inferiority complex.²²⁹

The similarities and differences between the American and Canadian games of football are analogous to the situation that exists between the two countries themselves. Canadian football may appear to "outsiders" (Europeans for example) to be American football. To the uninitiated, the differences in rules, scoring, movement, speed and size of the field pales to the similarities between the two games: the padding, the helmets, the gridiron field, the shape of the football, to name just a few things. The accusation of being American by virtue of appearance has been a bane of existence for Canadians citizens for over a century.

Ironically, in many ways the similarities between the two games/nations has been used, by Canadians at least, as a means of contrasting the differences. But often this

contrast, though spurred by a sense of moral smugness touched on earlier, reveals the Canadian as not only foreign to itself -- but inferior as well. As Seymour Lipset states:

...Canada's principle reference group, the United States, is the highest achiever in economic, scientific, and mass culture terms. As Canadians repeatedly stress, living next to an elephant makes any other creature feel small.²³⁰

From within a hegemonic context which over-values continental cultural formations and valorizes the laissez-faire capitalist ethos, Canadian football, as a Canadian master-symbol, is now -- as part of the post Blue Jay era -- construed as inferior to "Real football." If a Canadian athlete or sports team was deemed best in the world, and awarded an Olympic medal to proclaim as much, the image of such an event or athlete, or team, or sport, would contain the straightforward signification of national pride and accomplishment that would fit nicely into the meritocratic dogma of continental capitalism. Canadian professional football, on the other hand, is different: it is a national culture formation, not, until recently, a trans-national one; and it has an exclusive, and up until recently, confined Canadian audience-commodity; it employs a quota system to protect Canadian players from American competition, and in this way, it may be argued, Canadian

football follows the interventionist tradition established by other Canadian institutions and cultural formations. For various reasons, not the least of which is that Canada has one-tenth the population of the United States, American professional football is a more lucrative proposition which attracts many of the top Canadian players, and most of the American ones. Canadian professional football, it often appears, is played by players who would rather be somewhere else. All of which contributes to a sense that the CFL represents less than the highest quality for the consumer. And correspondingly, in accordance with consumer logic, the consumers themselves must also be less than the highest of quality.

The inexpensive cost and ease by which Canadian media has come to rely upon American sport to fill available space and time, reinforces the perception of American sport supremacy and its significance as a "Canadian" cultural entity. The pervasive newspaper coverage and television dominance of American football in Canada creates a demand, interest and celebration of the game, surpassing its relative, and debatable, merits over the Canadian version. Toronto Star sports writer, Milt Dunne, states:

Just about everybody agrees the Canadian game is more entertaining than the brand which the NFL floods into every crossroads of the continent each weekend, but just about everybody also keeps watching the Bills, the Bears and the Redskins. One reason is that the NFL is almost as big a gambling vehicle as a slot machine. Another is that the NFL is perceived as big league. The CFL is seen as minor league. Relative entertainment value becomes irrelevant.²³¹

Robert Stebbins also relates the general disparagement towards Canadian football with the inundation of the American game through Canadian and American media, and the production quality and technical superiority of its high cost television coverage.

On television [NFL] coverage has become technically impressive, constituted as it is of instant replays, zoom shots, and split-screen comparisons and co-ordinated by colour commentary from American football heroes at primetime; Canadians are easily able to compare the two versions of the game. The sophisticated coverage and a seemingly greater precision in the execution of plays in American football lead some Canadian fans to conclude that the game played in Canada is inferior or at least less glamorous. Canadian newspaper coverage of NFL football, although hardly the technical display found on television, does consume a noticeable amount of space.²³²

The dependency of Canadian media on American "product", as well as the preponderance of American spill-over, has a direct effect on the perception and consequent reception of Canadian cultural practices and Canadian Cultural Nationalism. Without a basis or context in which to advocate an ethical, or social superiority of Canadian national culture over continental culture, the defence of

Canadian cultural traditions becomes untenable. Official Nationalist hegemony not only marginalizes political and economic alternatives to the dominant system, it also marginalizes alternative practices by which collectives make sense of their lives. Within the contexts established and valued by Official Nationalism, larger, brighter, and technically proficient culture is a superior culture.

Through the social-cultural contexts established by Official Nationalist hegemony, Canadian football is being actively marginalized as an inferior cultural practice. American football is deemed superior and, in fact, the norm. Canadian football is thought inferior and slightly abnormal -- foreign -- the Other. The American, which is actually 'Other', becomes the Real. This hypothesis can be literally substantiated by reference to, amongst other sources, "Canada's National Newspaper" (sic), The Global and Mail, which in an off-the-cuff manner recently stated : "Real football begins this weekend when the National Football League season kicks in." (Their emphasis.)²³³ It was also reinforced, perhaps more symbolically, when U.S. President Clinton, on the White House steps, presented Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, "...an avid National Football League fan...",²³⁴ with a Dallas Cowboys' windbreaker. Mulroney's gleeful acceptance of the jacket should be read as an

embracement of the continental colours, and an acknowledgement of shared interests, values and, indeed, culture, at least on the part of Mulroney and the interests of those he represents, and not as an international exchange of some "foreign" token. In this context, the Dallas Cowboys are not foreign, they are, in fact, as much "Canada's team" as they are "America's team."

