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## What Canada Read/Red: A Content Media Analysis of the Montreal Olympic Games and the Soviet Union as Reported in the Montreal Gazette and The Globe and Mail

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Master of Arts  
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What Canada Read/Red: A Content Media Analysis of the Montreal Olympic Games  
and the Soviet Union as Reported in the Montreal *Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail*

(Thesis format: Monograph)

by

Joshua Frederick Peter Archer

Graduate Program in Kinesiology

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

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London, Ontario, Canada

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## Abstract

This study describes the media coverage of the 1976 Montreal Summer Olympic Games. Two newspapers were used for the data collection: the Montreal *Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail*. A systematic, descriptive content analysis of the Olympic Games news coverage was completed using 966 articles. Five categories were constructed for the quantitative analysis: general themes, change over time, sport, gender, and national representation. Based on the findings from the quantitative analysis, a qualitative analysis that examined the way in which the Soviet Union was represented in both newspapers was completed. Three dominant constructions were found, including sport dominance, political victimization, and national growth. This study shows that media focused heavily on the sporting aspect of the Games, compared to the academic literature, which focuses on key issues related to the Games, such as economics, politics, and infrastructure.

## Keywords

1976 Montreal Olympic Games, Content Analysis, The Soviet Union, Canada, Gender, Sport, National Representation, General Quantitative Analysis, Media, The Montreal Gazette, The Globe and Mail, National Branding, Politics, Cold War.

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## Chapter 1

### 1.1 Introduction

*Few would doubt that, used judiciously, press can produce an excellent foundation for history. They are, depending on one's choice of metaphor, the straw that makes the bricks, the raw material of the subject, the evidence of past activity, and so on. In that sense the press is perhaps responsible for there being something called "sports history" at all, at least in the academy.<sup>1</sup>*

Most scholars and researchers would agree that the knowledge produced on the Montreal Olympic Games has brought to light many of the flaws for which those Games are remembered. The discussions surrounding the Games cover a variety of topics, ranging from the unfinished stadium and the massive financial debt to the African Boycott and the Two Chinas issue. While the research topics are broad, the tone is uniform—authors generally discuss the Montreal Games with such criticism that the dominant message appears to be “what not to do” when hosting an Olympic Games.<sup>2</sup> While research into these topics has provided this important and necessary insight, there is another area of study that could provide useful interpretations of the Montreal Olympics.

Media has become a popular source utilized in the construction of history. This is because media offers a variety of sites through which to assess dominant discourses available to the public. While telling news stories, media has the potential to influence attitudes, public opinion, and collective memory based on its framed messaging. In terms of sports history, mass media is important because it is one of the main outlets through which the public comes to understand and appreciate sport. As a result, media has the potential to create and influence national perspectives through sports reporting.

In examining the academic literature on the Montreal Olympics, it is evident that while media has been used as a primary source in constructing the history of the 1976 Games, media coverage itself has not been examined critically. Currently, there are only two media studies that cover the Montreal Olympics: one focuses on the Canadian/Soviet newspaper coverage of the Games and the other on the African boycotts of the 1976 and

1980 Olympic Games.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, providing greater insight into the Canadian media's construction of the Montreal Olympic Games, in particular through the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail*, will shed much needed light on how the media represented the Montreal Olympic Games to the Canadian public.

## 1.2 Purpose

The purpose of this study is two-fold. First, this study compared and contrasted dominant themes about the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games as identified in scholarly publications and two newspapers: the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail*. Second, this study discussed the national representation of the Soviet Union as described in the Canadian media. Thus, this investigation was guided by two research questions: 1) What was the nature of the news coverage of the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games in the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* during the two weeks of the Games?; and 2) How was the Soviet Union represented in the Canadian media during the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games?

This study is relevant for several reasons. To begin, all of the research on the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games is still significant today. For instance, due to the complications of the Montreal Games, recent Olympic bids have been a contentious issue in Canada. In Toronto, an Olympic opposition group called *Bread not Circuses*, which was one of the largest and strongest anti-Olympic organizations in the world, lobbied against Toronto's 1996 and 2008 Summer Olympic bids, as well as Vancouver's 2010 Winter Games bid. They based their opposition on the research done on the Montreal Olympics, stating that the perceived benefits of hosting the mega-event were short-term "economic steroids," and suggested that cities should not invest in the Games because the return on investment was not real.<sup>4</sup> More research into the Montreal Olympic Games could provide an alternative understanding of the 1976 Games, which could potentially challenge or strengthen this argument. As a result, the *Bread not Circuses* example illustrates why more research into the Montreal Olympics is necessary.

Moreover, the Soviet Union was chosen for analysis due to my own personal interest in the Cold War era. The Montreal Olympic Games were held during the Cold

War, which lasted from the end of the World War II to the early 1990s. It is well recognized by researchers that the Olympics were used as a political tool for both the Eastern and Western bloc countries during that time. Further, directly following the Montreal Games, two political boycotts of the 1980 and 1984 Olympic Games occurred. As a result, a discussion of the Canadian representation of the Soviet Union at the 1976 Olympic Games provides a lens to discuss Canadian perceptions of the Soviet Union during this time.

Professionals and researchers in sport might also find this study valuable. First, the identification of themes in the media provide insight into an underdeveloped aspect of the literature on the Montreal Games, which could lead to new perspectives on “failed” Games. Further to that, the identification of themes provide insight into what news producers deemed worthy in terms of reporting about the ’76 Games. This is relevant as it provides an understanding for current organizers and news producers as to what to replicate and what to modify when communicating mega-sporting events coverage in the future. For example, consider the fact that the Pan American and Parapan American Games will be hosted in Toronto in the summer of 2015. While research on the Montreal Games would not have any direct implications for the Pan and Parapan American event, insights into the media’s representation of a “failed” Canadian Olympic Games could provide useful information on what to imitate and adjust in terms of communicated messaging of mega-events for organizers of Toronto’s next major international sporting event. This is not to imply that the Pan American Games organizing committee is currently “failing” in its media strategies, but is to emphasize that the insights from this study could be a useful model of how an international sporting event is portrayed in the media. Second, this research will show how the power of the media and the media’s portrayal of sporting events can be used to shape peoples’ perceptions of the Games, which can then be applied by sport organizers to the management, including media communications, of future sporting events.

In terms of Canadian and Olympic sport history, this study provides insightful perspectives on Canadian sporting culture during the Montreal Olympics Games. As media is a reflection of societal norms, values, and perceptions, looking into the media of

the world's largest sporting event through the lens of Canadian newspapers provides information on how the Montreal Olympics were represented to the Canadian public.

## 1.3 Literature Review

For the purpose of this study, the literature review will be divided into two sections. To begin, a review of the academic literature surrounding the Montreal Olympics will be provided. The review is followed by an examination of how the 1976 Games have been portrayed in the popular and grey literature. Together, these two branches of literature will provide a jumping off point for exploring how the Montreal Olympics are often portrayed as the exemplar of “what not to do” in terms of hosting an Olympic event.

### 1.3.1 Academic Literature

As stated by sport historian Bruce Kidd, the “Montreal Olympics are often remembered for their extravagant mismanagement and unfulfilled expectations, usually attributed to the city’s flamboyant Mayor Drapeau.”<sup>5</sup> The “mismanagement” refers to the many issues for which these Games are traditionally known, including, but not limited to, the large financial deficit, Montreal’s poor infrastructure, the Two Chinas issue, and the African boycott.

For instance, Holger Preus used the Montreal Games as a worst-case scenario in his financial examination of Olympic Games. The 1976 Games were promised to be self-financing, supported and developed through private and internal funding efforts organized by the city of Montreal and the Olympic Organizing Committee.<sup>6</sup> In theory, this concept was sound, but in reality, the financial burden fell on the Quebec provincial government: “at the conclusion of the Games the private revenues generated by the [Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games] amounted to a mere 5 per cent of the funds required. The remaining 95 per cent was provided by special financing means and by the public sector.”<sup>7</sup> Once the interest on the deficit, as well as the additional US \$537 million required to finish the 1976 Olympic facilities was taken into consideration, the total Olympic bill amounted to approximately US \$2.7 billion—which did not get paid in full until 2006. As a result, Preus concluded that the Montreal Games put the Olympic

movement in jeopardy, as cities were reluctant to host future Olympics for fear of potential financial ruin.<sup>8</sup>

Concerns about Montreal's poor infrastructure for the Games are also usually tied to financial discussions. Specifically, the unfinished Olympic stadium is often used as an example to highlight Montreal's infrastructural shortcomings. Designed by French architect Roger Taillibert, the stadium featured a system for opening and closing a retractable roof that utilized an angled 575-foot tower, which supported the roof using twenty-six steel cables. Due to its complex structure, as well as multiple worker strikes, the construction was not completed in time for the 1976 opening ceremonies. Furthermore, the creation of a new airport at Mirabel for the purpose of the Games, located 50 km northwest of the city, which closed 30 years later due to inadequate use, also epitomized the infrastructural problems created by the Montreal Olympics.<sup>9</sup>

Scholars have also written extensively on the two major political fallouts of the 1976 Olympic Games: the Two Chinas issue and the African boycott. Firstly, in the Two Chinas issue, the Canadian government, due to Chinese political pressure, dictated that Taiwan could only compete in the Games if it agreed to participate under a title other than "Republic of China" or "China," and if it did not use any Chinese flags, anthems, or other Chinese symbols. This act led to the Taiwan delegation withdrawing from the Games.<sup>10</sup> Additionally, twenty-eight African nations declared a last minute boycott of the Games due to New Zealand's sporting participation with South Africa. During this time, international sporting interaction with South Africa was banned across IOC member countries due to South African Apartheid policies.<sup>11</sup> While these issues occurred prior to the Games, they challenged the ideals of Olympism, which act as the foundation for the Olympic movement. These political fallouts, in conjunction with the compounding factors previously mentioned, lead sports historian Daniel Latouche to declare, "while the debate still goes on in specialized circles as to whether the Munich, Montreal or Moscow Games should be awarded the prize for the worst-ever Olympics, there is no doubt that the Montreal Games have their place in the triangle of Disappointment Games."<sup>12</sup>



Research surrounding the Montreal Olympic print media is limited, with only one published journal article and one conference presentation on the subject. The journal article, co-authored by Leon Chorbajian and Vincent Masco in 1981, focused on the media coverage regarding the African boycott of the 1976 and 1980 Olympic Games. The article outlines the boycott narratives from *Time* and the *New York Times*, and examines how each publication broadcasted its own messages about nationalism. *Time* and *The New York Times* offered unique perspectives on the boycott, though both media sources agreed that politics should not be part of the Olympic Games. Furthermore, the authors discussed how large diversified media conglomerates use the media as a means of ideological production in their area of influence.<sup>13</sup>

In 1987, Yakov Rabin and David Franklin presented “Soviet/Canadian Press Perspectives on the Montreal Olympics” at the Olympic Movement and Mass Media Conference. For this study, Montreal’s *Gazette*, *Star*, and *La Press*, Toronto’s *Star*, *Sun*, and *Globe and Mail*, and the Soviet Union’s *Pravda* were qualitatively analyzed for several weeks pre-, post-, and during the Games. Four themes from the newspapers were discussed briefly: anticipation of the Games, sports and politics, medal fever, and national bias. The findings indicate that the Soviet Union’s coverage of the Montreal Games was more nationalistic and placed a greater emphasis on medal count compared to the Canadian press. The authors suggest that this finding was a result of poor Canadian performances at the Olympics and not a result of conflicting ideas about the importance of sport and nationalism.<sup>14</sup>

The Montreal Games have also been discussed in relation to nationalism, promotional agendas, and Aboriginal issues. Bruce Kidd’s “The Culture Wars of the Montreal Olympics” provides a unique interpretation of the Montreal Olympic Games in terms of Canadian nationalism. Kidd argues that the problems faced by the 1976 Olympic organizing committee needs to be interpreted through the context of clashing nationalisms surrounding the event, which divided the governments that funded Canadian sport and undermined public confidence in the Games. Furthermore, Kidd highlights the success of the Olympics, not only in terms of intercultural celebrations, but also

regarding the social investment it created with respect to the long-term development of sport and fitness in Canada.<sup>15</sup>

David Whitson's article "Bringing the world to Canada: 'the [sic] periphery of the centre,'" discusses the use of the Olympics as a means of bringing international recognition to Canada, as well for the promotion of economics, technology, and culture in host cities. Furthermore, the article discusses the use of the Olympics as a way to strengthen the weak international image of a unique Canadian culture. More specifically, the paper discusses the Olympic Games in Montreal and Calgary in terms of identity development, economic growth, and population opportunities. In terms of the Montreal Games, Whitson describes the event as "Drapeau's obsession with making a grand 'statement,' [which] proved [to be] a crippling expense to the city, to the point of being a handicap to the nationalist project."<sup>16</sup>

Janice Forsyth's "Teepees and Tomahawks: Aboriginal Cultural Representation at the 1976 Olympic Games" shows how the closing ceremonies of the Montreal Games, as well the 17-day cultural display called 'Indian Days,' misrepresented Mohawk culture. She argues that these misrepresentations helped perpetuate stereotypical misunderstandings of Canadian Aboriginal cultures to the world:

For the performance, which was promoted as a tribute to the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, Olympic officials invited local First Nations to take part in a display that was constructed for them by non-Aboriginal artists. Despite the complete lack of Aboriginal involvement in the organizational process, approximately 200 Aboriginal peoples from nine different First Nations participated in the celebration, having consented to share center stage with approximately 250 non-Aboriginal people dressed and painted to look like Indians.<sup>17</sup>

Lastly, Margaret Carlisle Duncan's article, "A Hermeneutic of Spectator Sport: The 1976 and 1984 Olympics Games," used the 1976 and 1984 Olympics as a case study for investigating six categories of symbolism: dramatization of recurring life issues, transcendence of human limitations, rebellion against industrialized society, spectatorship as an aesthetic experience, religion overtones, and political dimensions. Duncan's findings, while not related exclusively to the Montreal Games, suggest reoccurring

themes are becoming apparent in the media, such as ambivalence towards women and conflicts with the changing role of women in society.<sup>18</sup>

### 1.3.2 Popular and Grey Literature

The Montreal Olympics have also been a topic of discussion among reporters. In 1976, Canadian writer, sports journalist, and English professor Jack Ludwig wrote about his experience at the Montreal Olympic Games in his book *Five Ring Circus*. Based on his experiences, he constructed a narrative of the Games that highlights Mayor Drapeau's influence on the Olympics, the Soviet bloc's dominance of the Games, the issue of politics and money surrounding the event, and the star athletes of the Games. The book provides a lived experience of the Games through an informed spectator's perspective.<sup>19</sup>

More recently, the media has used the Montreal Games as a way to explain the shortcomings of the current Olympic movement, as well as the lasting effects the Games have had in Canada. For example, Allan Fotheringham's article, "The woes of the Olympics began in Montreal," printed in *Maclean's* magazine in February 1999, states,

There is a myth growing, on this Olympic mess, that it all started with the tacky, overcommercialized Summer Games in Atlanta. Which led to all the bribes and greed of Salt Lake City. It's a nice myth, but it's wrong. The real sleaze got its start with Jean Drapeau and the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal. There was the blueprint for corruption.<sup>20</sup>

Furthermore, in July of 2001, the *Daily Commercial News and Construction Record* printed "1976 Olympics left sour taste: Montreal Games." The focus of this article is the lasting effects of the 1976 Olympics' mismanagement on the city of Montreal, stating,

In local circles, the stunning performances of Romanian gymnast Nadia Comaneci, swimmers John Naber of the United States and Kornelia Ender of East Germany and American boxer (Sugar) Ray Leonard are recalled far less frequently than the billion-dollar debt Quebecers are still paying off. The dream of a big-thinking mayor, Jean Drapeau, to make Montreal a world-class city ended up serving as an international case study on the nightmare the Olympics can become when ego and greed overrule discipline and sound management.<sup>21</sup>

These two examples, in conjunction with the scholarly accounts, clearly show that the lasting memory of the Montreal Games continues to be “what not to do” when hosting the Olympics.

## 1.4 The Montreal Olympics in Context: Expo '67

The Olympic Games were not the only mega-event to take place in Montreal during Drapeau's term as mayor. Montreal's emergence as a tourist city began in the late 1960s and continued into the 1970s, a time described by historian Marc Levine as the city's “era of mega-events.”<sup>22</sup> In 1967, the Montreal World's Fair (Expo '67) took place on the man-made Ile Notre-Dame and an enlarged Ile Ste-Helene, two islands just off the shores of the St. Lawrence River. Expo '67 took place from April 27 to October 29, and was the largest exposition to date with sixty-two nations participating. It ran a deficit of \$210 million dollars.<sup>23</sup> Hosted nine years prior to the Montreal Olympic Games, and held in the same city, it is important to explore some basic insights into Expo '67 as a way to establish some context for the 1976 Olympics. The fact that Montreal hosted two world-class mega-events so close together was an interesting circumstance in history since, at the time, both events were internationally recognized for their global influence and status. As a result, understanding the social climate of Montreal after Expo '67 will provide context into the expectations Canadian citizens had for the Montreal Olympics Games.

The Montreal Expo is remembered as being a roaring success, aesthetically and culturally.<sup>24</sup> It was so successful that highlights of Expo '67 were turned into an episode of *Heritage Minute*, a Canadian mini-series that runs during television commercial breaks and provides information on important moments, people, or events in Canadian history. The Heritage Moment claims that the Montreal event was the most successful Exposition of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, according to political scientist David Whitson,

Visitors came in large numbers, and went away impressed by Montreal's urban charms—by the Expo site and the new Metro system, by the city's often spectacular mix of modern and historic architecture, and by restaurants and nightlife that were more cosmopolitan than other North American cities of that era. The city also enjoyed highly favorable coverage in foreign media.<sup>26</sup>

Furthermore, journalist John Lownsbrough, in his book *The Best Place to Be: Expo 67 and Its Time*, states: "...even now, Expo continues to exert a hold on the imaginations of so many Canadians is testimony to the way it encapsulated a spirit of optimism so particular to its time."<sup>27</sup> While the title of the book clearly displays the positive sentiments the event created for the Canadian public, the above quote also speaks to the enhanced image of success it created for Canadians.

It has also been hypothesized that the success of Expo '67 encouraged Montreal to bid for the 1976 Summer Games. As a result of the city's increased investments in transportation and infrastructure, as well as the Expo's glowing reviews, a new confidence was felt in Montreal.<sup>28</sup> The confidence that Expo '67 introduced to the social climate of Montreal, as well as to Drapeau, was captured and expressed by Lownsbrough:

When the mayor set out for Amsterdam in 1970, he felt confident Montreal could seal the deal—and he was right. But when journalist Bill Bantey encountered Drapeau not long after the triumph, he found him looking morose. What was wrong? he asked Drapeau. "Life is going to be boring now," Drapeau replied. Why? asked Bantey. "Well, there's nothing left to do. We've done Expo and now [we've done] the Olympics."<sup>29</sup>

This snapshot of Drapeau and Bantey's conversation clearly displays the confidence felt in Montreal following the Expo, leading into the Olympic Games. That confidence is best expressed in the now-famous quote by Drapeau: "the Olympics can no more lose money than a man can have a baby."<sup>30</sup> This example shows that the Olympics were expected to be a great success, just as Expo '67 had been.