Through this phenomenon, the concepts fundamental to Cultural Nationalism and the idea of Rest-of-Canada as nation, are contradicted by the allegiances being established by dominant sport. The sharing of the "indecipherable something" that others don't have, and yet, is menaced by "them" -- and is central to the Nation-Thing - is a constant to spectator sports, and to the formulations of "fandom". Fandom, like the Nation-Thing, is created within a discriminatory framework of in-group recognition and outer-group animosity. It is formed by opposing Us against Them. As John Fiske points out: "Fans draw sharp and intolerant lines between what, or who, they are fans of and who or what they are not."²³⁵ Fandom is a shared disdain, as much as it is a shared devotion. And significantly, by virtue of its relationship to the concept of the Nation-Thing, the allegiances of fandom are also socially and communally subscribed and defined:

These textual discriminations are often homologous of social discrimination. Choosing texts is choosing social allegiances and fans form themselves into a community much more explicitly than do the middle-class appreciators of highbrow art. The links between social allegiance and cultural taste are active and explicit in fandom, and the discrimination involved follows criteria of social relevance rather than aesthetic quality.²³⁶

When the social allegiances being subscribed to are defined and situated within the political, economic and/or the imagined contours of a nation, the enthusiastic devotion towards the "indecipherable thing" of sports becomes intertwined with the indecipherable aspects of the National-Thing. In this instance the allegiance to the community formed in fandom become transferred to the nation. The perceived threat becomes a nation-to-nation antagonism. And within a Rest-of-Canada Cultural Nationalist context, this threat is assumed to be an American one.

When a nation's sense of community is formed and focused around foreign teams and sports, as much as the Rest-of-Canada is and is becoming, it is the "home" teams and sports which are perceived as foreign, and consequently the threat. Not surprisingly, the end or death of these teams and sports becomes the collective desire. Across Canada, but particularly in Toronto, some prominent* and many not so prominent "football fans", are actively working for the disintegration of "their" league. These Canadians

perceive the existence of the CFL as the "theft of their enjoyment" of Real football.

The problematic equation created by the confluence of these variables defines Canadian football, and consequently all Rest-of-Canada popular cultural formations that are restrained by the same forces, as not only Other and foreign, but also as invisible. As Canadian symbolic culture becomes more homogeneously continental and American, and since Canada defines itself against the American Other, but now looks and acts like the Other, it has defined itself out of existence. Canadian Cultural Nationalism cannot emerge as a dominant popular force when the context of that emergence is dictated by Official Nationalist interests.

* Some prominent Canadians attempting, or who have previously attempted, to bring the NFL to Canada are: Order of Canada recipient, and publisher Doug Creighton: "If it came to a choice between the NFL and the Order of Canada, I probably would opt for the NFL."; Paul Godfrey publisher of The Sun; Rudy Bratty, a big Toronto "developer"; Johnny Barnett, an executive of Carling O'Keefe, which owned a percentage of the Argos at the time; Johnny Bassett, who owns television station CFTO and was the son of the Toronto Argos owner at the time, John Bassett, Sr.; and influential Toronto newspaper columnist and radio talk-show host, Steve Simmons, who calls himself "NFL MEL", though he admits the Canadian game is entertaining he encourages his readers and listeners to boycott the CFL "so it will go away."

CHAPTER SIXBASEBALL -- "THEIR GAME"

No one here is suggesting that day [in 1838] marked the invention or that it was the first game played. Most everyone has allowed the myth that Abner Doubleday invented the sport to remain....What's really exciting is the game having been acknowledged by the Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York.

-- Pruce Prentice, President of the Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame, commenting on (or apologizing for?) the long-sought American acknowledgement that the earliest record of baseball in North America happens to be a game played in Beachville, Ontario -- one year before Abner Doubleday "invented" it.²³⁷

Thus far, this paper has been predominantly occupied with outlining a rather bleak scenario involving Cultural Nationalism's ineffectual attempts to consolidate an oppositional power base, and Official Nationalism's overpowering hegemonic success. In this chapter, I wish to offer a somewhat more optimistic assessment of how Cultural Nationalism does manage to maintain itself as a viable and productive force operating within and influencing Rest-of-Canadian society. In doing so I will examine the hegemonic complexities surrounding the use and meaning of "Canada's team of the '90's"; that is, none other than the two-time winning, World Series (sic) Champions, the Toronto Blue Jays. In this chapter, I will return to two earlier claims: first, that there is no one, single, controllable

interpretation or meaning for any cultural product; audiences make their own meaning(s) out of the cultural material supplied by mass marketers, and; secondly, it is the audience-commodity, created by monopoly-capitalism, which does in fact represent the greatest potential for opposition to monopoly-capitalism.

However, one must remain cautious in imputing revolutionary success to the audience-commodity. As we shall see, hegemony is ~~by definition a very~~ adaptive and self-preserving mechanism for maintaining the social and economic agenda of the power-bloc. Within continental capitalist hegemony, what often appears as choice, is in fact a systematic process for legitimating the elimination of real alternatives. What is often offered as progress, is in fact a systematic replacement of one set of values for others considered more conducive to monopoly-capitalist interests.

The emergence of the Blue Jays as "Canada's team", and similar developments in other cultural fields have been contextualized, explained and legitimized in terms of progress, sophistication, and the attainment of "world class" status (See for example J. Davidson's, "Canadians Passionate for Sport -- U.S. Style," Globe and Mail, October 14, 1992.). In contrast, as outlined in the

preceding chapter, the Canadian Football League in its pre-American expansion form as/is generally conceived of as a residual cultural entity. For instance, one fairly typical example of how the continentalization of the league is contextualized in terms of "progress" is a Toronto Star headline, explaining the CFL expansion into the United States, which read: "CFL Boss Boldly Tries To Bring League Into '90's".²³⁸ The thrust behind these types of inferences and arguments is that the growing acceptance and proliferation of American, or continental cultural formations at the expense of local ones, demonstrates the progression of Canadian culture into a "world culture." But, as former Minister of National Health and Welfare, Marc Lalonde, quipped, when the American based World Football League attempted to expand into Canada: "We know what "world" means."²³⁹ In this context, it means the standardization of a 'global culture' in order to maximise the profits of monopoly-capitalists.

Stuart Hall suggests the need for a more critical assessment and understanding of the reasons why one set of cultural formations are replaced by another. His arguments attempt to emphasize the hegemonic current underlying the 'modernity argument' and other concepts of cultural "progress":

Time and again, what we are really looking at is the active destruction of particular ways of life, and their transformation into something new. 'Cultural change' is a polite euphemism for the process by which some cultural forms and practices are driven out of the centre of popular life, actively marginalized. Rather than simply 'falling into disuse' through the Long March to modernisation, things are actively pushed aside, so that something else can take their place.²⁴⁰

Lacrosse, for example, was once the major sport in Canada, widely played and followed, and universally recognized as "our national game."²⁴¹ As S.F. Wise and Douglas Fisher point out, "mesmerized by baseball's big league glamour, and spoon-fed by the American wire services, sports editors and reporters gave major coverage to baseball at the expense of lacrosse,"²⁴² with the result that lacrosse is now a marginalized, minor sport, with pockets of interest confined to Southern Ontario and British Columbia.

In a contemporary context one can see how similar elements are contributing to the demise of other Canadian games -- even the ones that have strong followings. Curling, for example, is one of the most watched sports on Canadian television,^{*} but due to a hierarchy of consumer "quality", discussed earlier in chapters 1 and 4, the game is perpetually ignored or marginalized in favour of other games, such as golf.²⁴³ Curling, it appears, does not

* Curling is fourth in over-all ratings on The Sports Network (TSN), just behind baseball, hockey and football.

...renders ordinary, everyday experience comprehensible by presenting it in terms of acts and objects which have had their practical consequences removed and been reduced (or if you prefer raised) to the level of sheer appearances, where their meaning can be more powerfully articulated and more exactly perceived.¹²⁷

Canadian commercial sport can be understood as both a metaphor and metonym of Rest-of-Canada identity. That is, Canadian sport represents and is, at the same time, a part of Rest-of-Canada culture; it both represents the distinctiveness of Rest-of-Canadian society and functions as one of the operative distinctions within it.

...art forms generate and regenerate the very subjectivity they pretend only to display. Quartets, still lifes, and cockfights are not merely reflections of pre-existing sensibility analogically represented; they are positive agents in the creation and maintenance of such sensibility.¹²⁸

As such, the meaning of a given text does not reside in the text itself but in the negotiation between the texts and readers. But in proposing this, one must also recognize the limits of the reader's choices.¹²⁹ Canadian commercial sport is structured by, and representative of, the general socio-political predicaments confronting Rest-of-Canada cultural production and identity formation.

These predicaments include, but are not restricted to, the difficulty of creating a national identity formation within a multi-cultural, geographically immense, regionally

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attract the right type of audience. According to one advertising executive, "despite the popularity of the game, curling is not seen as an in vogue sport..."²⁴⁵ and is therefore denied endorsements. A similar sentiment lies at the heart of the controversial CBC decision to cancel the telecast of a CFL game in order to show the 1993 Blue Jay Victory Parade, a parade that was also being shown on CBC Newsworld, the CTV national network and various other smaller stations at the same time. And, as another example of this active marginalization of Canadian sport, "Canada's only all-sports radio station", the FAN 1430 in Toronto, systematically replaces Toronto Maple Leaf Stanley Cup, play-off hockey games, despite wide protest, with early-season, relatively meaningless (to the overall pennant race) Blue Jay baseball games, when the two games inevitably happen to conflict.

Today the Blue Jays, not the Stampeders, not the Maple Leafs, not the Canadiens and definitely not the Shamrock Lacrosse Club, have been designated as "Canada's Team", and that indicates something about the continental state of Canada's imagined community and the present possibilities for mobilizing that community as a counterhegemonic force.

A purely reductionist reading of the situation would have to conclude that the rise of the Blue Jays symbolizes a

general Canadian culture malaise and the fall of the national dream -- but the situation is more complex than that and perhaps more optimistic as well. Hegemony is never complete or absolute; it is always in a process of negotiation.

The Blue Jays are not simply another example, or symbol of American cultural imperialism and economic domination (though they are that too). The Blue Jays also function as a symbolic resource in which Cultural Nationalism can express resistance to American capitalist hegemony. John Fiske (1989) explains that in order for a cultural commodity to be popular and relevant, it must meet two contradictory needs. It must attempt to appeal to what people have in common: "What people in capitalist societies have in common is the dominant ideology and the experience of subordination or disempowerment."²⁴⁶ And it must provide an opportunity to transgress, resist, or evade this dominant order:

All popular culture is a process of struggle, of struggle over the meanings of social experience, of one's 'personhood' and its relations to the social order and of the texts and commodities of that order.²⁴⁷

The popular, quasi-nationalist success of the Blue Jays can be attributed to the way in which it embodies the inherent contradictions, of both representing the dominant order of

American hegemony, and providing a forum to demonstrate resistance to it. This can be seen most clearly in the events, occurrences and celebrations surrounding the 1992 World Series.