## 1.5 Theoretical Considerations

### 1.5.1 The Nature of Text

For the purpose of this study, there are some aspects of "text" (understood here as the written word) that require explanation. To begin, text is only meaningful when a reader derives inferences from the written word; text has no significant meaning to the reader until the reader applies meaning to the text. Since all readers have unique lived experiences and personal biases, text can hold multiple meanings depending on the reader. As a result, the meanings behind a text may not be shared by all who read it,

making analysis itself a meaningful practice. If everyone agreed on textual meanings, analysis would be irrelevant.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, the meaning behind text speaks beyond its face value, as text only represents one part of the author's ideas. Consequently, analysis must look beyond the literal wording of the text to consider the concepts that get articulated to the reader. Additionally, the meaning behind text is relative to the context and narrative surrounding the text. In other words, how the reader understands the knowledge and context surrounding a text will dictate how the reader understands the meaning of the text. In terms of analysis, this requires the analyst to create a contextual space in their mind that provides meaning to the text and which can be used to help answer the analyst's research questions. As a result, analysts have to draw inferences from the texts that are congruent with their contextual framework.<sup>32</sup> Understanding the nature of text is relevant for this study, since content is always open to some interpretation and, therefore, can be understood and remembered by the reader in multiple ways.

### 1.5.2 Media, Collective Memory and Historical Understanding

*...a remembrance is in very large measure a reconstruction of the past achieved with data borrowed from the present, a reconstruction prepared, furthermore, by reconstructions of earlier periods wherein past images had already been altered...Hence we can consider remembrances as so many representations resting, at least in part, on testimony and reasoning.<sup>33</sup>*

Our understanding of the past is always changing. With each passing generation, new information is made available, leading to new historical constructions created through greater historical knowledge. Consequently, "historical understanding is the result of an ongoing dialogue between historical texts and past understandings and contemporary texts and meaning."<sup>34</sup> As previously stated, the historical record of the Montreal Olympic Games is generally understood as a critical analysis of its major flaws. Through collective memory theory, there is a possible explanation for this unilateral history.

Maurice Halbwachs, who originated collective memory theory, stated, “collective memory is a living image of the past, the shared image or the collective representation of an event as it has been refashioned over time.”<sup>35</sup> He believed that individuals think and remember as part of a group and that memories surface from the group itself. If part of the past is forgotten, it is because the group that created those memories has broken apart or no longer deem that part of the past worth remembering.<sup>36</sup> Halbwachs also believed that the concerns of the present dictate our memory of the past.<sup>37</sup>

What is more, public opinion and collective memory are two constructs that seem similar to each other but diverge when analyzed in-depth. Political scientist and communications professor Susan Herbst states that public opinion is one of the least understood concepts in political theory: “despite the continuing use of the phrase, the meaning of public opinion remains a mystery to the very researchers who use the concept to theorize about public sentiment.”<sup>38</sup> I believe public opinion is synonymous with ‘majority opinion.’ Simply put, the opinion that matters is the opinion associated with the largest number of people.<sup>39</sup> As well, public opinion evolves from, and therefore reflects, public discourse.<sup>40</sup> In other words, discourse shapes public opinion. Moreover, sociologist Jeffery Olick surmises that “public opinion [is] nothing more than the attitudes and opinions of individuals add[ing] up into general pictures.”<sup>41</sup> As pointed out by Herbst, public opinion generates public sentiment. It is in public sentiment where public opinion and collective memory overlap. Once the particulars of an event dissolve, the feelings generated from the event remain with the individual.<sup>42</sup>

Historians play a role in the creation of collective memory. Generally, the role of an historian is to study, analyze, and produce relevant meanings and interpretations of their subject matter. As a result, historians help to shape the collective memory of any given event by collecting, documenting, analyzing, and writing about an event. Historian Geoffrey Cubitt goes as far as stating, “history *is* the collective memory, in its developed and efficacious form; it is the form of intellectual discipline, and the type of knowledge, through which a given society is able to remember.”<sup>43</sup> As well, historical narrative, like memory, is “constructed around its own blind spots.”<sup>44</sup> More pointedly, only the parts of history that have been uncovered can be integrated into the collective memory of an

event. Historian Louis Gottschalk summarized the historiographical process in the following way,

... only a part of what was observed in the past was remembered by those who observed it; only a part of what was remembered was recorded; only a part of what was recorded has survived; only a part of what has survived has come to the historian's attention; only a part of what has come to their attention is credible; only a part of what is credible has been grasped or can be expounded or narrated by the historian.<sup>45</sup>

In the case of the Montreal Games, the historical writings that have been produced are generally on topics that were popular in research circles at the time they were written: sport and politics, “white elephant” infrastructure, and financing/managing mega events. As a result, research on the Montreal Games was based on the dominant interests and concerns of the researchers at that time. I am not immune to this idea either, as this study is a result of present societal concerns for creating a better Olympic Games. As discussed previously, politics, infrastructure, and finances were largely the pitfalls of the 1976 Olympics. While this research has provided insight on how to organize a more fiscally sound Games, it has also played a role in the creation and maintenance of the “what not to do” understanding of the Montreal event.

However, media also plays a role in the way collective memory is created, perpetuated, and maintained. As shown by Morrow in Table 1, newspapers play a number of primary and secondary roles in society. While from a journalist's point of view, the role of newspapers is to provide facts and inform the public about news, newspapers also provide entertainment. In this vein, two famous statements need consideration from an analyst working with media. First, “facts should not get in the way of a good story,” and second, “one should not believe everything they read in the papers.”<sup>46</sup>

Moreover, the material reported in media emphasizes the popular topics the media producers believe should be considered relevant in society. Thus, media can influence whether or not specific subjects will be considered important by the public. Moreover, the more exposure an individual has to media, the more that individual will be able to recount important issues dictated by the media. As the media gets the opportunity to determine which issues and events are portrayed to the public, it can influence what and



how an individual thinks about an event.<sup>47</sup> In other words, most of the population understands the world through an arbitrated reality; we learn about our world, in part, through reading and watching media.<sup>48</sup> Consequently, it is also necessary to state that media does not perfectly reflect the complex activities of the everyday world. The media can only report a fraction of what occurs in a day, let alone explain complex events, such as the Olympic Games. Thus, the media attempts to represent an entire reality by focusing on sections of events.<sup>49</sup>

With this in mind, there are two ways in which the media influences collective memory: prominence and portrayal. Prominence refers to how a topic stands out from other topics in a newspaper. All topics have different levels of prominence in newspapers; therefore, not all topics are equally absorbed by readers. As a result, events stressed in the media have the best opportunity of being remembered.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, memories deteriorate quickly. While memory fades, the attitudes and sentiments garnered from those memories remain after the particulars are forgotten. However, repeating details of an event in the press over time can foster retention.<sup>52</sup> For instance, “one of the major characteristics of commemorative activities is that they serve to elevate from historical records certain events and people that would otherwise be socially forgotten or buried in archives and other deserted social locations.”<sup>53</sup>

Table 1: Assumed Journalistic Functions of Canadian Newspapers <sup>50</sup>	
<p><u>Journalism</u>: The work of gathering news, writing for, editing for, or directing the publication of a newspaper or other periodical.</p> <p>Print all the news that is fit to print;</p> <p>Newspaper is at once a pulpit (critical comment) and a broadsheet (descriptive function).</p>	
<u>Primary Functions</u>	<u>Secondary Functions</u>
Inform Report Publicize Criticize Illustrate -Pictorially -Verbally Reflect -public opinion -image -nationalism	Flavour Sentiment Sensationalize Highlight Reinforce “Stories” Compress
<p><u>Compounding Functions</u>:            Frequency of topic/subject reporting; prominence of topic/subject in the newspaper.</p>	

Furthermore, the way media coverage is portrayed to the masses can affect how it is remembered, as well as what aspects of the coverage will be remembered.<sup>54</sup> Readers who do not experience an event first-hand might rely on media coverage to learn about it. As a result, their knowledge of an event will be skewed by how the event was portrayed in the media. The media also influences individuals who experienced the event directly by “refreshing their memory” of their experience or by offering another way of thinking about the event. As a result, their direct experience could be augmented or replaced with aspects of the event the media producers chose to highlight.<sup>55</sup>

In summary, I have come to understand the media to play a strong role in the creation of collective memory. If the majority of people maintain a specific belief about an issue as dictated by the media, once the particulars of the issue fade away, the feelings and fragmented remembrances surrounding the issue will remain in the memories of the majority of people and, therefore, will influence the collective memory surrounding the event. Therefore, the media’s power in influencing public opinion also has lasting influences on collective memory.

## 1.6 Methodology

### 1.6.1 Time Frame

This study examines the period from July 17<sup>th</sup> to August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1976—a time span that reflects the Montreal Summer Olympic Games from the opening to the closing ceremonies. This time frame was chosen because this is where the bulk of the data surrounding the Montreal Olympics is to be found in the newspapers.

### 1.6.2 Identification of Primary Sources

For this study, the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* were chosen for specific, but different reasons. The *Gazette* was chosen because it is a local (Montreal), daily newspaper that provided extended coverage of the Montreal Games. As stated by Jack Ludwig,

The best coverage of the Olympics, from its beginning to the follow-up, occurred in the locally based *Montreal Gazette*, largely due to the concentration of its sports editor, Doug Gilbert, and, during the Games

proper, a number of involved, talented writers such as Tim Burke, Ian MacDonald, etc. Aislin's *Gazette* Olympic sketchbook caught the images, bizarre or straight, of what was happening among the spectators as well as among the athletes. The *Gazette* made sure that Canadian participants were followed but also kept watch on Nabers and Walkers and Juantorenas and Kazankinas and Szewinskas and Virens (Comaneci, Kim, Ender, Alexeev, Jenner, Joy, Cierpinski, nobody could miss.)<sup>56</sup>

As well, the Montreal *Gazette* is an Anglophone newspaper, which is necessary since I am not fluent in French. Similarly, *The Globe and Mail* was chosen because it offered extended daily news coverage of the Montreal Games to readers throughout Canada. Together, the two sources of data revealed "what Canadians read" in the press on the Montreal Olympic Games.

### 1.6.3 Article Sampling

In terms of data collection, every page from *The Globe and Mail* and the *Gazette* from July 17<sup>th</sup> to August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1976, inclusive, was examined for relevant information: every Olympic-related item was photocopied, organized, and coded in an electronic database. In the *Gazette*, every paper opened with a section devoted to the 1976 Games, with each section ranging from 6-10 pages in length. In *The Globe and Mail*, Olympic news coverage was integrated into the sports section of the newspaper. That being said, Olympic news was also found in other sections of each paper, though the volume and prominence of Olympic material was much smaller.

A pilot study was conducted encompassing the same time frame using Olympic coverage from the Montreal *Gazette*. For this preliminary investigation, all Olympic related items in the newspaper were analyzed and organized into six different formats: text, pictures, schedules, political cartoons, result summaries, and advertisements. For the purpose of this study, text will refer exclusively to newspaper articles, editorials, letters to the editor, and op-ed pieces. The data was collected, coded, and categorized into themes that emerged from close readings of the material. This allowed for the subjectivity of the analyst's reading of the material to influence the process, but ultimately prevented pre-conceived notions of the Games from skewing the data.

In total, 793 pieces of Olympic related items across all six formats were collected, coded, and categorized from the *Montreal Gazette*. The six formats were broken down into fifty-one descriptive categories used to compartmentalize the data. These categories were created through close readings of the 793 Olympics items. There were no set categories at the start of the process, but as themes appeared through a close reading of the material, they were accounted for by creating new categories. The formats that yielded the largest amount of data were text and pictures, with 514 and 214 pieces collected respectively. From this study, while using an unstructured categorization process free of externally established criteria yielded specific results, it created a dataset that was extremely large, hard to infer meaning from, and hard to manage.

As a result of the pilot study, the data for this study was analyzed in two separate stages. First, prior to analysis, categories were identified based on major themes that emerged from the academic literature on the Montreal Games. This increased the reliability of the study, as externally established criteria provided the foundation for the remainder of the analysis.<sup>57</sup> Second, when new themes that did not fit into the pre-conceived categories emerged from the newspaper analysis, a new category was created. Details about the analysis follow in section 1.6.4.

#### 1.6.4 Analysis

*Content analysis...is a general-purpose analytical infrastructure, elaborated for a wide range of uses. It is intended for anyone who wishes to put questions to communications (pictorial and musical, as well as oral and written) to get data that will enable him to reach certain conclusions. Some content analyses are more objective than others. All are more objective than impressionistic assessment of the same question and materials. None are perfectly objective, though some approach this goal remarkably closely.*<sup>58</sup>

A descriptive content analysis was used to analyze the data from the *Montreal Gazette* and the *Toronto Globe and Mail*. As historian Thomas Carney states, “content analysis is any technique for making inferences by objectively or systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages.”<sup>59</sup> While content analysis historically originates from journalism studies performing simple frequency counts within newspapers, this type of analysis does not limit data inferences to be drawn only from

quantified measurements and results.<sup>60</sup> In fact, using both qualitative and quantitative methods in content analysis is preferred, as both techniques allow for thorough investigation of different, but complimentary levels of analysis.<sup>61</sup> For example, while quantitative methods provide information on frequency and prominence of content, qualitative analysis provides a platform for more theoretical analysis; this allows for a more well-rounded analysis of the dataset. Moreover, content analysis allows content to be examined beyond its face value, allowing “between the lines” readings of the text to be a fruitful component of the analytic process.<sup>62</sup>

As analysis was based on themes portrayed in newspapers, an indication of what constituted a theme needs to be provided. For the purpose of this study, themes refer to events or perspectives that can be viewed as one uniform idea.<sup>63</sup> While thematic analysis often allows for dramatic findings to be revealed, it can also “reach into aspects of a communication which cannot be dealt with by frequency counts or even contingency analysis: [for example,] where two or more passages contain almost identical words but mean wholly different things.”<sup>64</sup> With this noted, one critique of thematic analysis must also be brought to attention. Due to the unclear and subjective nature of determining themes, there can be reliability problems in the coding process. For instance, the analyst may not always be certain of the theme the items are portraying, which could potentially lead to over- or under- analysis of the material.<sup>65</sup>

The way in which the two newspapers reported on the 1976 Montreal Games was investigated in this study. The methodology for this study was largely influenced by Thomas Carney’s model for content analysis. While multiple authors offered different approaches to content analysis, Carney provided a clear framework for analysis that could be efficiently adapted to this study since it provided clear direction for collecting, coding, and analyzing data.<sup>66</sup>

According to Carney, quantitative analysis is done through “unitizing” the newspaper articles. Unitizing creates a standardized format for processing the data, which creates a platform where questions can be posed and all texts can be analyzed in a similar

fashion. Furthermore, unitizing acts as a productive tool for the quantitative aspect of the content analysis.<sup>67</sup>

There are three components of unitizing: (1) recording units, (2) context units, and (3) categories. Recording units are items that are countable (e.g., words or themes). A context unit is the channel that the recording unit is embedded within. In other words, the context unit is the setting used to establish the meaning of the recording unit. As a result, the context unit needs to be specific to the recording unit (e.g., if the recording unit is a theme, the context unit is the body of the text). Categories are the classification systems in which the recording units are compartmentalized, based on the inferences made from the context units.<sup>68</sup>

For this study, unitizing was done in a slightly different manner. As the focus of this study was thematic, the recording unit was the theme portrayed in the newspaper articles. The context units were the statements within the newspaper articles that depicted the themes. The categories were the major themes portrayed in the context units (e.g., categories were created based on the themes in the article's text). As previously noted, categories were also generated by turning to themes that were present in the literature on the 1976 Olympic Games.

Since a theme was defined as an event or perspective that could be understood as a whole, the event or perspective that was portrayed in the article's title and first paragraph was used as the primary measure for categorizing the article. While Carney

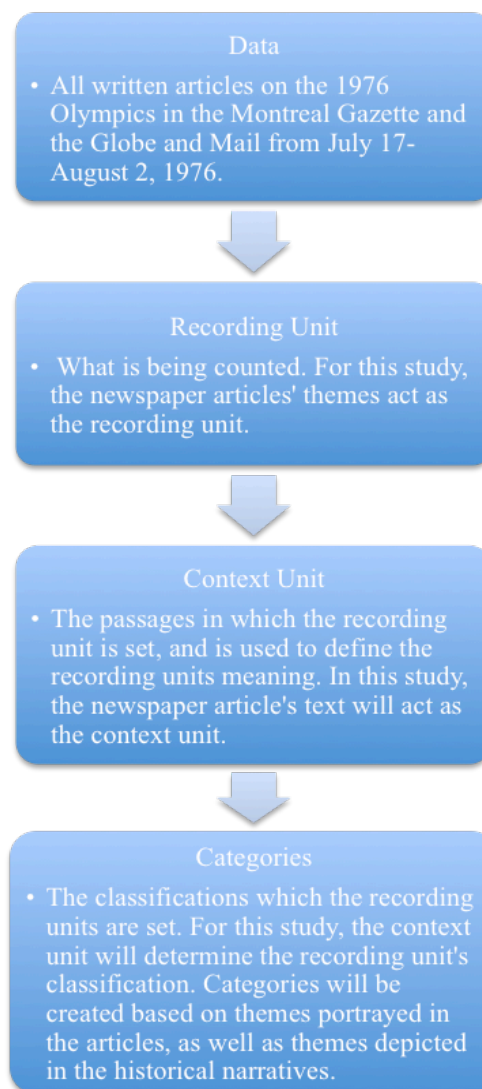


Figure 1: Methodology

suggested that categories must be strict enough that items could only be classified into one category, for this study Olympic texts could fit into more than one category.<sup>69</sup> For example, an article on a male Canadian wrestler would be categorized into male, Canada, sport, and wrestling.

While this process provided a quantitative analysis of the prominence and frequency of themes in the newspapers, it did not provide the necessary tools for the second half of the analysis. A qualitative analysis of the Canadian media's national representation of the Soviet Union during the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games was done through close readings of all articles related to the Soviet Union. Inferences were made by analyzing the complete written text of each newspaper article.

### 1.6.5 Delimitations

Some delimitations restricted this study. This study was delimited to the text coverage of the Montreal Olympics Games from July 17<sup>th</sup> to August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1976 in two Canadian English-language newspapers: *The Globe and Mail* based in Toronto, Ontario, and the *Gazette* based in Montreal, Quebec. This was done for two reasons. First, they offered a local and national perspective of Olympics media coverage, thus providing a broad based view of “what Canadians read” during the Olympics. Second, only written text was considered for this study because the written text provided the largest and clearest amount of information compared to other newspaper coverage formats (e.g., pictures, political cartoons, advertisements, etc.). With this noted, the other formats were used as supporting material for the written text, and, therefore, usually reinforced or supplemented the text's message.

### 1.6.6 Limitations

As stated by sport historian Fred Mason, “in looking at a discourse, one can analyze the statements made about a group of people, reconstruct the perceptions of a group, the societal and historical influences that fed the discourse, and how the creators of a discourse employed in for this own ends,” however, “one cannot directly infer the effects of this discourse on the group.”<sup>70</sup> As a result, this study was limited to discussing what Montreal Olympic coverage was portrayed to the Canadian public through two

newspapers and tries not to make assumptions about how the coverage influenced the Canadian public. As well, only English newspapers were chosen for this study because I am only fluent in English.



## 1.7 Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> Jeffery Hill, “Sport, the Newspaper Press, and History,” in *Deconstructing Sport History: A Post Modern Analysis*, eds. Murray Phillips, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 118. [italics added by author]

<sup>2</sup> For some examples, see Daniel Latouche, “Montreal 1976,” in *Olympic Cities*, eds. John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, (New York: Routledge, 2011); Jack Ludwig, *Five Ring Circus: The Montreal Olympics* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1976); Courtney Mason, “The Bridge to Change: The 1976 Montreal Olympics Games, South African Apartheid Policy, and the Olympic Boycott Paradigm” in *Onward to the Olympics*, eds. Gerald Schaus and Stephen Wenn (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007); George Wright, “The Political Economy of the Montreal Olympic Games,” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 2(1) (1978): 13-18; Ashish Patel et al., “The 1976 Montreal Olympics: A Case Study of a Project Management Failure,” *Journal of Performance of Constructed Facilities*, 1 (2012); “1976 Olympics left sour taste: Montreal Games,” *Daily Commercial News and Constructions Record*, 74(133), 2010: B1; Paul Howell, *The Montreal Olympics: an insider’s view of organizing a self-financing game*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> See Leon Chorbajian and Vincent Mosco, “1976 and 1980 Olympic Boycott Media Coverage: All the News that Fits,” *ARENA Review*, 5, 3 (1981), 3-28, and Yakov Rabkin and David Franklin, “Soviet/Canadian Press Perspectives on the Montreal Olympics,” *Proceedings from Olympics Movement and Mass Media Conference, Calgary* (1987), 4-29 – 4-37.

<sup>4</sup> John Horne and Garry Whannel, *Understanding the Olympics* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 135.

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- <sup>5</sup> Bruce Kidd, "The Culture Wars of the Montreal Olympics," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 27 (1992), 151.
- <sup>6</sup> Holger Preus, "Financing of the Games: Interests, winners, and losers," in *The Olympics; A Critical Reader*, eds by Vassil Girginov (New York: Routledge, 2010): 259.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>9</sup> John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, "Olympic Cities," in *The Olympics; A Critical Reader*, eds by Vassil Girginov (New York: Routledge, 2010): 274.
- <sup>10</sup> Donald Macintosh and Michael Hawes, *Sport and Canadian Diplomacy* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 49.
- <sup>11</sup> Courtney Mason, "The Bridge to Change: The 1976 Montreal Olympic Games, South African Apartheid Policy, and the Olympic Boycott," in *Onward to the Olympics*, eds. Gerald Schaus and Stephen Wenn (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier Press, 2003), 290-293.
- <sup>12</sup> Daniel Latouche, "Montreal 1976," in *Olympic Cities*, eds. John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, (New York: Routledge, 2011), 246.
- <sup>13</sup> Chorbajian and Mosco, "1976 and 1980 Olympic Boycott Media Coverage: All the News that Fits," 3-28.
- <sup>14</sup> Rabkin and Franklin, "Soviet/Canadian Press Perspectives on the Montreal Olympics," 4-29 – 4-37.
- <sup>15</sup> Kidd, "The Culture Wars of the Montreal Olympics," 151.

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<sup>16</sup> David Whitson, "Bringing the world to Canada: 'the periphery of the centre'," *Third World Quarterly*, 25, 7 (2004), 1220.

<sup>17</sup> Janice Forsyth, "Teepees and Tomahawks: Aboriginal Cultural Representation at the 1976 Olympic Games," *The Global Nexus Engaged: Sixth International Symposium for Olympic Research*, (London: The University of Western Ontario, 2002), 71-76.

<sup>18</sup> Duncan, "A Hermeneutic of Spectator Sport: The 1976 and 1984 Olympic Games," 50-77.

<sup>19</sup> Jack Ludwig, *Five Ring Circus: The Montreal Olympics* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1976).

<sup>20</sup> Allan Fotheringham, "The woes of the Olympics began in Montreal," *Maclean's Magazine*, February 8, 1999, 76.

<sup>21</sup> "1976 Olympics left sour taste: Montreal Games," *Daily Commercial News and Construction Record*, July 10, 2001, B1.

<sup>22</sup> Marc Levine, "Tourism-based redevelopment and the fiscal crisis of the city: the case of Montreal," *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 12, 1 (2003), 105.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 105-106.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, 105.

<sup>25</sup> "A Part of Our Heritage- Montreal Expo '67 (Building Islands)," [November 17, 2006], video clip, accessed April 1, 2013, YouTube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RVj4Ql8gye8>.

<sup>26</sup> Whitson, "Bringing the world to Canada: 'the periphery of the centre'," 1219.

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<sup>27</sup> John Lownsbrough, *The Best Place to Be: Expo 67 and Its Time* (Toronto: Peguin, 2012), 220.

<sup>28</sup> Maurice Roche, *Mega-Events & Modernity: Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 91.

<sup>29</sup> Lownsbrough, *The Best Place to Be*, 233.

<sup>30</sup> Found in Doug Saunders, "The Olympian task of sidestepping Olympic pitfalls," *The Globe and Mail*, April 17, 2012, accessed January 8, 2013, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/sports/olympics/the-olympian-task-of-sidestepping-olympics-pitfalls/article4107531/?page=all>.

<sup>31</sup> Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2004), 22-24.

<sup>32</sup> Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2004), 22-24.

<sup>33</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, eds. Mary Douglas (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 69. [italics added by author]

<sup>34</sup> Brett Hutchins, "Sport History between the Modern and Post Modern," in *Deconstructing Sport History: A Post Modern Analysis*, eds. Murray Phillips, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 62-63.

<sup>35</sup> Johnson, *The Rehabilitation of Richard Nixon*, 35.

<sup>36</sup> Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 84.

<sup>37</sup> Johnson, *The Rehabilitation of Richard Nixon*, 35; Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 107.

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<sup>38</sup> Susan Herbst, “The meaning of public opinion: citizens’ constructions of political reality,” *Media, Culture and Society*, 12 (1993), 438.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, 439

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, 440

<sup>41</sup> Jeffery Olick, “Collective Memory: The Two Cultures,” *Sociological Theory*, 17, 3 (1999), 337.

<sup>42</sup> Thomas Johnson, *The Rehabilitation of Richard Nixon: The Media’s effect on Collective Memory* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 52.

<sup>43</sup> Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory*, (New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), 40.

<sup>44</sup> Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Chana Teeger, “Unpacking the Unspoken: Silence in Collective Memory and Forgetting,” in *Social Forces*, 88, 3, (2010), 1107.

<sup>45</sup> Louis Gottschalk, *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method*. (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1969), 45.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>47</sup> Johnson, *The Rehabilitation of Richard Nixon*, 47.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*, 49.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, 50.

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<sup>50</sup> Don Morrow, “Newspapers: Selected aspects of Canadian Journalism and the Olympics,” *Proceedings from Olympics Movement and Mass Media Conference, Calgary* (1987), 2-14.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, 51.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, 52.

<sup>53</sup> Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger, “Unpacking the Unspoken: Silence in Collective Memory and Forgetting,” 1107.

<sup>54</sup> Johnson, *The Rehabilitation of Richard Nixon*, 51.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, 52-53.

<sup>56</sup> Ludwig, *Five Ring Circus: The Montreal Olympics*, 111-112.

<sup>57</sup> Thomas Carney, *Content Analysis: A Technique for Systematic Inference from Communications* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1972), 41.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, 26. [italics added by author]

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, 25.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*, 53.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, 25.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, 159.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*.

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<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> For more information, see Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2004); Daniel Riffe et al., *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 1998); Ole Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, (Don Mills: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969).

<sup>67</sup> Carney, *Content Analysis: A Technique for Systematic Inference from Communications*, 38-39.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*, 39-40.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, 168.

<sup>70</sup> Frederick Mason, “Straightening Children and Reconstructing Men: Medical Discourse on Physical Therapies and People with “Disabilities,” 1885-1920” (PhD diss., University of Western Ontario, 2004), 32.

## Chapter 2

### 2 Quantitative Thematic Media Analysis of the Montreal *Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail*

As mentioned in Chapter 1, one purpose of this study is to compare and contrast dominant themes about the Games as identified in scholarly publications and two newspapers, the Montreal *Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail*. This chapter provides details about the methodology used to code, analyze, and refine the data collected from the two newspapers and presents the findings in quantitative format. These findings were used as a platform to identify the relevant articles required to perform the qualitative analysis of Canadian newspaper representations of the Soviet Union during that time period.

#### 2.1 Data Collection, Coding, and Query

To begin, a flat-file database to hold the information gleaned from the Montreal *Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* was created using Microsoft Access 2000, a database management program. Once the flat-file database was created, three functions of the database were used to input, manage, and query the dataset: table, form, and query. The table is where the dataset from the newspapers is stored (see Plate 2). The form is where data from the newspapers are input into the table, and acts as a graphical representation of the table (see Plate 1). The query is where questions are posed to the table to glean relevant information from the dataset gained from the newspapers (see Plate 3). All of these functions were designed specifically for this study, and allowed the newspaper dataset to be stored and questioned in a systematic way.

As seen in Plate 1, multiple fields were created. These fields correspond to fields created on the table to allow for a large array of information to be stored within the table. When inputting the data, the design of the form became a limiting factor in the categorization process. As a result, a catch-all field called “miscellaneous” was created to allow for all articles input into the database to be assigned to a category.



To begin data entry, each article was assigned a record number. The record number provides each article with a unique identifier, which allows data to be found quickly in the table, and identifies the total number of articles input into the table. The date, title, author, and page number for each item was then entered into the form. Multiple other thematic flags or “check boxes” were then built into the form’s design to allow for thematic categorization. Flags were checked on the form to allow for the articles to be quantified by theme in the table. As well, more than one thematic flag could be checked per article, as articles could potentially convey more than one theme. Due to the synchronization of the functions within the Microsoft Access database, when a theme was flagged on the form it simultaneously flagged the selected record in the table.

One hundred twenty-nine different themes were built into the form’s design: 57 themes were countries, 25 themes were sport related, and 2 themes were gender specific. Some of the remaining 45 themes were mentioned in chapter 1, such as the 2 Chinas issue and the African Boycott. With that said, many of the remaining themes are introduced here for the first time, and while their meanings could be understood from the flags used in the table, a full list of themes and descriptions can be found in Appendix 1.

While the range of themes on the form were vast, all of the themes can be categorized into two broad groups based on the nature of the theme: subjective or objective. Subjective themes are categories that are based on a reading of the headline and first paragraph of text, or, in other words, are based on the analyst’s interpretation of the text. Subjective themes were not outlined or discussed in specific terms, but the concept of the theme could be found through reading the text in the article. For example, articles related to “Olympism” did not have to specifically use the term, but the text and headline of the article had to relate to the working definition of Olympism as outlined in the 1976 Olympic Charter. Objective themes are categories that are based on particular information, such as the presence of a specific word or idea in the article’s headline or first paragraph of text (e.g. Canada or Fencing). Using this method, 966 Olympic-related text items from July 17<sup>th</sup> to August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1976 from the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* were input into the table (See Plate 1 and 2). Two blank entries were also

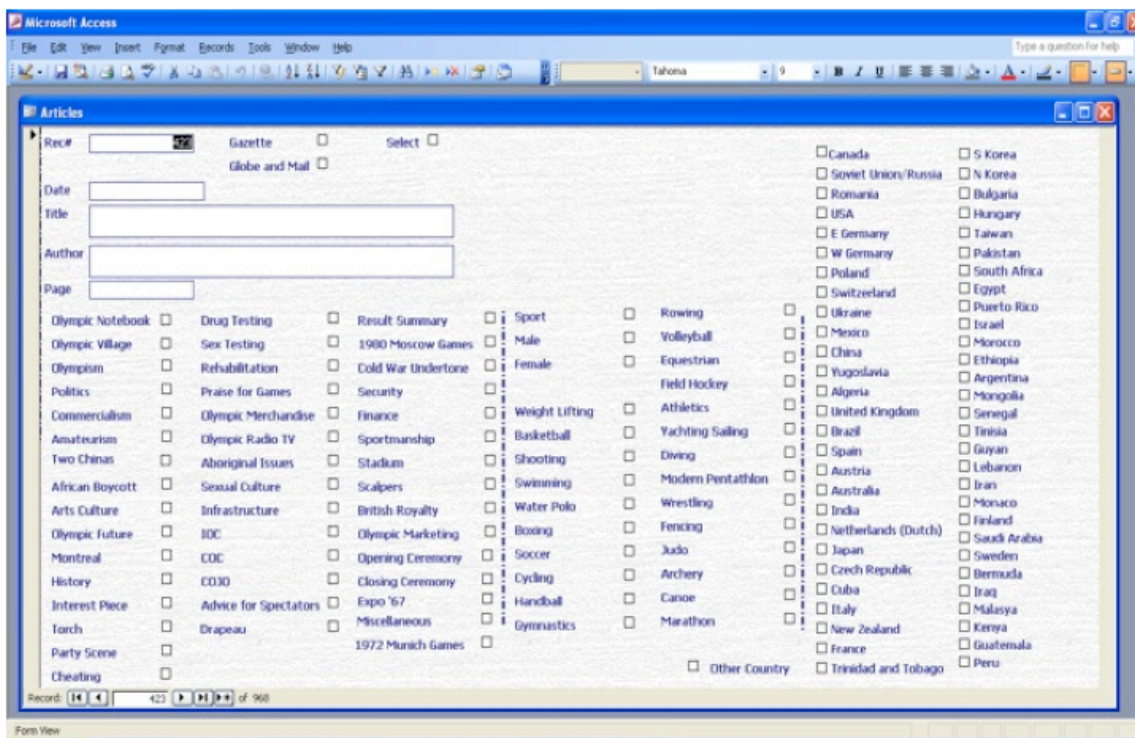


Plate 1: Form Function

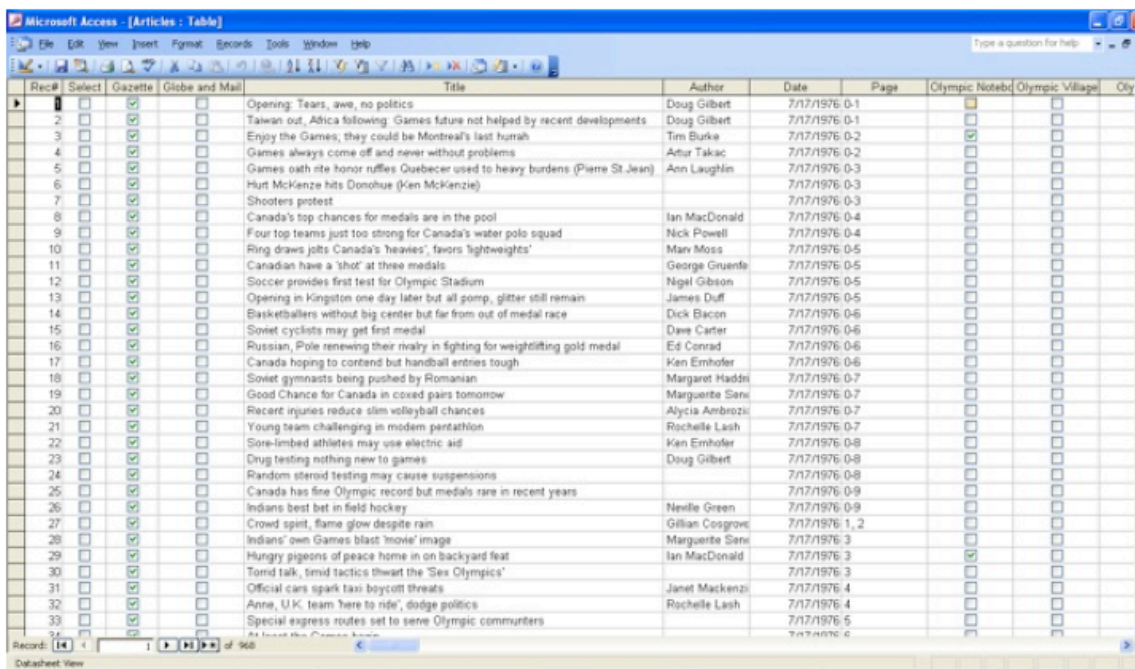


Plate 2: Table Function

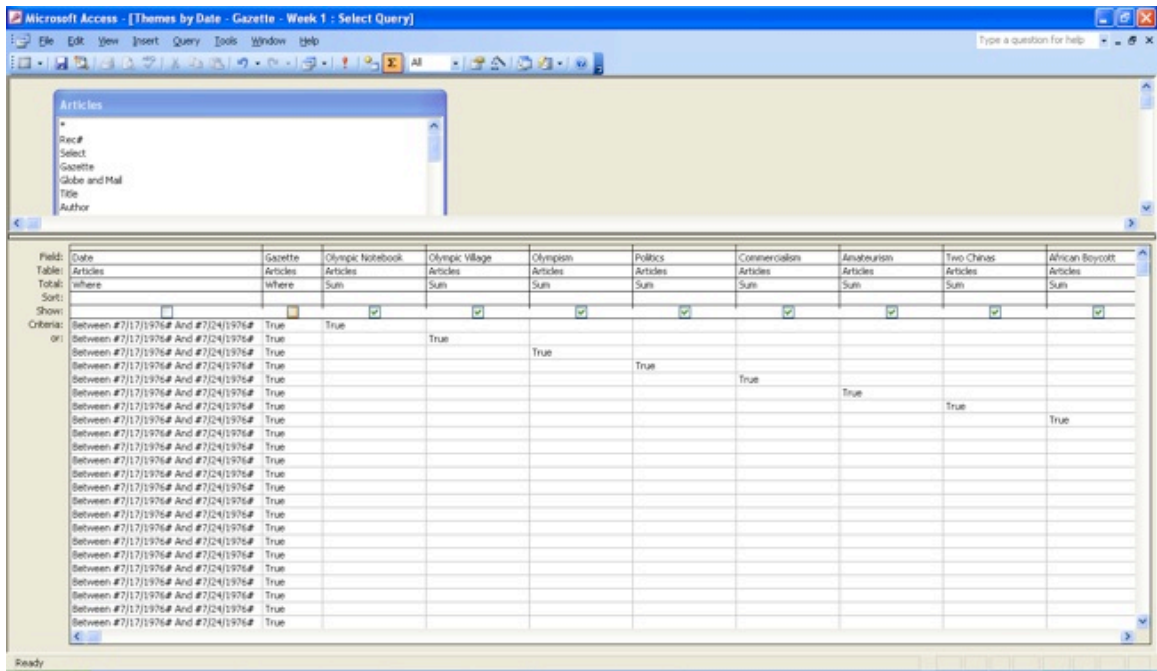


Plate 3: Query Function

imbedded into the table, which provided the ability to test queries without potentially damaging the original dataset.

To find relevant information from the data, the query tool was used to pose questions to the original dataset (see Plate 3). When a new query was created, the categories that were on the form could be selected and input into the query function. Categories put into the query were dependent on the type of question being posed to the dataset. Once the appropriate categories were selected, various types of queries could be posed to the categories in the dataset. For the purpose of this study, sum queries, which totaled the number of flags in each theme, were predominantly used to gain quantified data. When a check box was flagged on the form, the database internalized the data entry as true. In database terminology, the value of “yes”, “true”, and “on” are all stored in the table as a quantity of -1. Since -1 in the table was stipulated as true in the query, a sum query was used to provide relevant information on total count numbers of the specified themes. Since the database stored true as -1, the absolute value of the “sum of trues” was used in reporting the quantified data. For example, if the *Montreal Gazette* had 24 articles related to males participating in boxing, a sum query was used to add the total number of flags on the table found when the dataset was queried for “*Gazette*” and “male” and “boxing”. Since trues are stored as -1, the query would report a count of -24, and therefore the absolute value of 24 was used in the subsequent analysis. Using the query function, specific and relevant information on the thematic content of both the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* was found.