CANADA'S WORLD SERIES

What we'd like most of all is to move Toronto -- hook, line and Blue Jays -- to the California coast. Mentally, we're already there. It is only a freak of geography that we're still stuck on the shores of Lake Ontario, which is about as close to America as you can get, and still qualify for Canadian health care.

--Rosie DiManno,
Toronto Star, November, 30, 1992.

The most incoherent, blatant, but generally overlooked paradox in Canadian cultural machinations today, is that one of the most iconographically nationalist, the most watched, most talked about, most written about, most well attended, most well paid, the most celebrated sports team in Canadian history, the 1992 Toronto Blue Jays, had no Canadian content -- no Canadian coaches, no Canadian scouts, and no Canadian players. Not one member of the 1992 Toronto Blue Jays even settled in Canada for a full year (Canadian weather and taxes are cited as major disincentives to do so). Not one player on the team stayed in Canada for more than a week after the World Series victory parade. The game the Blue

Jays play is unabashedly American in history, tradition and iconography. It is even commonly and repeatedly referred to as "America's favourite pastime." The Blue Jays play all their games against American rivals, in American cities, except Toronto itself. They play in what is called, with no apologies, the American League. At home games, this team prominently displays its American League emblem (a stylized bald eagle clutching a ribbon of Stars and Stripes in its talons) throughout the SkyDome, and on the outside of it as well. All salaries are paid in American dollars; this fact is used as justification to Canadian fans who have to pay for the highest priced tickets in the league. The league itself is owned and run by Americans. Americans, as owners, and as the dominant consumers of baseball, dictate how the game is played, where it is played, who can play it, and when. And in this way they decide who and what is "major league", and who and what is "minor league".

The Blue Jays blithely, it appears, follow all league commands. Even insofar as that may entail breaking Canadian law in order to satisfy American foreign policy -- as occurred in the case of Omar Linares.* And despite media

 * Omar Linares is a Cuban Third baseman that the Blue Jays wanted to sign and have play home games. But, because of the American economic blockade against Cuba, Major League Baseball refused the Blue Jays permission to so. Following such a directive is against Canadian law.

declarations that this team is "proudly representing Canada,"²⁴⁹ there is little, if any, critical undertaking about how exactly they are doing that -- or what that representation means. Only the opposite notion has ever emerged from the players themselves. Ed Sprague, the back-catcher, once angrily and specifically pronounced: "I don't care what Canadians think." Joe Carter, one of the most celebrated athletes in Canadian history, declared plainly: "We weren't playing for Canada. We're Americans. We want it for ourselves."²⁵⁰ Yet they are still widely and enthusiastically considered to be "Canada's Team".

One might reasonably assume that, under the circumstances, any mention or display of nationalism or question of country would be downplayed, avoided, or that any emphasis would be on the city, not the country, but the exact opposite is true.

This team is strongly marketed and contextualized within a decidedly Canadian nationalist framework, from the maple leaf prominently incorporated into the Blue Jay logo, to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police as "colour guard" for key ceremonies. The team's World Series win was adorned in uncustomary, unabashed, Canadian jingoism, both official and unofficial: "Canadian bunting" encircled the stadium; numerous Canadian flags unfurled, paraded and waved on the

field and in the the stands; maple leaf t-shirts and painted faces were everywhere; "Oh Canada" headlines on newspapers, and on a book, and on a video; "World Class, EH!", read another headline; masses of exuberant fans spontaneously and repeatedly broke into the national anthem as they paraded down Yonge Street; full-page newspaper advertisements with a Canadian flag embossed on a baseball over the heading: "Now It Really Is A World Series"; a stately and unprecedented (within Canada, but based on a traditional U.S. custom) victorious team audience with a (beaming) Canadian Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney.* It is hard to imagine any other event, or team, or person contextualized within such an incredibly forceful nationalistic framework. Even the much celebrated, all Canadian, 1972 Team Canada hockey victory did not end up at the Prime Minister's residence.

With what some consider typical Central-Canadian myopia, the Toronto news and sport media declared the Toronto Blue Jays to be "Canada's team." But sure enough, when the Blue Jays won the first World Series in 1992, there were spontaneous celebration in the streets of St. John's, Winnipeg, Calgary and other cities (but significantly, not

* This is but one of many examples of Mulroney's slavish aping of American customs.

Montreal or Quebec City). And indeed, as further proof of Blue Jay Pan-Canadian appeal (or at least Pan-Rest-of-Canada appeal), when the team travels to Seattle, Washington, the crowds there are consistently much larger than normal, and in the stands there are numerous amounts of maple leaf flags and painted faces. Blue Jay fans from British Columbia make the short trip to see "their" team in action against the local, but foreign, Seattle Mariners. The Seattle team, which is based geographically thousands of kilometres closer than "Canada's team", and contains just as many Canadians, does not seem to have the right ontological appeal to attract British Columbian identification.