## 2.2 Analysis

As previously mentioned, 966 articles pertaining to the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games were found in the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail*. Of the 966 articles, 528 articles were from the *Montreal Gazette* and 438 articles were from *The Globe and Mail*. In this study, data was analyzed from the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* in multiple ways to generate meaningful information. First, both newspapers were compared by general themes pertaining to Olympic news coverage. Second, this data was delineated by time to generate a comparison across the first and second week of the

Olympic Games. Third, a comparison of specific sports coverage was drawn across both newspapers. Fourth, the sports coverage was then broken down into gender specific sports coverage. Lastly, the coverage was analyzed by countries mentioned in the articles. The following sections will address these five analyses in detail. A full list of themes and their descriptions can be found in Appendix 1.

### 2.2.1 General Thematic Analysis

This section discusses the entire dataset in terms of general themes portrayed in the newspaper coverage of the Montreal Games. The data will first be discussed by how it relates to the Montreal *Gazette* and then will be followed by *The Globe and Mail*. When reviewing the table pertaining to this data, it is important to remember that articles can portray more than one thematic trait and, as a result, the percentage column will not sum to a total of 100 percent. See Appendix 1 for a detailed description of each theme.

In the Montreal *Gazette*, the most frequent theme discussed is “sport.” Of the 528 articles found in the Montreal *Gazette*, 324 articles discuss “sport” in general or specific terms: this amounts to approximately 61 percent of all news coverage. The second most frequent theme in the Montreal *Gazette* is “politics” with 58 articles. “Politics” makes up approximately 10.98% of all news coverage. The Two Chinas issue makes up approximately 27.5% of the articles reporting on politics in the news coverage, while the African boycott accounts for approximately 41.3% of the articles on politics. The percentages not accounted for by the Two Chinas issue or the African boycott deal with politics within specific sports and organizations, as well as in relation to athletes using the Olympic Games as a means for immigration. The third most frequent theme in the Montreal *Gazette*’s news coverage is “interest pieces” with 57 articles making up approximately 10.8% of all Olympic-related articles. The fourth most reported theme in the Montreal *Gazette*’s coverage was “Olympic Notebook” with 29 articles, accounting for 5% of all articles in the Montreal *Gazette*. As stated in Appendix 1, “Olympic Notebook” refers to articles written by columnists who discuss their personal experiences, observations, or interests about specific events that occurred during the Olympics, and generally discuss multiple topics briefly within the text. The fifth largest occurring theme in the Montreal *Gazette* is “Olympism.” Ideas about “Olympism,” as

they relate to the 1976 Olympic Charter, appear in approximately 4.17% of all articles in the *Montreal Gazette*. Last, the sixth highest reported theme in the *Montreal Gazette* is “security” with 21 articles making up approximately 3.98% of all articles. The remaining 41 themes each account for less than 3.5% of all Olympic coverage in the *Montreal Gazette*.

The thematic breakdown of *The Globe and Mail* produced similar results to those found in the *Montreal Gazette*. Of the 438 articles in *The Globe and Mail*, 298 articles are “sport” related, making “sport” the highest reported theme, totaling nearly 68% of all news coverage. The second highest theme discussed in *The Globe and Mail* is “politics” with 59 articles, resulting in 13.47% of all news coverage. Of the 59 articles, approximately 45.7% focus on the African Boycott, while approximately 23.7% of political reporting is related to the Two Chinas issue. The third largest theme reported in *The Globe and Mail* is “interest piece.” The fourth most reported theme in *The Globe and Mail* is “security,” which was heightened for the 1976 Games due to concerns raised from the 1972 “Munich Massacre,” as well as the presence of British Royalty in Montreal for the Olympics. Articles related to “security” account for 6.62% of all news coverage in *The Globe and Mail*: 29 articles were identified in this category. The fifth most discussed theme from *The Globe and Mail* is “Olympic Notebook” with 24 articles, resulting in 5% of all news coverage. While the “miscellaneous” category is the sixth largest theme with 4.34% of coverage, it does not provide specific information on the nature of *The Globe and Mail*’s reporting since this category acted as the “catch-all” field during the categorization process, and therefore represents multiple undefined themes. As a result, it is necessary to note that “art/culture” and “sportsmanship” are the next highest reported themes, making up approximately 3% of *The Globe and Mail*’s news coverage. For specific information on all of the 46 different themes accounted for in the general thematic breakdown, see Table 2.

The general thematic breakdown of the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* was done for two reasons. First, it provides a point of reference as to which themes dominated the Montreal Olympic coverage in these two newspapers, which can influence the way individuals remember the Montreal Olympics. Secondly, it provides insight into

what themes were discussed in the news coverage and shows that many of the themes that have dominated the academic literature on the Montreal Olympics were not explicitly discussed or found to have high priority during the two weeks of the actual event.

### 2.2.2 Thematic Analysis by Week

Building on the previous discussion, this section provides insight into how the themes were reported in the Montreal *Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* with reference to time. The 1976 Olympics ran from July 17<sup>th</sup> to August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1976 (16 days). As a result, there is an opportunity to analyze how the Games' news coverage compared from the first week to the second week. For the purpose of this study, week 1 ran from July 17<sup>th</sup> to July 24<sup>th</sup> and week 2 ran from July 25<sup>th</sup> to August 1<sup>st</sup>. This section will discuss the entire dataset from both newspapers in terms of general themes portrayed in week 1 and week 2. When reviewing the table related to this analysis, it is important to remember that articles can portray more than one thematic trait and, as a result, the percentage column will not sum to an even 100 percent.

The total number of articles found in week 1 of the Montreal *Gazette* totals 301 items, while week 2 totals 227 items: week 1 had significantly more coverage than week 2 in the Montreal *Gazette*. In comparison, 220 articles are found in week 1 of *The Globe and Mail*, while 218 are found in week 2, showing that Olympic news coverage in *The Globe and Mail* was stable over the two weeks of the Games. This raises another important point for consideration, which applies more to the Montreal *Gazette* than it does to *The Globe and Mail*: themes with fewer frequency counts in week 2 compared to week 1 could still potentially have increased prominence in week 2 based on its percentage in relation to total articles printed in its corresponding week, or vice versa. For example, in the Montreal *Gazette*, 179 articles are related to sport in week 1, which accounts for approximately 59.5% of all news reported in week 1. In comparison, week 2 of the Montreal *Gazette* has fewer articles with 145 related to sport, but sport accounts for approximately 64% of week 2's coverage of the Games—4.5% higher than the previous

Table 2: General Thematic Breakdown of the Montreal *Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail*

Theme	The Montreal Gazette		The Globe and Mail		Both Newspapers	
	Total #	% of Total # of Articles	Total #	% of Total # of Articles	Total #	% of Total # of Articles
Olympic Notebook	29	5	24	5	53	5
Olympic Village	13	2.46	6	1.37	19	1.97
Olympism	22	4.17	9	2.05	31	3.21
Politics	58	10.98	59	13.47	117	12.11
Two Chinas	16	3.03	14	3.20	30	3.11
African Boycott	24	4.55	27	6.16	51	5.28
Commercialism	2	0.38	-	0.00	2	0.21
Amateurism	1	0.19	2	0.46	3	0.31
Arts Culture	12	2.27	13	2.97	25	2.59
Olympic Future	5	0.95	4	0.91	9	0.93
Montreal	6	1.14	1	0.23	7	0.72
History	5	0.95	2	0.46	7	0.72
Interest Piece	57	10.80	57	13.01	114	11.80
Opening Ceremony	11	2.08	5	1.14	16	1.66
Closing Ceremony	5	0.95	1	0.23	6	0.62
Torch	5	0.95	3	0.68	8	0.83
Party Scene	8	1.52	2	0.46	10	1.04
Drug Testing	10	1.89	10	2.28	20	2.07
Sex Testing	2	0.38	1	0.23	3	0.31
Rehabilitation	2	0.38	7	1.60	9	0.93
Sport	324	61.36	298	68.04	622	64.39
Praise for Games	3	0.57	1	0.23	4	0.41
Olympic Merchandise	12	2.27	7	1.60	19	1.97
Olympic Radio TV	18	3.41	12	2.74	30	3.11
Aboriginal Issues	3	0.57	2	0.46	5	0.52
Sexual Culture	3	0.57	3	0.68	6	0.62
Infrastructure	18	3.41	9	2.05	27	2.80
IOC	8	1.52	6	1.37	14	1.45
COC	-	0.00	1	0.23	1	0.10
COJO	8	1.52	2	0.46	10	1.04
Advice for Spectators	12	2.27	4	0.91	16	1.66
Result Summary	9	1.70	3	0.68	12	1.24
1980 Moscow Games	10	1.89	7	1.60	17	1.76
Cold War Undertone	17	3.22	8	1.83	25	2.59
Security	21	3.98	29	6.62	50	5.18
Finance	8	1.52	3	0.68	11	1.14
Sportmanship	7	1.33	13	2.97	20	2.07
Stadium	12	2.27	-	0.00	12	1.24
Scalpers	6	1.14	7	1.60	13	1.35
British Royalty	14	2.65	8	1.83	22	2.28
Olympic Marketing	1	0.19	-	0.00	1	0.10
Expo '67	2	0.38	-	0.00	2	0.21
Miscellaneous	12	2.27	19	4.34	31	3.21
Drapeau	2	0.38	-	0.00	2	0.21
Cheating	9	1.70	12	2.74	21	2.17
1972 Munich Games	6	1.14	-	0.00	6	0.62
<b>TOTAL # OF THEMES</b>	<b>838</b>		<b>701</b>		<b>1,539</b>	
<b>TOTAL # OF ARTICLES</b>	<b>528</b>		<b>438</b>		<b>966</b>	



week. For a detailed account of the general thematic breakdown of both newspapers by week, see Table 3. While the findings from this analysis did not provide any substantial insight into the Montreal Games coverage, this type of analysis in general could be relevant for researchers investigating changes in reporting or issues over time, such as how different media reported on the Games over the two week period, or how reporting of certain issues evolved over time.

### 2.2.3 General Sport Analysis

Since approximately 63.4% of the complete dataset from the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* is related to sport, some analysis of sport is necessary to show what was portrayed to audiences during the Olympic Games. Sport, as a theme, can be understood two ways: (1) as specific sports, or (2) as sport in general. In the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail*, approximately 97% of all sport reporting is sport-specific, while the remaining 3% discusses sport in general terms. As the majority of sport reporting is sport-specific, sport coverage is further broken down into 24 different specific sports (for a complete list of sports, see Table 4). In total, 314 sport-specific articles are found in the *Montreal Gazette*, while 288 are found in *The Globe and Mail*. It is also worth noting that all sports played at the Montreal Olympics received reporting in both newspapers at least once during the two weeks of the Games.

In the *Montreal Gazette*, the top eight reported sports in rank order are: (1) Athletics, (2) Boxing, (3) Basketball, (4) Swimming, (5) Gymnastics, (6) Soccer, Volleyball, and Equestrian. In *The Globe and Mail*, the top eight reported sports in rank order are: (1) Athletics, (2) Sailing, (3) Swimming, (4) Basketball and Soccer, (6) Gymnastics, (7) Boxing, and (8) Volleyball. With respect to Athletics, in the *Montreal Gazette*, 28 articles are related to Track and Field, representing approximately 9% of all sport-specific articles. On the other hand, 58 articles on Athletics are found in *The Globe*

Table 3: General Thematic Breakdown of the Montreal *Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* by Week

Sport	The Montreal Gazette				The Globe and Mail				Both Newspapers			
	% of Total # of Articles		% of Total # of Articles		% of Total # of Articles		% of Total # of Articles		% of Total # of Articles		% of Total # of Articles	
	Week 1	Week 2	Week 1	Week 2	Week 1	Week 2	Week 1	Week 2	Week 1	Week 2	Week 1	Week 2
Olympic Notebook	16	5.32	13	5.73	12	5.45	12	5.50	28	5.37	25	5.62
Olympic Village	7	2.33	6	2.64	2	0.91	4	1.83	9	1.73	10	2.25
Olympism	11	3.65	11	4.85	6	2.73	3	1.38	17	3.26	14	3.15
Politics	31	10.30	27	11.89	38	17.27	21	9.63	69	13.24	48	10.79
Two Chinas	12	3.99	4	1.76	10	4.55	4	1.83	22	4.22	8	1.80
African Boycott	18	5.98	6	2.64	23	10.45	4	1.83	41	7.87	10	2.25
Commercialism	0	-	2	0.88	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	0.45
Amateurism	0	-	1	0.44	3	1.36	0	-	3	0.58	1	0.22
Arts/Culture	7	2.33	5	2.20	3	1.36	10	4.59	10	1.92	15	3.37
Olympic Future	3	1.00	2	0.88	1	0.45	3	1.38	4	0.77	5	1.12
Montreal	4	1.33	2	0.88	1	0.45	0	-	5	0.96	2	0.45
History	5	1.66	0	-	1	0.45	1	0.46	6	1.15	1	0.22
Interest Piece	29	9.63	28	12.33	27	12.27	30	13.76	56	10.75	58	13.03
Opening Ceremony	11	3.65	0	-	5	2.27	0	-	16	3.07	0	-
Closing Ceremony	0	-	5	2.20	0	-	1	0.46	0	-	6	1.35
Torch	4	1.33	1	0.44	2	0.91	1	0.46	6	1.15	2	0.45
Party Scene	3	1.00	5	2.20	1	0.45	1	0.46	4	0.77	6	1.35
Drug Testing	6	1.99	4	1.76	3	1.36	7	3.21	9	1.73	11	2.47
Sex Testing	2	0.66	0	-	1	0.45	0	-	3	0.58	0	-
Rehabilitation	2	0.66	0	-	4	1.82	3	1.38	6	1.15	3	0.67
Sport	179	59.47	145	63.88	143	65.00	155	71.10	322	61.80	300	67.42
Praise for Games	2	0.66	1	0.44	0	-	1	0.46	2	0.38	2	0.45
Olympic Merchandise	3	1.00	9	3.96	4	1.82	3	1.38	7	1.34	12	2.70
Olympic Radio/TV	9	2.99	9	3.96	5	2.27	7	3.21	14	2.69	16	3.60
Aboriginal Issues	1	0.33	2	0.88	0	-	2	0.92	1	0.19	4	0.90
Sexual Culture	2	0.66	1	0.44	2	0.91	1	0.46	4	0.77	2	0.45
Infrastructure	12	3.99	6	2.64	5	2.27	4	1.83	17	3.26	10	2.25
IOC	5	1.66	3	1.32	5	2.27	1	0.46	10	1.92	4	0.90
COC	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	0.46	0	-	1	0.22

Sport	% of Total # of Articles		% of Total # of Articles		% of Total # of Articles		% of Total # of Articles		% of Total # of Articles		% of Total # of Articles	
	Week 1	Articles	Week 2	Articles	Week 1	Articles	Week 2	Articles	Week 1	Articles	Week 2	Articles
COJO	2	0.66	6	2.64	1	0.45	1	0.46	3	0.58	7	1.57
Advice for Spectators	8	2.66	4	1.76	2	0.91	2	0.92	10	1.92	6	1.35
Result Summary	3	1.00	6	2.64	2	0.91	1	0.46	5	0.96	7	1.57
1980 Moscow Games	5	1.66	5	2.20	2	0.91	5	2.29	7	1.34	10	2.25
Cold War Undertone	7	2.33	10	4.41	1	0.45	7	3.21	8	1.54	17	3.82
Security	12	3.99	9	3.96	12	5.45	17	7.80	24	4.61	26	5.84
Finance	4	1.33	4	1.76	2	0.91	1	0.46	6	1.15	5	1.12
Sportsmanship	3	1.00	4	1.76	4	1.82	9	4.13	7	1.34	13	2.92
Stadium	6	1.99	6	2.64	0	-	0	-	6	1.15	6	1.35
Scalpers	2	0.66	4	1.76	2	0.91	5	2.29	4	0.77	9	2.02
British Royalty	10	3.32	4	1.76	7	3.18	1	0.46	17	3.26	5	1.12
Olympic Marketing	0	-	1	0.44	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	0.22
Expo '67	2	0.66	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	0.38	0	-
Miscellaneous	3	1.00	9	3.96	6	2.73	13	5.96	9	1.73	22	4.94
Drapeau	2	0.66	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	0.38	0	-
Cheating	5	1.66	4	1.76	8	3.64	4	1.83	13	2.50	8	1.80
1972 Munich Games	2	0.66	4	1.76	0	-	0	-	2	0.38	4	0.90
<b>TOTAL</b>	460		378		356		346		816		724	
<b>TOTAL # OF ARTICLES</b>	301		227		220		218		521		445	

*and Mail*, representing approximately 20% of sport-specific articles. Athletics showed the largest difference in total reporting across all sports in both newspapers. Following athletics, the rank order of sport coverage second through eighth are all within 5% of each other in the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail*. What is more, the same six sports are ranked in the top eight in both newspapers, with the exceptions being equestrian and sailing. For a detailed breakdown of sport-specific reporting across all sports in both newspapers, refer to Table 4 and Figure 2.

A general sport analysis is necessary to consider for one primary reason: sport was the largest theme found in the thematic analysis, and therefore contains the bulk of the material. However, “sport” is a vague term and does not provide specific insight into what was represented in the Canadian Olympic media coverage. As a result, this general analysis provided a more detailed description of what was presented to the Canadian public through the media for the Montreal Games.

#### 2.2.4 Sport Analysis by Gender

When reviewing the dataset on sport and gender, a few considerations must be taken into account to provide context and perspective. First, of the 6,084 athletes who competed at the 1976 Summer Olympics, 1,260 were women and 4,824 were men.<sup>1</sup> Second, it must be noted that men and women did not compete in the same sports. While men competed in every Olympic sport offered (in general terms, as some sports have gender specific events), women did not participate in weightlifting, waterpolo, boxing, soccer, cycling, field hockey, modern pentathlon, wrestling, judo, or multiple Athletic events such as the marathon.<sup>2</sup> As well, women who participated in sports such as shooting, equestrian, and sailing, were greatly out-numbered by their male counterparts. For example, of the 256 competitors in sailing, only one was female.<sup>3</sup> This specific example of sailing was never addressed in the reporting of either newspaper and, as a result, sailing was the only sport where female participation in a sport received no recognition in the newspaper.

Table 4: Sport Coverage by Sport of The Montreal Olympic Games

Sport	<i>The Montreal Gazette</i>		<i>The Globe and Mail</i>		Both Newspapers	
	Total #	% of Total Sport Specific Articles	Total #	% of Total Sport Specific Articles	Total #	% of Total Sport Specific Articles
Weightlifting	16	5.10	3	1.04	19	3.16
Basketball	26	8.28	20	6.94	46	7.64
Shooting	10	3.18	7	2.43	17	2.82
Swimming	22	7.01	22	7.64	44	7.31
Water Polo	11	3.50	7	2.43	18	2.99
Boxing	27	8.60	16	5.56	43	7.14
Soccer	17	5.41	20	6.94	37	6.15
Cycling	8	2.55	5	1.74	13	2.16
Handball	10	3.18	2	0.69	12	1.99
Gymnastics	18	5.73	17	5.90	35	5.81
Rowing	10	3.18	10	3.47	20	3.32
Volleyball	17	5.41	14	4.86	31	5.15
Equestrian	17	5.41	11	3.82	28	4.65
Field Hockey	13	4.14	11	3.82	24	3.99
Athletics	28	8.92	58	20.14	86	14.29
Yachting/Sailing	15	4.78	23	7.99	38	6.31
Diving	9	2.87	7	2.43	16	2.66
Modern Pentathlon	6	1.91	5	1.74	11	1.83
Wrestling	12	3.82	10	3.47	22	3.65
Fencing	10	3.18	7	2.43	17	2.82
Judo	5	1.59	6	2.08	11	1.83
Archery	5	1.59	3	1.04	8	1.33
Canoe	4	1.27	6	2.08	10	1.66
Marathon	2	0.64	0	0.00	2	0.33
<b>Total # of Themes</b>	318	100.00	290	100.00	608	100.00
<b>Total # of Sport Specific Articles</b>	314		288		602	
<b>Total # of all Sport Articles</b>	324		298		622	
<b>% of all Sport Articles</b>	96.91		96.64		96.78	

### Sport Coverage by Sport in *The Globe and Mail* and *The Montreal Gazette*

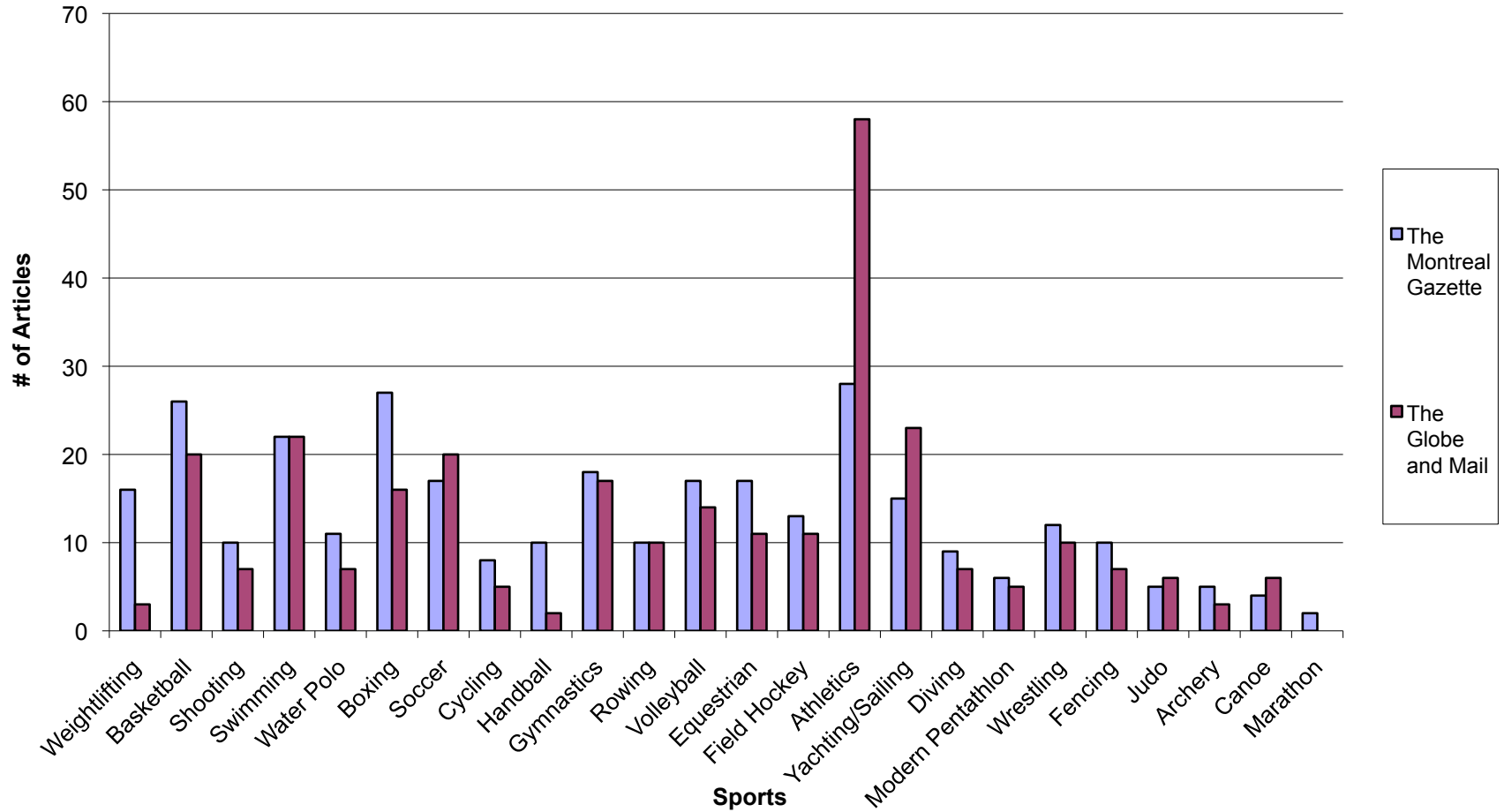


Figure 2: Sport Coverage by Sport in the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail*

In terms of rank order of sport reporting by gender, the findings by sport across newspapers are similar, while the findings by gender are different. In the *Montreal Gazette*, 287 newspaper articles are sport-specific in nature. Of the 287 articles, 232 articles discuss male athletes/performances, 87 articles discuss female athletes/performances, and 32 articles discuss both male and female athletes/performances. As a result, approximately 81% of sport-specific news coverage of the 1976 Olympics refers to male athletes/performances, while approximately 30% refers to female athletes/performances. Sports with the most news coverage for males in the *Montreal Gazette*, in rank order, are as follows: (1) Boxing, (2) Basketball, (3) Weightlifting, (4) Athletics and Sailing, and (5) Soccer. For females, the sports with the most coverage are: (1) Swimming, (2) Equestrian, (3) Volleyball, and (4) Gymnastics, Basketball, and Athletics.

In comparison, *The Globe and Mail* contains 265 sport-specific articles. Of these, 211 articles focus on male athletes/performances, while 77 focus on female athletes/performances, and 23 report on both female and male athletes/performances. As a result, approximately 79% of all sport-specific press focuses on male athletes/performances, while approximately 29% of sport-specific reporting is female athlete/performance oriented. The sports with the highest news coverage in rank order for males is as follows: (1) Athletics, (2) Sailing, (3) Boxing and Soccer, (4) Basketball, and (5) Wrestling. For females, the sports with the highest coverage are: (1) Athletics, (2) Swimming, (3) Gymnastics and Equestrian, (4) Volleyball, and (5) Basketball. For a complete breakdown of sport-specific reporting defined by gender, see Table 5, as well as Figure 3-6.

These findings, in comparison to academic studies using recent media on gender and sport, are significant since they show a potential shift in popular coverage of women's sport at international events over time. For example, Frederick Mason, in this M.A. thesis titled "*Women Play Sports (Just not as Well)*": *Canadian Newspapers' Coverage of Men's and Women's Sports at the 1999 Pan American Games* found that

Table 5: Sport Coverage by Gender of the Montreal Olympic Games

Sport	The Montreal Gazette				The Globe and Mail				Both Newspapers			
	Total # of Male Articles	% of Total by Gender	Total # of Female Articles	% of Total by Gender	Total # of Male Articles	% of Total by Gender	Total # of Female Articles	% of Total by Gender	Total # of Male Articles	% of Total by Gender	Total # of Female Articles	% of Total by Gender
Weightlifting	16	6.90	0	0.00	3	1.42	0	0.00	19	4.29	0	0.00
Basketball	17	7.33	9	10.47	13	6.16	6	7.79	30	6.77	15	9.20
Shooting	9	3.88	4	4.65	4	1.90	3	3.90	13	2.93	7	4.29
Swimming	8	3.45	17	19.77	9	4.27	14	18.18	17	3.84	31	19.02
Water Polo	10	4.31	0	0.00	6	2.84	0	0.00	16	3.61	0	0.00
Boxing	24	10.34	0	0.00	16	7.58	0	0.00	40	9.03	0	0.00
Soccer	14	6.03	0	0.00	16	7.58	0	0.00	30	6.77	0	0.00
Cycling	8	3.45	0	0.00	4	1.90	0	0.00	12	2.71	0	0.00
Handball	10	4.31	2	2.33	1	0.47	2	2.60	11	2.48	4	2.45
Gymnastics	9	3.88	9	10.47	7	3.32	9	11.69	16	3.61	18	11.04
Rowing	6	2.59	3	3.49	7	3.32	2	2.60	13	2.93	5	3.07
Volleyball	8	3.45	11	12.79	6	2.84	7	9.09	14	3.16	18	11.04
Equestrian	6	2.59	12	13.95	8	3.79	9	11.69	14	3.16	21	12.88
Field Hockey	13	5.60	0	0.00	10	4.74	0	0.00	23	5.19	0	0.00
Athletics	15	6.47	9	10.47	41	19.43	16	20.78	56	12.64	25	15.34
Yachting/Sailing	15	6.47	0	0.00	21	9.95	0	0.00	36	8.13	0	0.00
Diving	6	2.59	3	3.49	4	1.90	3	3.90	10	2.26	6	3.68
M. Pentathlon	5	2.16	0	0.00	5	2.37	0	0.00	10	2.26	0	0.00
Wrestling	11	4.74	0	0.00	10	4.74	0	0.00	21	4.74	0	0.00
Fencing	8	3.45	3	3.49	5	2.37	2	2.60	13	2.93	5	3.07
Judo	5	2.16	0	0.00	6	2.84	0	0.00	11	2.48	0	0.00
Archery	5	2.16	4	4.65	3	1.42	3	3.90	8	1.81	7	4.29
Canoe	3	1.29	0	0.00	6	2.84	1	1.30	9	2.03	1	0.61
Marathon	1	0.43	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.23	0	0.00
<b>Total by Gender</b>	<b>232</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Total of all Gender Specific Sport Articles</b>	<b>287</b>		<b>287</b>		<b>265</b>		<b>265</b>		<b>552</b>		<b>552</b>	
<b>% of Gender Specific Sport Articles</b>	<b>80.84</b>		<b>29.97</b>		<b>79.62</b>		<b>29.06</b>		<b>80.25</b>		<b>29.52</b>	
<b>Total # of all Sport Articles</b>	<b>324</b>		<b>324</b>		<b>298</b>		<b>298</b>		<b>622</b>		<b>622</b>	
<b>% of Gender in all Sport Articles</b>	<b>71.60</b>		<b>26.54</b>		<b>70.80</b>		<b>25.83</b>		<b>71.22</b>		<b>26.20</b>	