The concept of Blue Jays as a national focus for identification as well as a national cultural signifier is a concept which is constructed and strongly felt, as opposed to one that can be fundamentally legitimated or considered "authentic." This does not mean it is any less valid as a site for Canadian, national celebration and identification - it is just a highly complex and contradictory one.

As a commercial commodity the Blue Jays are just another one of many forms of American imperial domination in the Canadian mindscape. However, it is possible for Canadians to actively generate and circulate their own meanings and pleasures by using mass-culture as a resource.

In this way, the Blue Jays have become a symbol of pride, success and even resistance. It is precisely because, not in spite of the fact that the Blue Jays operate within, and as part of, an overbearingly, symbolic, and actual, American cultural institution that their World Series wins became such a national cause of pride and celebration. In fact, one might even argue that the absence of Canadian content only reinforces the extent to which the Blue Jays' victory may be viewed as a triumph of Canadian ingenuity over Americans at their own corporate, laissez-faire capitalist, monopolizing, mercenaries-to-the-highest-bidder game. Canada, the argument continues, played America's game, by America's rules, and won.

The Blue Jays present Canadians with the opportunity, not necessarily to be more fully integrated into the American imperium, but rather the opportunity to disassociate themselves from it. National identification, like team identification, necessarily requires a process of inclusion and exclusion, a process of perpetually situating "Us" in relation to "Them". This is achieved through an emphasis on the differences between the two categories of the in-group and the out-group. The emphasized disparities attributed to the out-group, in turn suggests similarities between the subjects of the in-group. The flag waving, the maple leaf face painting and other expressions of "Canadian-

ness" are a consolidation of Canadian in-group oppositionality, a statement of difference and defiance, in the face of American out-group homogeneity. The Blue Jays are not just another corporate baseball team, they are a Canadian corporate baseball team. Sport, in particular, has this capacity to mobilize popular identifications, and feelings of "Us" against "Them". And in this context the Blue Jays can be viewed as a progressive, but not radical, cultural force.

In his book Beyond the Boundary (1963), C.L.R. James describes a similar moment in the national awakening of the West Indies. He expresses how the success in a sport played with the "mother country" can function in the development of a sense of national identity. The book is about the West Indian cricket team defeating the British at their own game; it has remarkable resonance for Canadians interested in baseball and/or their own national struggle:

It was though...Prospero had taught Caliban the use of bat and ball only to find himself comprehensively 'out-magicked' by his upstart colonial pupil...251

In the Canadian colonial context the Blue Jays' victory represents a triumph over our American masters. As Seymour Lipset has noted, "Canadians are the world's oldest and

continuing anti-Americans."²⁵² This, more than any other collective expression or shared interest or experience, accounts for the tremendous nation-wide popularity of the Toronto Blue Jays.

However, this accounts for only one side of the functional equation of "Blue Jay Nationalism." As Stuart Hall suggests there are two sides to consider:

In the study of popular culture, we should always start here: with the double-stake in popular culture, the double movement of containment and resistance, which is always inevitably inside it.²⁵³

Cultural Nationalism's resistive impulse, embodied in the expressions and celebrations of Canadian distinctiveness through the Blue Jays, is ultimately contained by the trappings of acquiescent Official Nationalism, and American capitalist hegemony, which produced the Blue Jays in the first place.

The Blue Jays offer the imagined Canadian community an opportunity, to quote the front page of the Toronto Star, "to thumb their noses"²⁵⁴ at their American subjugators, and consolidate their sense of collective being in opposition to that entity. However, this offer is presented within a structure that profits and valorizes American capitalist hegemony. In the use of the Blue Jays as a metaphor for oppositionality, Canadians financially, culturally and

spiritually herald the values of corporate sport, continental integration and monopoly-capitalism. It also confirms America as the site for Canadian cultural validation, and naturalizes the meritocratic myth of capitalist success. Though Canada beat America at its own game -- it has now made that game its own.

The role of Official Nationalism in this process is to excorporate the counter-hegemonic, potentially radical zeal of Cultural Nationalist sentiment. It is this sentiment which underlies "Blue Jay fever" and which, by appropriation into Official Nationalism, can be directed towards more politically benign purposes. This appropriation is ordinarily achieved through the subtle processes of hegemonic containment, but occasionally examples of it are more blatant.

One clear example of an explicit attempt to associate "Blue Jay nationalism" with a continental-capitalist agenda occurred during the 1992 World Series parade and celebration. During that event, Toronto Blue Jays' president and chief executive officer, and key Conservative Party supporter, Paul Beeston, hoisted the World Series trophy up to his chest, and in front of the fifty-thousand on-hand crowd and the over three-million watching on television, declared: "I don't know about you? But I love

Free Trade!" In that moment Beeston made the implicit -- explicit. Of course, the Blue Jays' victory has absolutely nothing to do with Free Trade -- and then again, perhaps it had everything to do with it.