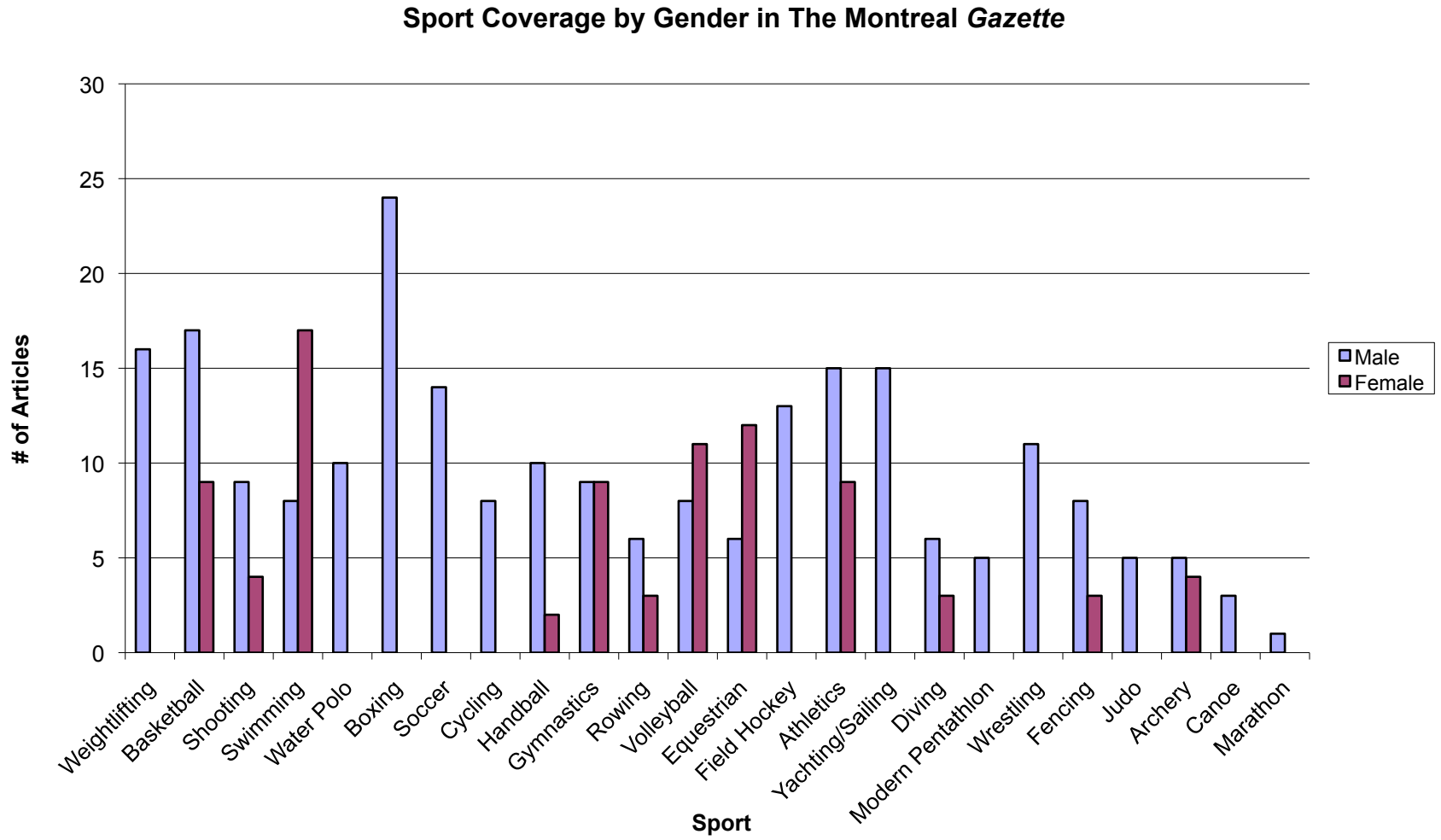


Figure 3: Sport Coverage by Gender in the Montreal Gazette

### Sport Coverage by Gender in *The Globe and Mail*

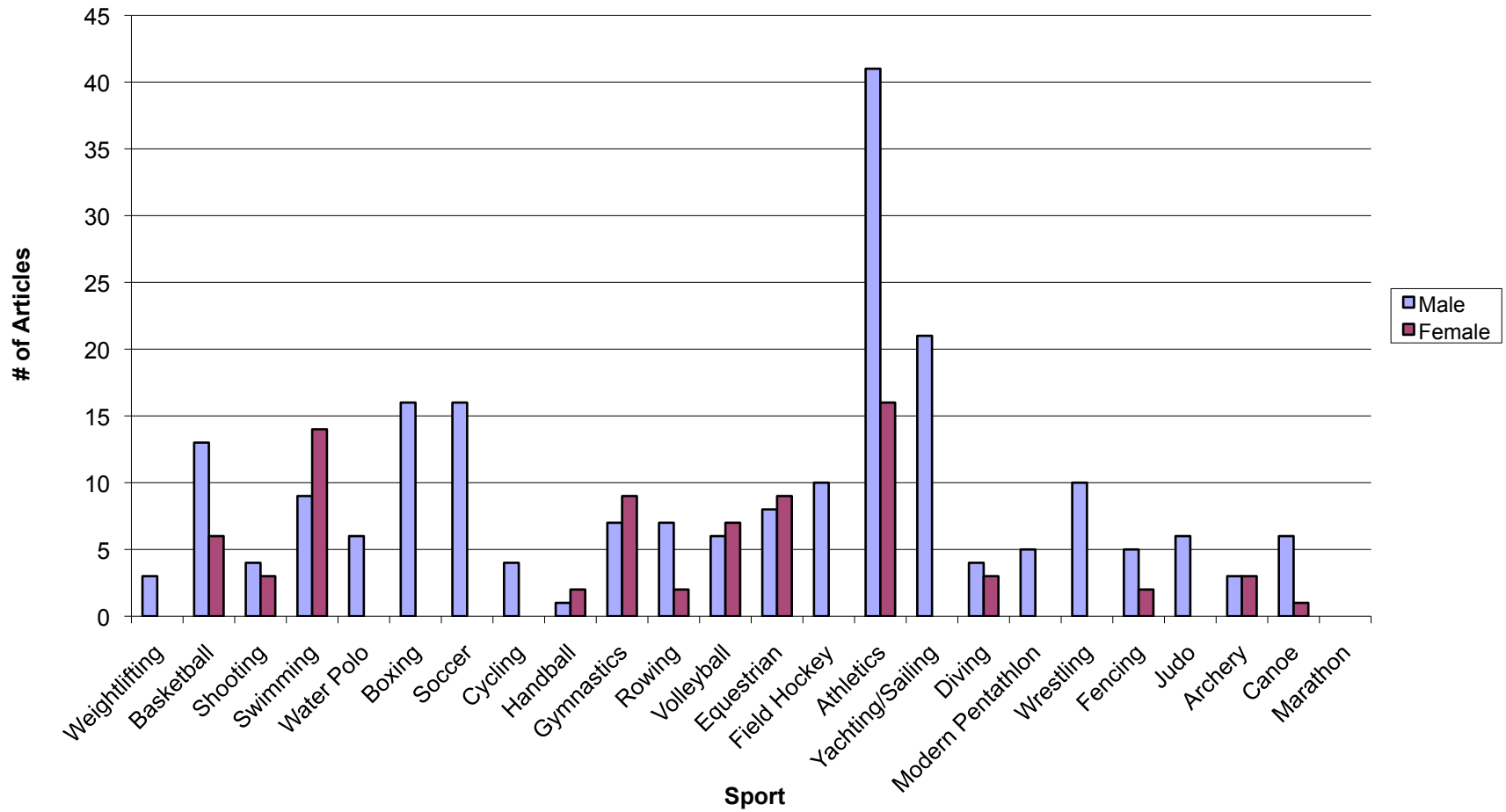


Figure 4: Sport Coverage by Gender in *The Globe and Mail*

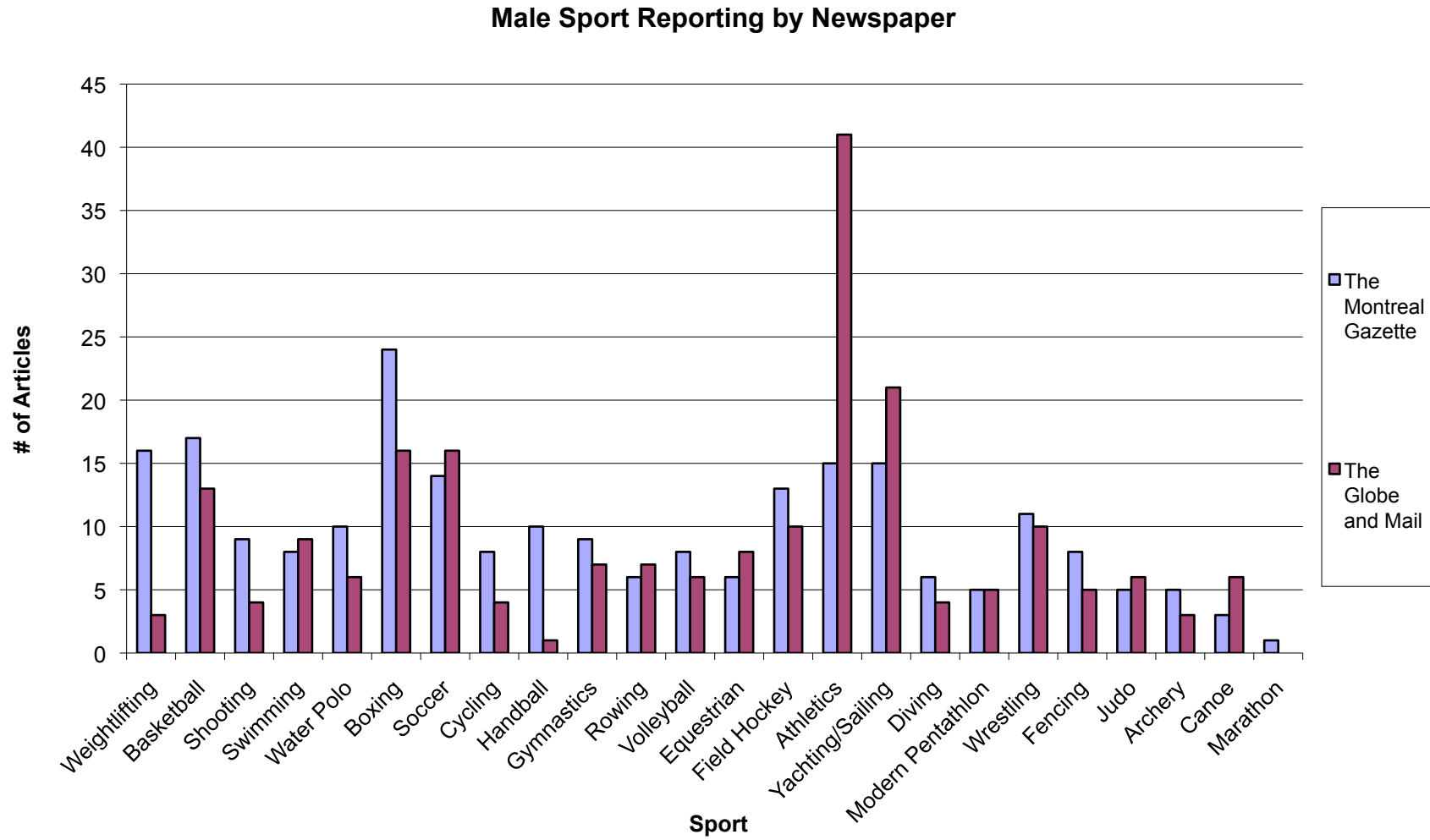


Figure 5: Male Sport Reporting by Newspaper

### Female Sport Reporting by Newspaper

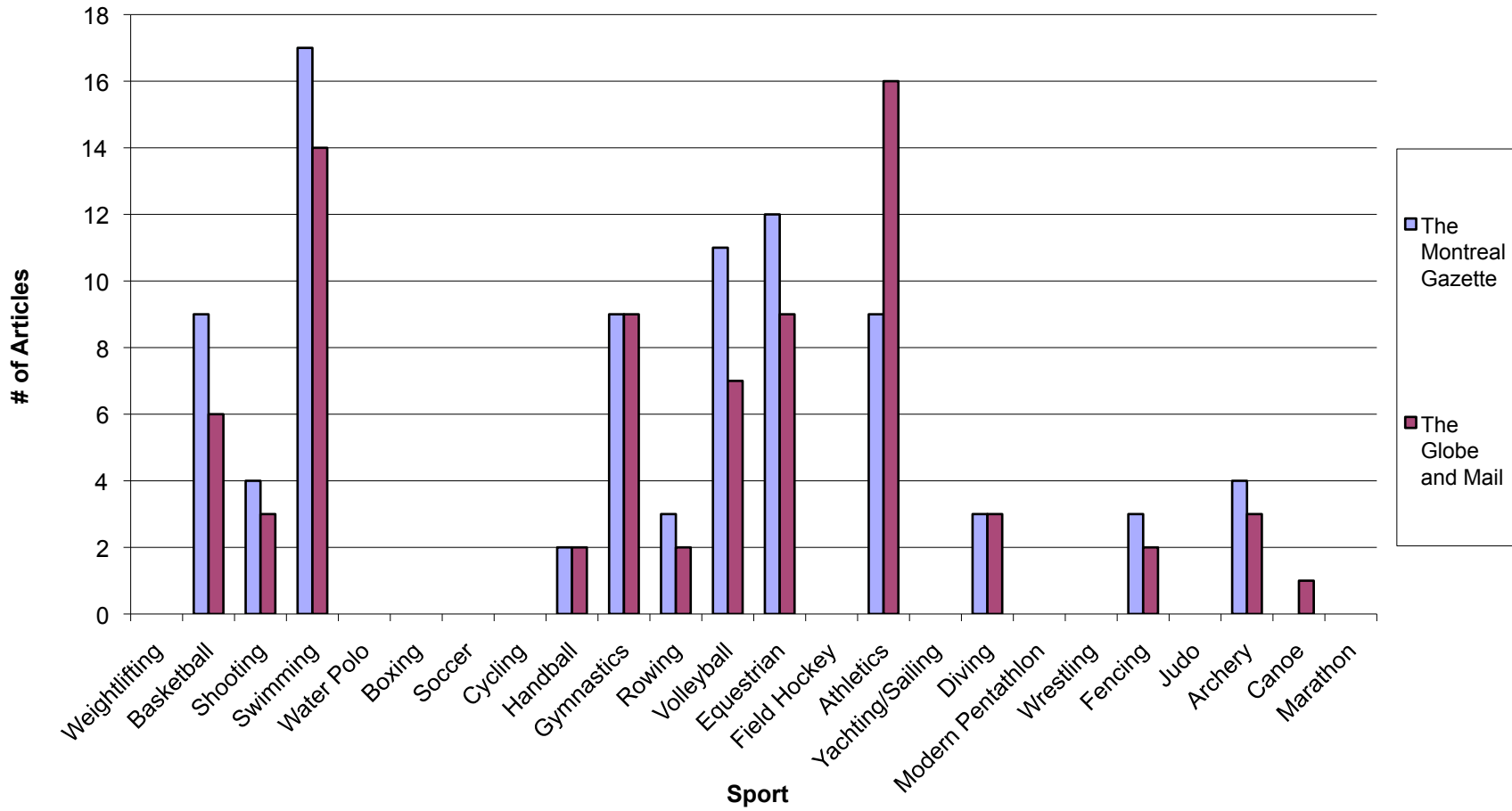


Figure 6: Female Sport Reporting by Newspaper

across five Canadian newspaper outlets, “it is arguable that the amount of coverage was approaching equality [across both genders], at least compared to the easiest standard of equity (36.7%), which correspond to the percentage of women athletes at the 1999 Pan-American Games.”<sup>4</sup> As well, Mason states the media coverage of women “may be making some numerical gains in the sports media, at least regarding international events. More of the overall coverage of the 1999 Pan American Games was devoted to women’s sports than has been seen in many other studies of similar events.”<sup>5</sup> With this noted, the potential shift may only be limited to print coverage of sporting events, or specific to international sporting events in countries where women’s sport is valued. Furthermore, Cooky et al. found that female representation on evening and late night sport news coverage is still grossly unequal across genders, which also suggests that different types of media report on sport in different ways.<sup>6</sup> Knowledge production on sport and gender is vast, and as a result, these findings could be used in multiple ways to reinforce or challenge current understandings of gender, sport, and the media in the academic literature.

### 2.2.5 Country Analysis

Prior to the analysis of national reporting by country in *The Globe and Mail* and the *Montreal Gazette*, some comments about international representation at the 1976 Olympics are necessary. To begin, the total number of countries that participated in the Montreal Games was down from previous years. As stated in the Official Report of the Montreal Games:

Only 114 NOCs sent in entries by name; the six missing from the 120 which had sent entries by number were: Gabon, Madagascar, El Salvador, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, and Zaire.

Of the 114 NOCs, a total of 21 withdrew without allowing their 638 athletes to take part in a single competition, namely: Algeria, Central African Republic, People’s Republic of Congo, Chad, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guyana, Kenya, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Nigeria, Niger, Sudan, Swaziland, Republic of China, Togo, Uganda, Upper Volta, and Zambia.

Five other NOCs withdrew after their athletes already had competed in some events: Cameroon, Arab Republic of Egypt, Iraq, Morocco, and Tunisia.

Thus 93 NOCs participated in competition at the Games of the XXI Olympiad, of which 88 were remaining at the end.<sup>7</sup>

For comparison, 121 NOCs took part in the 1972 Summer Olympic Games in Munich, Germany, and 112 NOCs participated in the 1968 Summer Olympic Games in Mexico City, Mexico.<sup>8</sup> The drop in NOC participation at the Montreal Games was mostly a result of the two political fallouts of the Games: the South African and Taiwanese boycotts. The political fallouts, being the second highest reported general theme in the news coverage of the Games, likely played a role in how frequently countries were reported in the press.

Another point of consideration when discussing national sport reporting in news coverage of the Games would be national athletic performance. Since sport was the highest reported general theme found in the news coverage of both newspapers, it is reasonable to assume that a relationship between national sport performances and frequency of reporting in the press could exist (see Figure 9 and 10). Furthermore, it could be assumed that countries with highly successful teams would garner more coverage in the media. As a result, total medal count by country could have had a significant impact on the frequency of countries mentioned in the media. The top 8 countries by medal total at the Montreal Games were as follows: (1) Soviet Union, (2) United States of America, (3) East Germany, (4) West Germany, (5) Romania, (6) Poland, (7) Japan, (8) Bulgaria and Hungary.

In total, the *Montreal Gazette* reported on 45 countries during the two weeks of the Games. As a result, approximately 39.5% of the original 114 NOCs that originally committed to participating in the Olympic Games are discussed in the *Montreal Gazette*. Similarly, *The Globe and Mail* reported on 46 countries, or approximately 40% of all originally committed NOCs. Therefore, approximately 60% of all NOCs that participated in the 1976 Olympics are not discussed in *The Globe and Mail* or the *Montreal Gazette*. This is a significant finding, as it clearly shows that national representation in the media is not equal, and that countries which use the Games to gain international recognition may not be benefitting from print media as much as they thought.

In general, the top 8 countries discussed in the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* are very similar. In the *Montreal Gazette*, the rank order of national reporting by country is: (1) Canada, (2) Soviet Union, (3) United States of America, (4) Romania,

(5) East Germany, (6) United Kingdom, (7) Japan, and (8) Poland. Comparatively, the rank order of coverage by country in *The Globe and Mail* is: (1) Canada, (2) Soviet Union, (3) United States of America, (4) East Germany, (5) Romania, (6) Japan, (7) Brazil, and (8) United Kingdom and Australia. With the exception of Australia, Brazil, and Poland, the most reported countries in the news coverage are the same in both newspapers. These findings are significant since they show that the same countries maintained priority across two of Canada's top media outlets during the Montreal Olympics, which implies that these countries were of high interest to the Canadian public during this time. For a detailed account of all countries, and their frequency of reporting across both newspapers, see Table 6 and Figure 7 and 8.

## 2.3 Next Steps

Now that a representation of the thematic breakdown of the Montreal *Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* has been outlined, there is an opportunity to take a deeper look at the representation of the Soviet Union in these two newspapers. This research contributes to the body of knowledge on sport and the media, sport and the Cold War, media representations of the Soviet Union, and Canadian representations of the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

Table 6: National Coverage by Country of The Montreal Olympic Games

Country	<i>The Montreal Gazette</i>		<i>The Globe and Mail</i>		Both Newspapers	
	Total #	% of Total # of Articles	Total #	% of Total # of Articles	Total #	% of Total # of Articles
Canada	163	47.94	145	45.89	308	46.95
Soviet Union/Russia	56	16.47	50	15.82	106	16.16
Romania	19	5.59	13	4.11	32	4.88
USA	40	11.76	33	10.44	73	11.13
East Germany	18	5.29	21	6.65	39	5.95
West Germany	9	2.65	5	1.58	14	2.13
Poland	10	2.94	5	1.58	15	2.29
Switzerland	2	0.59	1	0.32	3	0.46
Ukraine	2	0.59	3	0.95	5	0.76
Mexico	1	0.29	4	1.27	5	0.76
China	3	0.88	5	1.58	8	1.22
Yugoslavia	6	1.76	2	0.63	8	1.22
Algeria	1	0.29	0	0.00	1	0.15
United Kingdom	14	4.12	9	2.85	23	3.51
Brazil	6	1.76	10	3.16	16	2.44
Spain	1	0.29	1	0.32	2	0.30
Australia	7	2.06	9	2.85	16	2.44
India	5	1.47	3	0.95	8	1.22
Netherlands	2	0.59	1	0.32	3	0.46
Japan	13	3.82	11	3.48	24	3.66
Czechoslovakia	4	1.18	4	1.27	8	1.22
Cuba	9	2.65	13	4.11	22	3.35
Italy	8	2.35	4	1.27	12	1.83
New Zealand	6	1.76	6	1.90	12	1.83
South Korea	2	0.59	4	1.27	6	0.91
North Korea	1	0.29	4	1.27	5	0.76
Bulgaria	3	0.88	3	0.95	6	0.91
Hungary	4	1.18	5	1.58	9	1.37
Taiwan	7	2.06	5	1.58	12	1.83
Pakistan	2	0.59	3	0.95	5	0.76
South Africa	5	1.47	4	1.27	9	1.37
Egypt	2	0.59	1	0.32	3	0.46
Puerto Rico	1	0.29	0	0.00	1	0.15
Israel	3	0.88	5	1.58	8	1.22
Morocco	1	0.29	0	0.00	1	0.15
Ethiopia	0	0.00	2	0.63	2	0.30
Argentina	0	0.00	1	0.32	1	0.15
Mongolia	0	0.00	1	0.32	1	0.15
Senegal	0	0.00	1	0.32	1	0.15
Tunisia	0	0.00	2	0.63	2	0.30
Guyana	2	0.59	0	0.00	2	0.30
Lebanon	1	0.29	0	0.00	1	0.15
Iran	1	0.29	2	0.63	3	0.46
Monaco	1	0.29	1	0.32	2	0.30
Finland	2	0.59	4	1.27	6	0.91
Saudi Arabia	0	0.00	2	0.63	2	0.30
Sweden	3	0.88	3	0.95	6	0.91
Bermuda	1	0.29	0	0.00	1	0.15
Iraq	1	0.29	0	0.00	1	0.15
Malaysia	1	0.29	0	0.00	1	0.15
Kenya	0	0.00	1	0.32	1	0.15
Guatemala	0	0.00	2	0.63	2	0.30
Peru	0	0.00	1	0.32	1	0.15
France	1	0.29	0	0.00	1	0.15
Trinidad and Tobago	0	0.00	2	0.63	2	0.30
<b>Total Country Counts</b>	450		417		867	
<b>Total # of Articles with Countries Reported</b>	340		316		656	



### Country Reporting without Canada

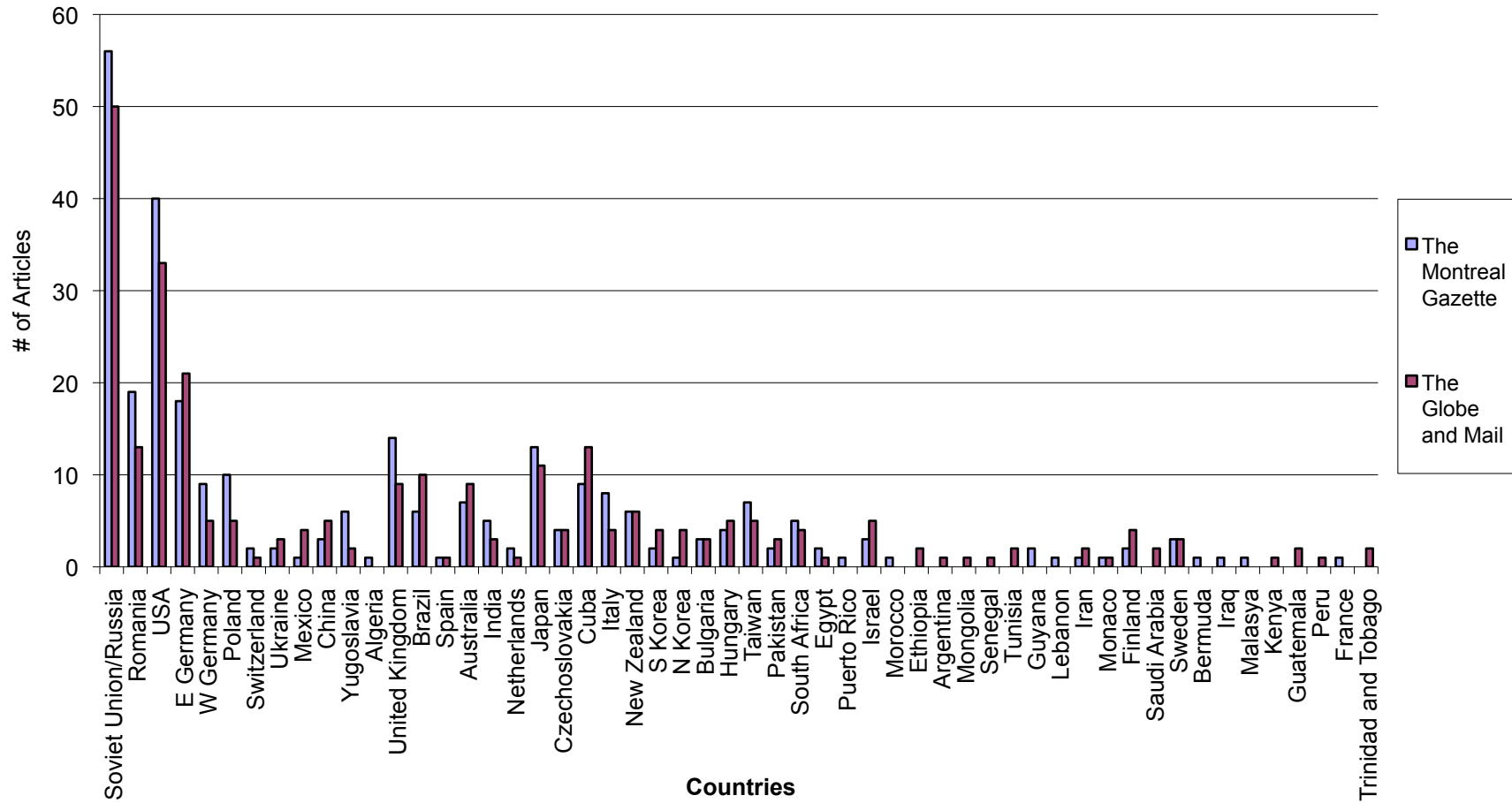


Figure 7: Country Reporting without Canada

## Country Reporting Compared to Canada

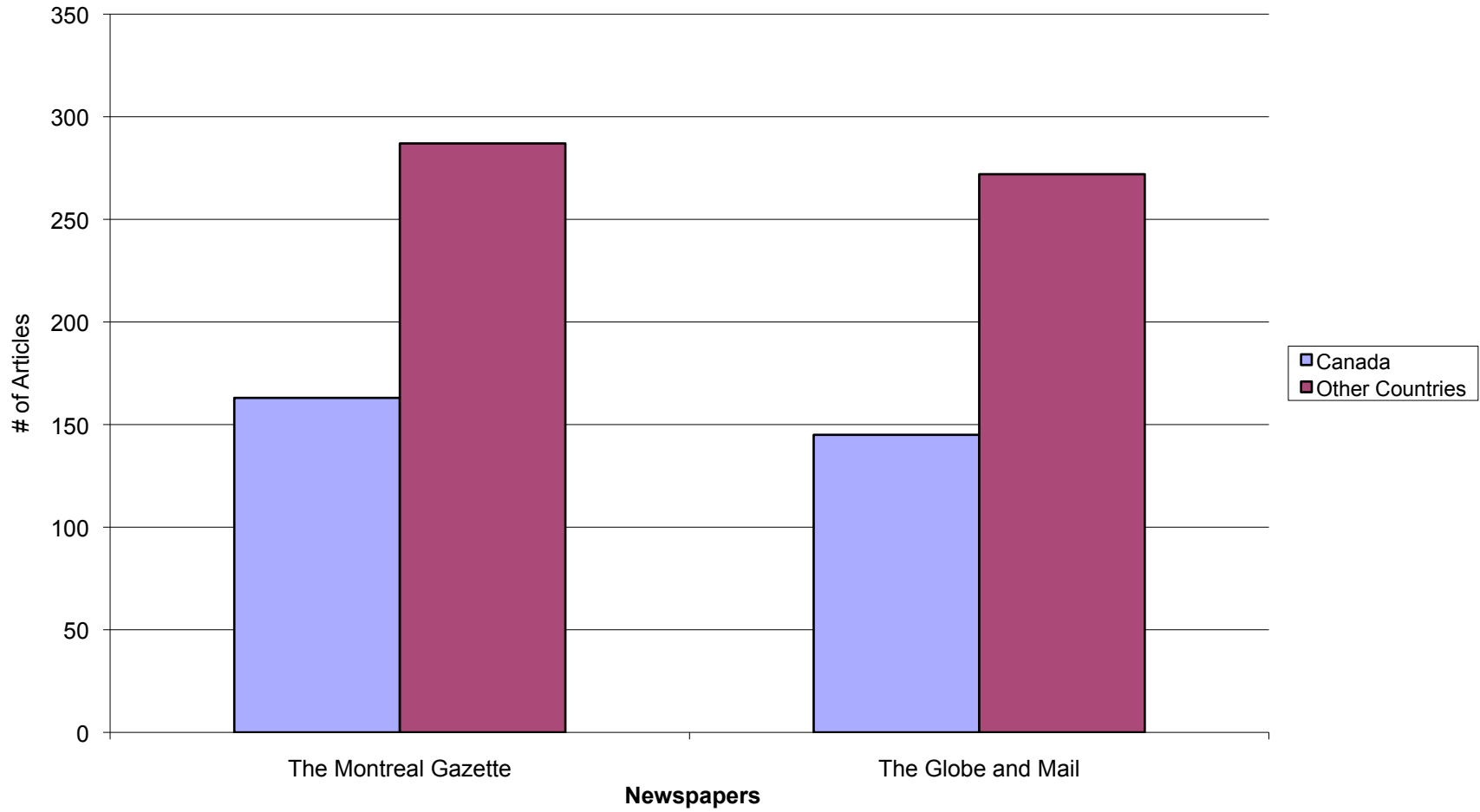


Figure 8: Country Reporting Compared to Canada

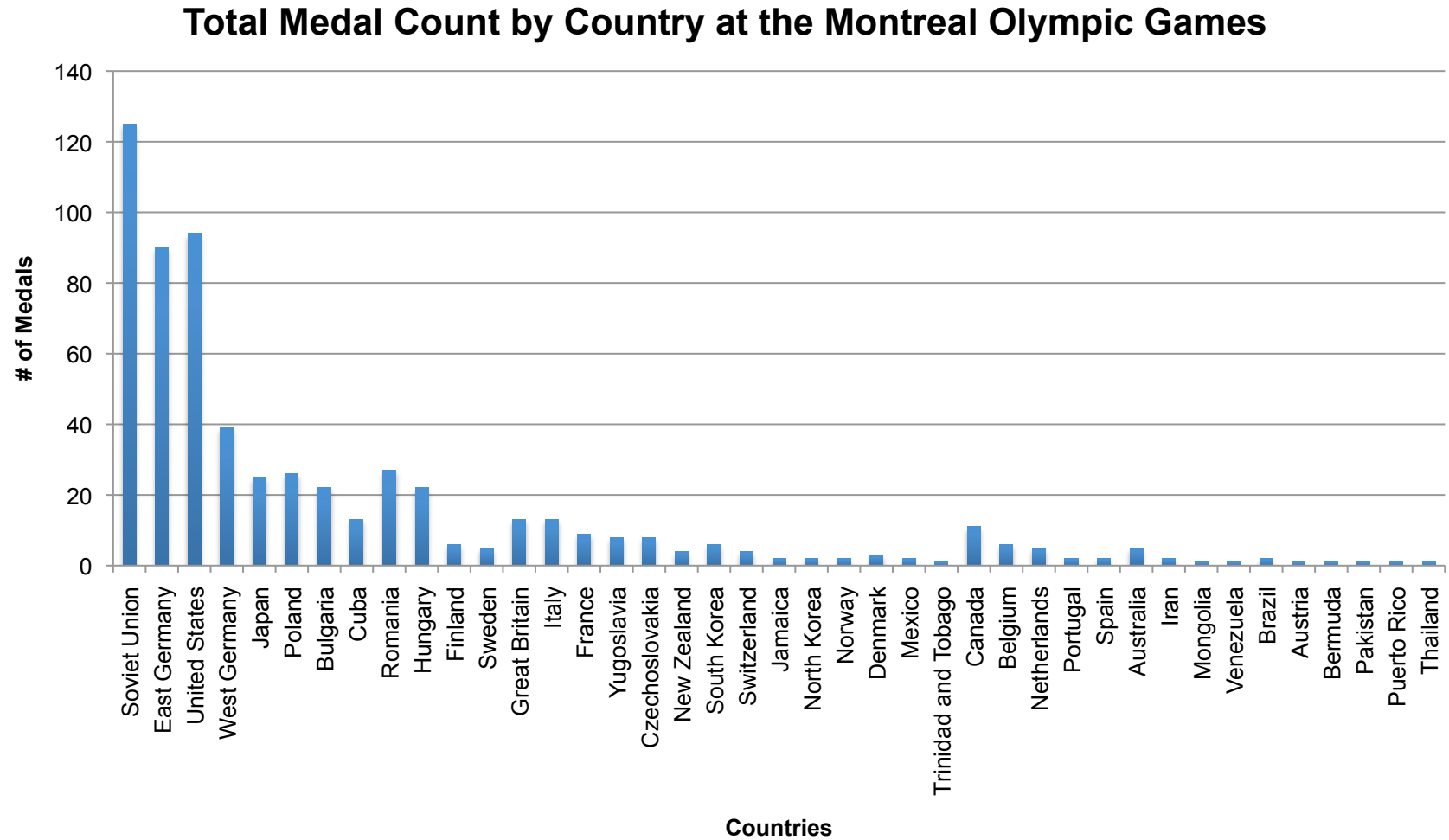


Figure 9: Total Medal Count by Country at the Montreal Olympic Games

Source: <http://www.espn.co.uk/espn/sport/story/142360.html#aJOyGpmzgzgKkRk2.99>

### Country Coverage in The Montreal Gazette and *The Globe and Mail* Compared to Total Medal Count by Country

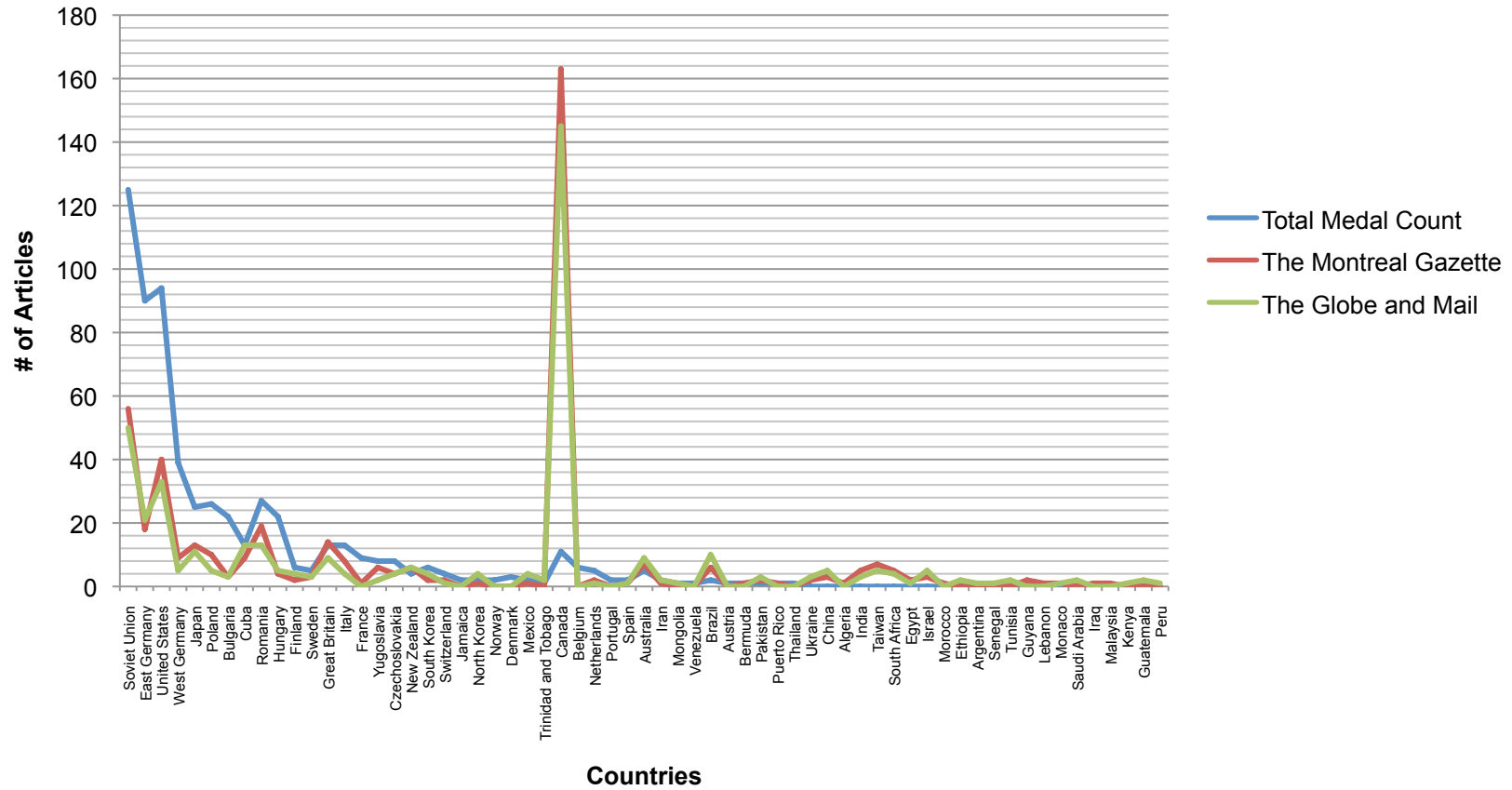


Figure 10: Country Coverage in the Montreal Gazette and The Globe and Mail Compared to Total Medal Country by Country

## 2.4 Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> International Olympic Committee, “More about,” Montreal 1976, accessed May 14, 2013, <http://www.olympic.org/montreal-1976-summer-olympics>.

<sup>2</sup> See Table K in COJO, *Games of the XXI Olympiad Montreal 1976: Official Report, Volume 1 Organization*, (Canada: COJO, 1978), 139.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Frederick Mason, “Women Play Sports (just not as Well): Canadian Newspapers’ Coverage of Men’s and Women’s Sports at the 1999 Pan-American Games,” (MA Thesis, University of Ottawa, 2000), 85-86.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>6</sup> Cheryl Cooky, Michael A. Messner, and Robin H. Hextrum, “Women Play Sport, But Not on TV: A Longitudinal Study of Televised News Media,” in *Communication and Sport*, 0, 00, (2012), 8.

<sup>7</sup> COJO, *Games of the XXI Olympiad Montreal 1976: Official Report, Volume 1 Organization*, 137.

<sup>8</sup> International Olympic Committee, “More about,” Munich 1972, accessed May 14, 2013, <http://www.olympic.org/munich-1972-summer-olympics>; International Olympic Committee, “More about,” Mexico 1968, accessed May 14, 2013, <http://www.olympic.org/mexico-1968-summer-olympics>

## Chapter 3

### 3 Qualitative Analysis of the Soviet Union's National Representation in the Canadian Media

*“And so it goes. Nationalism is everywhere in the Games, and so is politics...”<sup>1</sup>*

This chapter, through a discussion of more in depth quantitative measures and theoretical considerations, will further explore the national representation of countries mentioned in the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* during the Montreal Olympic Games. However, this chapter will primarily discuss representations of the Soviet Union at the Montreal Olympic Games as mediated through the two newspapers. The Soviet Union was chosen for two reasons. First, it was the second-most frequently discussed country in the two newspapers after Canada. Second, the 1976 Games were held during the Cold War and directly before the 1980 Moscow and 1984 Los Angeles boycotts. Consequently, providing insight into how Canadian media represented the Soviet Union during the 1976 Games will provide insight into Canadian societal sentiments towards the USSR during that time.

#### 3.1 Introduction

When Charles Maurras, one of Coubertin's fiercest opponents of the modern Olympic Games, attended the first Olympics in Athens in 1896, he stated, “In the past, nations dealt with each other through ambassadors... now people will confront each other directly, insulting each other face-to-face.”<sup>2</sup> While Coubertin claimed that the Olympic Games would foster and promote international peace and understanding, Maurras was sure the opposite would hold true: “The contact engendered at events like the Olympic Games,” he concluded, “would propel rather than propitiate the forces of international enmity and mistrust.”<sup>3</sup>

Though these differences of opinion on the Games are still apparent today, it could be argued that over the history of the Olympic Games, Maurras' prediction has held true.<sup>4</sup> However, in spite of Maurras, and as the Games continued to grow,

nationalism became a larger and more obvious component of the Olympic Games. As stated by American Olympic Committee President Robert Thompson in the *New York Times* prior to the 1916 Games in Berlin, “The nations [are] entering into the spirit of competition with a whole-heartedness that has been missing in past Olympic games. Instead of the individual athlete being the first consideration, the nation now directs the actions of the athletes, and this...will result in better competition, world-wide interest, and add to the importance of the games.”<sup>5</sup>

Historian Barbara Keys, in *Globalizing Sport*, discusses the rise of international sport as a legitimate and powerful tool in the political and cultural development of different nations during the 1930s. She argues, “It was the relative late newcomers to sport in Europe that were most likely to link sport achievements with national power and to devote government subsidies to secure them.”<sup>6</sup> Keys used the phrase “relative late newcomers to sport” to refer to European nations that historically did not have a strong sporting culture in the 1930s, in comparison to countries such as France, Britain and Germany. Keys’ words ring especially true for the Soviet Union, which joined the Olympic movement in 1951 and competed at its first Olympic Games in Helsinki in 1952.<sup>7</sup> The Soviets, after joining the Olympic movement following extensive discussions and observing the 1948 London Olympic Games, concluded that international sport and the Olympic Games were viable opportunities to promote Soviet communism over American capitalism.<sup>8</sup> As expressed by Soviet World Chess Champion Garri Kasparov, “International victories and titles won by Soviet athletes were supposed to prove ‘yet again’ the advantages of socialism over capitalism...A world chess champion was nothing short of a political post.”<sup>9</sup>

The concept of government legitimatization through sporting greatness is nothing new to sport history. As historian Grant Jarvie states, this idea has “been echoed by a number of liberal historians who have argued that international sport and the success of the international athlete has been one of the greatest symbols of integration for many emerging [...] nations. The victorious athletes not only tended to legitimate the nation within the international arena but also incarnated a positive image of the nation.”<sup>10</sup>

The Soviet strategy to increase international recognition and prominence using international sport did not go unnoticed in the United States. As stated by future US President Dwight Eisenhower in a presidential election speech in 1952, “There are many peaceful tools that must be used in the waging of this fight... diplomacy, the spreading of ideas through every medium of communication, mutual economic, trade and barter, friendly contacts through travel and correspondence and sports.”<sup>11</sup> In this speech, Eisenhower argued that sport and the media could be used as practical tools to challenge the USSR throughout the Cold War. Moreover, Eisenhower believed the United States could challenge the USSR in another way:

In spirit and resolve we should see in this ‘cold war’ a chance to gain victory without casualties, to win a contest that can quite literally save peace. We must realize that as a nation, everything we say, everything we do, and everything we fail to say or do will have its impact in other lands. It will affect the minds and wills of men and women there.<sup>12</sup>

Actions taken by both the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War had ramifications on international politics for over thirty years. The media was used to publicize their actions, which then shaped public perceptions of these nations and the public’s understanding of Cold War events. Prior to discussing how the Soviet Union was framed in the media, it is necessary to have a basic understanding of two topics: Canada during the Cold War and sport nationalism.

### 3.2 Canada and the Cold War, 1960s-1970s

The Cold War was a period of sustained international tension between two blocs following World War II to the early 1990s. The Western bloc, led by the United States, followed the ideals of capitalist society. The Eastern bloc, led by the USSR, believed in the ideals of communism. This ultimately led to profound political and economic differences between the two blocs and injected tension into international politics for decades.

Scherer, Duquette, and Mason argue that Canada dispensed with Britain’s shrinking parental shadow and arrived on the world stage as an important middle power following World War II.<sup>13</sup> However, with this new power came a contradictory role. On



one hand, Canada became a strong advocate for international peace, witnessed both in its association with the United Nations in 1945 and in its broader foreign policy agenda centered on maintaining peace through cooperation and diplomacy. On the other hand, Canada's foreign policy also aimed at gaining collective security through tactical alliances with the Western powers and the United States. This was the result of losing thousands of men during World War II and the threat of a nuclear war following the USSR's deployment of an atomic bomb in 1949. Furthermore, Canada was unavoidably tied to Western Cold War ideology and, in particular, to the United States through its involvement in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949, the Suez Crisis in 1956, and the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) in 1957.<sup>14</sup>

Changes came in the 1960s. Political tensions began to mount between Canada and the United States as "many observers were expressing concerns about the waning influence of Canada in the world and the loss of an independent foreign policy in the face of American power and of the country's economic dependence."<sup>15</sup> Events such as the Bay of Pigs in 1961 and the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, both instances in which Canadians disagreed with American actions, only increased the ever-growing crack in the Canadian-American relationship. More significantly, the Vietnam War (1955-1975) was where the true ideological division took place.<sup>16</sup> As stated by Whitaker, "Canada preferred diplomatic over military means of containment, whereas the United States having the most powerful military in the world, preferred the latter."<sup>17</sup> As a result, Canada did not support the US invasion of Vietnam or the resulting war, and a new era of activism rose among Canadians as they became more critical of American interventionism.<sup>18</sup>

Moreover, economic tensions heightened the already strained Canada-USA relationship. By the mid-1950s, fifty percent of Canadian industry was under American control. As a result, in 1957, the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, also known as the Walter Gordon Report, was released suggesting that Canada should focus its efforts on developing its natural resources and its business sector, which could be sold to foreign parties. The report went largely unheeded and American economic domination continued into the mid-1960s. Canadian philosopher and political commentator George Grant, in *Lament for a Nation*, described Canada as little more than

a “northern extension of American capitalism,” and stated that the Canadian ruling class turned to the United States for a final word on both politics and culture.<sup>19</sup> By the late 1960s, Canada needed to make substantial political and economic changes if it was to successfully create a unique national identity detached from overt American influence.