Another important example, is the federal government's incorporation of a baseball motif into its YES campaign for the 1992 National Referendum on the Charlottetown Accord -- which happened to conclude two days after the final game of the World Series. This campaign included, among other things, expensive television advertising during the World Series itself, and an advertisement campaign centered around baseball. In one advertisement, for instance, a batter, dressed head-to-toe in (Canadian?) red, stands waiting for the "right pitch" from an opposing player dressed head-to-toe in (American?) blue. Accompanying this image there is a voiceover which extols the virtues of the Accord as a form of nation building. This campaign attempted to draw upon the already established equation between baseball and the national-good, generated by "Blue Jay fever" and a benign, but palatable, sentiment of quasi-anti-Americanism. The entire campaign attempted to harness some of the nationalist fervor surrounding the Blue Jays and attach it to a YES vote. This strategy had some limited success. For instance, there was a scattering of signs at the SkyDome which received some media attention. Such signs, for

example, read: SAY YES To The Blue Jays; which indicated, to a degree, the melding of the two ideas within the popular consciousness. The day after the Blue Jays won the World Series, and the day before the referendum, The Toronto Sun attempted to skillfully meld the two events together. On the front cover of the newspaper, it presented a full-page colour photograph of the "Joyful Jays" (to use its description) celebrating their win. This picture was accompanied by a banner headline running across the top of the page. This headline, which had no legitimate connection with the victory it seemed to be explaining, read: "Say Yes To Us"; and in much smaller type: "Editorial on referendum p.4." This deliberate attempt to link "Us", Blue Jays, victory and "YES" on the front of their newspaper, is similar to the strategies employed by the power-bloc and commercial hockey, in the constructed concept of "our game", as discussed in chapter four. Indeed, a few analysts have suggested that the reason the Ontario vote did swing slightly to YES might have been due to the Blue Jay victory.²⁵⁵ The central point is that this political use of baseball demonstrates the way in which hegemonic Official Nationalism can co-opt the oppositional ardor of resistive Cultural Nationalism, which is central to Blue Jay appeal, and attempt to use it for its own purposes.

Though the YES forces clearly attempted to harness a sense of oppositional ardour towards the forces that threatened the country, the Charlottetown Accord had nothing to do with the hegemonic-resistance it was attempting to be identified with. The YES forces of the referendum strongly contextualized their arguments in terms of nation building, but the Charlottetown Accord offered nothing to appease the aspirations of Cultural Nationalist and others genuinely concerned with the real threats confronting the nation. This is a point which Lawrence Martin supports in Pledge of Allegiance (1993):

[The Charlottetown Accord]...was a question of making Quebec and the other provinces happy. It wasn't a matter of building something to sustain the country against continentalism, globalization and the other forces that preyed upon it.²⁵⁶

The fact that the final result was a resounding national rejection of the Accord does not mean the Official Nationalist strategy of containment failed. Ultimately, voting NO in the Referendum simply allowed the oppositional impulse, which was often expressed as a virulent distaste for Brian Mulroney and his continentalist policies, to be discharged within a safe and meaningless arena. The containment, in other words, still proved successful.

The upside-down flag incident, in Game Two of the World Series, offers another example of containment worth noting.

This was containment and control orchestrated by the combined efforts of an official response, and a media generated consensus (more hegemonic -- if you will). After the United States Marines paraded the Canadian flag upside-down in the opening ceremonies of Game Two, there was an immediate and vehement popular response across Canada. The CTV television network broke from the game at one point to deliver what was essentially a "News Flash". They stated that their "switch boards were jammed" with calls from angry viewers who saw the flag upside-down on television and were upset about it. Major League Baseball quickly issued a "formal apology to the people of Canada". The fact that the popular response was so quick and large, as the official reaction confirms, underlies the sensitivities of Canadian subjugation. The general feeling was, as expressed on the front page of the next day's Toronto Star, that this was another example of "American ignorance" towards things Canadian. The oppositional fervor was ignited -- and palpable.

The following two days leading up to Game Three of the World Series in Toronto demonstrated the productive powers of popular resistance and the corresponding strategies of official and hegemonic containment. By the next morning there were literally thousands of tee-shirts printed with variations on the theme of an upside-down American flag.

The incident made the front pages of most English-language newspapers in Canada. It was the topic on several phone-in, radio talk-shows in Southern Ontario, and probably across the country. Within that ephemeral area of critical thought, referred to by Raymond Williams as the "Structures of Feeling", it was easy to sense that something was in the air.

The containment of popular reaction was well orchestrated and involved. For example, pleas came from the Toronto Sun newspaper and from the radio station that carries the Blue Jays games, FAN 1430, not to, in the words of the radio announcements, "act like hicks". The suggestion being, that to display what was obviously being felt, to demonstrate, if nothing else, the frustration with "American ignorance", would mean the loss of treasured "world class" status. On top of this, all hand painted signs being brought into the game were examined by SkyDome security guards to ensure that there were no disparaging remarks about America on them. The stadium as a site of mass spectacle is, in this way, a spectacle of controlled masses. This perpetuates the belief in a collective consensus, when in fact an order is being imposed. In the same manner, no upside-down American flags on tee-shirts were shown to the television audience, though they were an intrinsic part of the setting. Instead, the cameras

repeatedly focused on Canadians flying *both* national flags right-side-up. The orchestrated message was clearly one of 'no hard feelings here boys'.

With the potential still of an international incident if the Canadian crowd booed the American anthem, or did something similar, some sort of symbolic gesture of containment was required. For not everything can be controlled by direct censorship and pre-selecting images. In an effort to ameliorate the situation the power-bloc staged an official apology. Before the national anthems were sung, the RCMP marched into the stadium carrying the American flag*, followed by the United States Marines carrying the Canadian flag (right side-up). Over the loudspeaker the announcer trumpeted an official apology:

To correct this unfortunate error and show their true respect for the Canadian people, the Marine Corps has requested the privilege of again carrying the national flag of Canada.

The apology, of course, was enthusiastically accepted by the on hand crowd. For Canadians must take their victories where they can find them.**

* Inadvertently symbolizing the further Americanization of Canadian institutions.

** During the 1993 World Series, which also included Toronto, the television coverage conveniently foregoed the National anthems, despite complaints. No reason was given for this, but as the television coverage was produced by an American network, one can surmise that it decided that it just wasn't worth the risk.

To despair over Blue Jay mania as the denouement of the Canadian dream, is to mis-recognize its potential and actual resistive undercurrents. It is a cultural resource that can be used to develop and consolidate popular counterhegemonic sentiment, at least at a quasi-nationalist level. On the other hand, to completely and uncritically revel in Blue Jays' nationalism, as a progressive force in itself, would be to misinterpret that potential.*

* But it can be fun.

CONCLUSIONS:THE REAL 'REST-OF-CANADA'

In examining the formation and relationship between sport and nation detailed in the preceding chapters, I have attempted to locate the presence of Canadian identity within a popular cultural framework. This identity, as is argued in chapter two, is socially constructed and ever-changing, as opposed to authentic and reified. It is therefore affected, challenged and manipulated by the dominant ways in which it is experienced. In a technological capitalist society, it is experienced through mass forms of communication, such as newspapers, radio and television. These media, particularly the newspaper, form in the minds of their audience, what Benedict Anderson calls, an "Imagined Community". And sport is an identifiably, central, symbolic aspect of this community. Therefore, the monopoly-capitalist, continental cultural values enshrined in dominant Canadian sport, dictated by commercial considerations, both reflect and affect the same transformations in the community at large.

Complicating, and temporarily postponing, the complete continentalization of Canadian identity, or consciousness, is an oppositional impulse intrinsic to the Canadian self-conception of being "not-the-United States." This

complication generates a particular dialectical tension within Canadian consciousness, between what Canadians are supposed to be (different), and what they apparently are (the same). This tension is reflected in Canadian culture and polity by two central political-cultural forces, one advocating the embracement of the American-Other (Official Nationalism/continental-capitalism), and the other advocating the abandonment, or even the annihilation (within Canada) of the American-Other (Cultural Nationalism). By examining the commercialized, telecommunicated domain of dominant Canadian sport, and thus of dominant "Imagined Canada", it is possible to see how the Cultural Nationalist vision of Canada as an alternative to America has been actively and meaningfully marginalized in favour of the Official Nationalist vision of Canada, as essentially an American northern clone.

Examining commercial sport as a dominant cultural signifier of Rest-of-Canada culture, reveals the processes of marginalizing the "Canadian" as an alternative way-of-life. As outlined in chapter three, sport has been used historically as a method of instilling capitalist values of industry into the sphere of leisure. This ideological propagation has been extended to the wider populace, as sport has predominantly become something one watches as opposed to what one plays. This shift from play to

watching, or spectating, in sports corresponds with a wider societal shift from a society that is production-based to one that is consumer-based. As part of this shift, the consumer has become the central site for the production of value and meaning in Canadian society. Symbolic culture does not simply and ideologically control or dictate Canadian anthropologic culture or polity; rather, they are essentially experienced as one and the same thing. If the Rest-of-Canada nation is an "imagined community", constructed in the minds of the consumer through mass-communications, then the polity of that nation is structurally restrained by the paucity of options made available to it by continental-capitalist marketers. It is also restrained by such continental favourable dictates as cost effectiveness and price rational, simply because Canada represents less than one-tenth of the North American consumer base. Further, through the hierarchy of consumer worth, which is an integral part of consumer logic, Canadian polity will become even more controlled by the interests of its most wealthy inhabitants/consumers -- though those interests will continue to be contextualized to represent all "the peoples'" interests. And though every consumer is ultimately free to interpret and use symbolic culture as he or she sees fit, what is central to the hegemonic maintenance of the link between dominant symbolic culture,

and dominant monopoly-capitalist versions of the Canadian polity is that, in attempting to exercise the potential of "consumer sovereignty" as an oppositional force, the oppositional-consumer must consume and thereby support and validate the processes of capitalist domination and the logics of consumerism.

On the other hand, failing to embrace and use what is truly popular in Canadian society leaves Cultural Nationalism with the dubious role of defending elitist forms of trans-national culture. And though there is a case for its defence, it is already somewhat protected by the interests of Official Nationalists, and those consumers interested in a "world class" city/country. Canadian popular culture has become the most important site of struggle, and is presently the ultimate challenge to progressive cultural nationalists. For Canadian popular culture is where Canadian "common sense" is manufactured, and where the Rest-of-Canada community is most imagined. Canadian popular culture, such as dominant Canadian sports, represents the *real* Rest-of-Canada. For as Dick Hebdgie claims, and I conclude:

In the West popular culture is no longer marginal, still less subterranean. Most of the time for most people it simply is culture.²⁵⁷

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108. Ibid., p.17.
109. Bashevkin, p.23.
110. As cited in Colombo, p.55.
111. John Crosby, as cited in Bashevkin, p.112.
112. Seymour M. Lipset, Continental Divide: The Values And Institutions Of The United States And Canada (New York: Routledge 1990), p.53.
113. Tomlinson, pp.87-88.
114. Ibid., p.83.
115. Collins, p.161.
116. Ibid., p.8.
117. Tomlinson, p.81.
118. Anderson, p.44.
119. Collins, p.29.

120. Anderson, P.25.

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid., p.26.

123. This statistic was determined by counting the pages of the Toronto Star, Toronto Sun and The Globe and Mail for a two week period in January, 1993. The classified sections of these newspapers were not included as part of the percentage, as they are not generally considered part of the "news".

124. Frank Manning, The Beaver Bites Back? American Popular Culture in Canada, David Flaherty and Frank Manning (eds.) (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), p.5.

125. Schlesinger, p.257.

126. Clifford Geertz, Deep Play: Notes On the Balinese Cockfight (originally published 1972) in Chandra Mukerji and Michael Schudson's (eds.) Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives In Cultural Studies (Berkley: University of California Press, 1991), p.266.

127. Ibid., p.262.

128. Ibid., p.268.

129. Michael Oriard, Reading Football: How The Popular Press Created An American Spectacle (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), p.13. Also examine Oriard for his references to Geertz in relation to American Football.

130. Ibid., pp.9-10.

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133. Coakley, p.62.

134. Schlesinger, p.242.

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136. Fitness and Amateur Sport, (1988), p.16-17, cited in Sport in Canadian Society, Ann Hall, Trevor Slack, Garry Smith and David Whitson, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), p.90.

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141. Perry Anderson (1976), as cited in S.J. Parry's "Hegemony of Sport" in the Journal of the Philosophy of Sport, X, 1984, p.74.

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144. Ann Hall, et al., (1991), P.40.

145. Scott Young, The Boys Of Saturday Night: Inside Hockey Night In Canada, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1990), p.3.

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147. Bruce Kidd, "The Continentalization of Canadian Sport: Part 1: Hockey" in Canadian Dimension, 6, (1), 1969, p.6.

148. Ken Dryden and Roy MacGregor, Home Game, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989), p.11.

149. Bruce Kidd, "Sport, Dependency and..." in Cantelon and Gruneau (eds.) Sport, Culture and ... (1982), p.290.

150. J. McKay, P.115.

151. Gruneau, Popular..., (1988), p.22.

152. Ibid.

153. Ibid.

154. Phil Corrigan, in Gruneau (ed.), Popular...., (1988), P.47.

155. Rick Salutin, Les Canadiens: A Play By Rick Salutin. Assist: Ken Dryden (Vancouver: Talon Books 1977), P.12.

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158. Ibid., p.45.

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161. "The Hockey Map of Canada" in Maclean's, (Vol.106. no.17), 26 April, 1993.

162. Bruce Kidd, "Skating Away From The Fight: Canadian Sport, Culture and Personal Responsibility" in Sports and Humanities A Symposium, William Baker and James Rog, (eds.), (Orono: University of Maine at Orono Press, 1983), p.47.

163. John H. Thomson with Allen Seager, "The Conundrum Of Culture: Sport." in Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), p.188.

164. Gruneau and Whitson, p.280.

165. Toronto Sun, 25 October, 1992. p.76.

166. Bruce Kidd, (1969), ...Part 1 p.6.

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169. Gruneau and Whitson, p.98.

170. Thomson and seager, p.189.

171. Simpson, in Morrow, et al., p.195.

172. Gruneau and Whitson, p.228.
173. Jim Bowen, on the "All Sports Radio Station" FAN 1430, Toronto, 13 November, 1993.
174. Gruneau and Whitson, p.264.
175. As cited in McKay, p.37.
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177. Collins, p.261.
178. D. Wolfe, as cited in Bashevkin, p.110.
179. S. Clarkson, (1985), as cited in Collins, p.157.
180. Cook, as cited in Berland, p.62.
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182. See for example, Kidd, (1982), "Sport, Dependency...", in Sport, Culture..., H. Cantelon and R. Gruneau (eds.).
183. Bruce Kidd, 'The Continentalization of Canadian Sport: Part 2: Football' in Canadian Dimension, 6 (2), 1969, P.48.
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185. Smythe, p.272.
186. Ibid., p.xiv.
187. Ibid., p.9.
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211. Sean Kelly, as cited in Colombo, p.63.
212. Harold Innis, as cited in Gregg and Posner, P.16.
213. Kieran Keohone, "Symptoms Of Canada: National Identity And The Theft Of National Enjoyment," in Cineaction: Radical Film Criticism And Theory, No.28, Spring, 1992. p.22.
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224. Steven Brunt, "McNall Seeks Profit From Tumultuous Times" in The Globe And Mail, Friday, 29 May, 1992, p.A6.
225. Ken Fidlin, "The Last Word", The Toronto Sun, Wednesday, 4 August, 1993. p.58.

226. Dunnell, p.G4.
227. Ibid.
228. Frank Manning, in Robert Stebbins, (1987), p.vii.
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248. See "Jays Try To Acquire Cuban Third Baseman", The Globe and Mail, 27 January, 1993. and "Ottawa Blocks U.S Cuba Trade Order", Toronto Star, 10 October, 1992. The fact that these two stories are related and that the Blue Jays may be breaking Canadian law has never been acknowledged by Canadian news media (with the exception of one letter to the editor in the Toronto Star, which I wrote.)

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