In 1968, Pierre Elliot Trudeau became head of the Liberal Party, and later that year, Canada’s Prime Minister. Having never been a diplomat or Secretary of State for External Affairs, Trudeau was extremely critical of Canada’s foreign policy. He believed that it was outdated: it did not take into account the changing international environment and left Canada basking in its role as “peacekeeper” thereby rendering it obsolete in a new age. In 1970, the Trudeau administration released *Foreign Policy for Canadians*, which clearly defined the new position of the Canadian Government. Peace and security, national unity and identity, a harmonious natural environment, economic growth, social justice, and quality of life became the six guiding principles of the administration.<sup>20</sup>

Canada’s new foreign policy was an obvious attempt to offset the influence of the United States on Canada while still recognizing the importance of the US-Canadian relationship. In 1972, a seventh theme was added into the policy’s agenda called the “Third Option.” The “Third Option” had two objectives: (1) to create a proper balance of power between the United States and Canada, and (2) to decrease continental integration between the two nations. More pointed, this was an attempt by Trudeau to stimulate economic and political ties with other countries, thereby decreasing Canada’s dependence on the United States.<sup>21</sup> It is necessary to note that while the Third Option focused on diversifying Canada’s economic landscape, it was not anti-American in nature. Rather, it was consistent with the idea of growing as an independent nation, free of American dominance.<sup>22</sup>

While the Third Option was not anti-American, other actions taken by Trudeau, which meant to foster international relations with the Soviet Union, could be perceived that way. In 1970, Trudeau “signed a Protocol on Consultations with Moscow, an agreement that Washington feared was a sign that Canada was sliding towards neutrality, a view shared by some in the Cabinet in Ottawa, which, extraordinarily, had not been

consulted about the Protocol.”<sup>23</sup> Following this ‘slide’ to neutrality, historian Jack Granatstein stated,

As Trudeau put it in Moscow: “Canada has increasingly found it important to diversify its channels of communication because of the overpowering presence of the United States and that is reflected in a growing consciousness amongst Canadians of the danger to our national identity from a cultural, economic and perhaps even from a military point of view.” In Moscow, such rhetoric sounded different than it might have in Moosonee, but most Canadian nationalists loved it. So did the Russians. He visited Castro in Havana in 1973, and shouted “Viva Castro” to end one speech. He visited Beijing in 1973 and expounded on the wonderful system Mao had given his people. It was little wonder that some in Washington believed Trudeau a Communist sympathizer.<sup>24</sup>

What is necessary to emphasize here is that Canada had a very complicated relationship with the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Canada was tied to Western ideology and American dominance due to its political and geographical position, but by the late 1960s and 1970s was trying to establish a unique international presence free of American influence. In doing this, Canada opened international channels with communist countries, such as the USSR and China, believing that the Cold War had continued well beyond its shelf life and had distorted Canadian national and international priorities. A related complicating factor was the issue of nationalism.

### 3.3 Nationalism

*For Valery Borzov...Only six days ago he was a hot tip to repeat in Canada his gold-medal winning performances four years ago in the 100 and 200 metres and prove right those experts who called him the greatest sprinter of all...He was feted by Kremlin leaders on his return [from Munich] as living evidence of the superiority of the communist system.*<sup>25</sup>

There is a substantial body of literature on nationalism, and on sport as a means to foster nationalism. According to Martin Griffiths, the significance behind the word “nationalism” goes well beyond ideas of patriotism and love of one’s country.<sup>26</sup> Nationalism is a very loose term, but is also complex with many parallel and differentiating meanings. Griffiths describes four distinct types of nationalism: ethnic, cultural, civic, and sovereign. Ethnic nationalism is founded on the idea that a ‘nation’ is

something an individual is born into and is dictated by family lineage, while cultural nationalism is determined by common language, customs, norms, behaviours, myths and symbolism. Civic nationalism views a nation as a group of equals who are held together by a mutual agreement and membership is open to anyone who is willing to conform to a specific political system. This is in contrast to sovereign nationalism, which is determined by residing within the same 'territorial-political-legal unit' regardless of ethnic, linguistic, or cultural differences. Each type of nationalism plays to the values and norms of different populations, and different types of nationalism can overlap in the same region.<sup>27</sup> Nationalism is an important component to discuss when exploring the greater context, or the perceived understanding of a country, on the international and national stage. There are two notions in particular that interconnect with nationalism that require further explanation: national dignity and national loyalty.<sup>28</sup>

National dignity is the level of respect one has for their nation and the level of respect a nation engenders from the international community. This concept closely ties to an individual's dignity, since the nation provides the individual with security and prestige. When a nation is economically or internationally prosperous and powerful, a nation's dignity is high. When a foreign power with greater influence encroaches on a nation, national humiliation occurs, which leads to decreased national dignity. While this seems initially detrimental, humiliation can generate a sense of collective responsibility and memory within the masses, which ultimately helps to foster greater national solidarity. Therefore, an individual forms the strongest bond with their nation when there is concern about its dignity.<sup>29</sup> When national dignity is high, so too is nationalism, and vice versa. The idea of national dignity echoes within the Cold War sport context. As expressed by Allen Guttmann,

There is no consensus about a point system, but impartial observers agree that the United States 'won' the competition in 1952 and 1968 while the USSR reaped a larger harvest of medals in the other games between 1952 and 1976. An ironic consequence of the athletic triumphs of the Warsaw pact nations is that the United States and other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) have begun belatedly to imitate the kind of state-sponsored sport systems first developed in Moscow and Leipzig.<sup>30</sup>

As the Soviet Union increased its international sporting presence during the Cold War, its national dignity increased within and among other nations. Likewise, as the United States' Olympic dominance deteriorated after the arrival of the Soviets in 1952, the US sport system began to shift in response to the urgency to win. Policies and government systems change in response to the priorities of the collective, and so it could be argued that through the collective response to Olympic humiliation and threatened national dignity, the United States attempted to strengthen its opportunity for victory, which helped to increase its sense of national dignity. As politics and nationalism were tightly connected during this time, I believe national dignity was also directly linked to political ideology.

With national dignity comes the idea of national loyalty. National loyalty is the level of support or allegiance an individual feels for his or her nation. Nations call for loyalty in times of crisis, and the response from the individual can generally fall into two categories. On one hand, there is the jingoistic “my country, right or wrong” mentality, where national concern is brought to a level of absolute importance. In this case, loyalty to one's nation becomes the primary concern in spite of personal political beliefs and public responsibilities. On the other hand, the ideology of cosmopolitanism finds it inexcusable to support the needs of the nation over the needs of the individual. Therefore, an individual's principal responsibility is to all human beings.<sup>31</sup> I believe that in the Cold War sport context, the “my country, right or wrong” mentality generally prevailed among nations.

Sport fosters nationalism, national dignity, and national loyalty, and was therefore a valuable weapon for the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War. For example, athletic performances on the world stage serve as a means to produce national unity and stimulate cohesive nationalism. When an athlete excels at an international sporting event, the achievement fosters passionate nationalistic emotions that resonate with spectators across the country. This emotion and passion reminds spectators they co-exist in a common destiny, linked together by a common identity. Therefore, when an athlete succeeds, their achievement is a victory for their nation. What is more, sport rituals, like the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympic Games, frequently have

national representations such as anthems, emblems, and flags, which celebrate the current ideology of the host nation.<sup>32</sup>

Furthermore, sport is a way to socialize citizens by indoctrinating spectators and athletes into the dominant culture's ideology. According to George Sage, "sport is one of the most salient molders of national unity and collective identity."<sup>33</sup> As a result, governments throughout the world have used sport as a tool to increase their presence internationally. Sport, especially high profile sporting events like the Olympic Games and World Championships, promotes a sense of national unity, which has the potential to build or reinforce national identity, nationally and internationally. Moreover, sport organizations, officials, coaches, athletic directors, and broadcasters among others, can push their government's ideological perspectives through the messages they send out to the masses. As a result, conformity to the national government philosophy is created through influencing public knowledge. Thus, governments intervene in and regulate sport to gain the consent of the masses, thereby fostering national unity, pride, and dignity.<sup>34</sup>

The way an audience understands the nationalism of specific nations can be gleaned from the reporting on countries in newspapers. As well, newspapers act as a reflection of and help to reinforce their audiences' values and beliefs. Therefore, the collective understanding of a nation can be understood by examining how a nation is represented and reported in the newspapers; since sport and sport performance are directly related to nationalism, the Olympic experiences, actions, and performances of a nation that are reported in newspapers will influence the way an audience will understand and perceive of a country.

It is also important to note that audiences tend to generalize media representations across foreign populations. As stated by David Perry, "media audiences generalize in a quasi-statistical fashion from their mediated sample of descriptions of a foreign country to a mental image of the 'population.' The idea that audiences over generalize about other nations in this manner is consistent with findings of psychologists who study human inference."<sup>35</sup> Moreover, Perry states, "in generalizing about groups of people, whether one belongs to the group is important. People generalize from the characteristics of an

individual to a group more readily if they do not belong to the group and people view out-groups as more uniform than in-groups, regardless of true uniformities.”<sup>36</sup> This suggests that readers would make generalizations about the whole Soviet population from reading about the Soviet Union at the 1976 Games in the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail*.

### 3.4 National Representation at the Montreal Olympic Games

To begin, a detailed look into how each country was depicted in the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* during the 1976 Olympic Games is necessary. As seen in the quantitative thematic analyses found in Appendix 2 and 3, a wide range of frequency counts were reported in every theme across all countries. As a result, each country mentioned in the newspapers had their own unique representation in the media.<sup>37</sup> This information provides a representation of how audiences may have perceived these nations during the Games, which could influence their lasting impressions of participating nations.

While Appendix 2 and 3 provide a quantitative overview of how the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* presented each country to audiences, they do not provide specific qualitative insight into how each country was represented in the media. Due, in part, to the large number of countries accounted for in the media, only one country will be further analyzed—the Soviet Union.

### 3.5 The Soviet Union and the Montreal Olympic News Coverage

This section discusses two ways in which the Soviet Union is covered in *The Globe and Mail* and the *Montreal Gazette*: sports and politics. This section also analyses a series of advertisements placed in the *Montreal Gazette* by the organizers of the 1980 Moscow Games, which portrays ideas of Soviet national growth during this time.

#### 3.5.1 The Soviet Union and Sports in the Canadian Media

*The Lurch horror show is history.  
Now Canada's men's basketball team is ready to settle down and start  
playing mere mortals again.*<sup>38</sup>

- Dick Bacon, following a Canadian loss to  
the Soviet basketball team.

It is widely accepted that the Soviet Union was the international sporting powerhouse of the Cold War. The preliminary results found in chapter 2 reinforce this idea, since it was the second most discussed nation in the two papers. In total, 92 of 106 articles related to the Soviet Union found in the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* were sport focused —approximately 87% of all Soviet news coverage.

At first glance, the Soviet team can easily be associated with sports requiring strength, technique, and teamwork. As well, sports that had high international interest (e.g., basketball, athletics, gymnastics) or provided an increased opportunity to win multiple medals due to team and individual competitions (e.g., fencing, weightlifting and gymnastics) were heavily dominated by a Soviet presence in the media. Nonetheless, regardless of the sport, there is one construction of the Soviet team found in the Canadian media that blankets the entire sporting coverage of the Olympic Games, that is, athletic greatness achieved through strength/power, mechanical qualities, and dominance.

### 3.5.1.1 Strength and Power

From the opening day of the Olympic Games, the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* highlighted the Soviet Union's athletic expertise. Headlines such as "Soviet cyclists may get first medal," and "Russian, Pole renewing their rivalry in fighting for weightlifting gold medal" were found in the first six pages of the *Gazette's* day one coverage. As the Olympics continued, the Soviets gained recognition in the media. For instance, following a Soviet victory in basketball on day 3, it was reported, "the Russians decided to *kill an ant with an axe* as they sent in the heralded centre Iuliyaka Semenova who *scored every time* she touched the ball and finished the match with 12 points."<sup>39</sup>

Moreover, following the USSR's Sergei Novikov's victory over West Germany's Gunther Neureuther in the heavyweight judo competition, it was stated, "the *powerful*



Russian dominated the West German throughout the *brief* round, waiting for an opportunity to throw him to the mat in such a *great force* that he'd be declared the winner...the strategy worked [italics added by author].<sup>40</sup> These are glaring examples of Soviet athletic greatness achieved through the use of power and strength over other athletes during sport performances. The use of power and strength as a means to athletic success was reinforced through the use of loaded language found throughout other press coverage. For example, the Soviet team rarely just won their Olympic competitions; they were more likely to 'trash', 'smash', 'dominate', 'outclass', or 'steamroll' their opponents into submission.<sup>41</sup>

### 3.5.1.2 Mechanical Characteristics

The precision and technical athletic development of the Soviet team was also highlighted in the sports coverage. The Soviet Union, while not celebrated for their athlete's finesse or fluidity on the court or mat, was described as the "Red Machine" because of the perfect movements and calculated performances of the Soviet athletes, which mirrored a well-oiled machine.<sup>42</sup> Four-time male gymnastics individual gold medalist, Nikolai Andrianov, perfectly exemplified this framed understanding of the Soviet Union when the Montreal *Gazette* wrote, "Andrianov, who doesn't have the flash or exuberance of the Japanese, led all the way through the six events, demonstrating perfect balance, tremendous strength, and impeccable technique."<sup>43</sup> This construction was also found in sports that traditionally are not celebrated for precise movements. For example, "[t]he Russian women's Olympic basketball team used pin-point shooting and machine-like precision to roll over Canada...in the first day of the women's round-robin event."<sup>44</sup> Moreover, by emphasizing that it was a *red* machine, the communist ideology of the Soviet Union was also blatantly highlighted. As a result, the political system of the Soviet Union was inherently tied to the strong sport performance outcomes of the Soviet athletes.

Beyond precision and accuracy, a lack of fear and a sense of outside control of the individual Soviet athletes furthered this "mechanical" construction. For instance, one Soviet athlete was quoted as saying: "I knew the competitors and their strengths. One shouldn't have any fear anyhow, going into competition."<sup>45</sup> Attributes such as pure,

methodical logic, calculated thought processes, and lack of emotions such as fear, are characteristics associated with machines. Carefully considering opponent's weaknesses, as well as abandoning fear, strongly aligns with the mechanical construction of the Soviet Olympic team.

Additionally, the Soviet machine construction was furthered by a lack of athlete commentary on their sport performances; often the Soviet coaches were the ones who spoke for the athletes. Generally, beyond a few Soviet sport heroes such as Olga Korbut and Anatoly Bondarchuk, the unique personalities of Soviet athletes were not showcased in the Canadian media, as it was continually reported that the athletes declined to comment or the athlete's coach stepped in to respond. "Roger Lhoumeau, the man responsible for arranging interviews, said he would try to get the Russians to appear but later, after all the lively medal presentations had been made, told a disappointed media throng they had refused. 'Their coaches will not allow their athletes to come,' he said."<sup>46</sup> As a result, the secrecy surrounding many of the Soviet athletes created a sense of mystery, and thus strengthened the mechanical construction of "the Red Machine."

### 3.5.1.3 Sport Dominance regardless of Performance Outcome

In terms of sport performance, if the Soviet team performed poorly, it was generally deemed the result of an unforeseen circumstance: the uneven grass on the soccer pitch, a group of distracting protestors in the stands, or the extreme fatigue of the athletes after many strong performances.<sup>47</sup> However, even when Soviet performances were less impressive than expected, the resulting sport outcome still generally had positive results. For instance, in basketball, it was reported, "The Soviets came out flat and lacked their usual precision while the Czechs started out running and took an early lead. But Russia used Semenova, and led at half time 43-31."<sup>48</sup> Examples like this implied Soviet athletes, even when performing poorly, were still the best athletes in the field.

Moreover, when Soviet athletes won a gold medal and had world-class record performances, it often was not good enough to meet Soviet sport standards. This theme was exemplified following USSR athlete David Rigert's gold medal victory in the

middle-heavyweight weightlifting category. After setting a new Olympic snatch record, and beating American Lee James' newly acquired Olympic record in the same event only a half-hour before, Rigert was quoted as saying, "There was no competition. If there had been real competition, there would've been world records."<sup>49</sup> As a result, Soviet athletes, even when they were the best in their sport, projected the idea that they could always be better. It also must be noted that the James-Rigert episode almost perfectly mirrors the US-Soviet sport tensions of the Cold War era; the athletic development of the United States was almost always overshadowed by the Soviet Union.

However, as strong as the Soviet team was at the Montreal Games, they did not win every sport competition, though this fact did not stop the Soviet athletes from continually receiving praise for their performances. Even when top Soviet athletes underperformed and did not win medals, often times they still received great praise for their efforts and were even heralded in the press as being the best regardless of their performance. This pattern was usually associated with the USSR's veteran athletes. For example, Soviet gymnast Olga Korbut, "an old woman at 21,"<sup>50</sup> finished out of the individual medals in the gymnastics finals after "start[ing] the world craze for gymnastics and turn[ing] it into one of the major glamour sports of the Olympics [following the Munich Games]."<sup>51</sup> Regardless of Korbut's results, journalist Tim Burke maintained that she was still a better gymnast than Romania's Nadia Comaneci, who won the all-around competition in Montreal and is still remembered today for her perfect ten performances:

I don't particularly like Comaneci's demenour—a little too saucy—whereas Olga will reign in my heart as the all-time Olympic sweetheart. Before she burst on the Munch Games of 1972, women's gymnastics had all the glamour of archery or fencing. But Olga's magnificent showmanship, plus her deep human qualities, which attended amazing performances, converted women's gymnastics into maybe the premier attraction of the Games. Nadia may have the 10's and the medals, but Olga will always be remembered as the authoress of excellence.<sup>52</sup>

While Korbut was celebrated for her personality and success in bringing women's gymnastics to the forefront of the Olympic program, other athletes were highlighted for their past athletic careers and what they had done for their sport in the USSR. As well, while the above example highlights a famous USSR athlete in a popular sport, the idea of

“praise for the defeated veterans” was found in even the most unpopular sports. For example, in the men’s hammer throw competition, Munich Olympic champion Anatoly Bondarchuk finished third to two fellow Russians. While Bondarchuk, the favorite in the event, fell short of the gold, the Canadian press chose to emphasize a different aspect of his performance. For example, *The Globe and Mail*, after celebrating him as “probably the greatest [hammer thrower] in the history of the obscure sport,”<sup>53</sup> stated,

Anatoly Bondarchuk, the old man of the hammer throw...with tufts of grey hair sprouting from his barrel chest, was the former world record holder and Munich Champion... Bondarchuk was defeated by Yuri Sedykh, the 21-year-old student he has trained more than four years in Kiev...Bondarchuk, named the Russian Bear, was first to comment, “Yuri, he was sitting in my physical education class in Kiev. I picked him for the hammer. He is a good boy. He trained hard...” then he added “Happy, Happy, like winning it myself. What a way to finish eighteen years of hammer throwing.” ... Will Bondarchuk put up his feet and take it easy? “What? Ha. I have 300 boys throwing the hammer and five of them are going to win medals.” Sedykh, the champion, was diplomatic. “How could I lose with such a coach?” Then the bald old veteran of the hammer and his young mustached disciple hugged, Russian style, until their bones creaked, and kissed Russian style, smack on the lips.<sup>54</sup>

The Canadian press, through highlighting Bondarchuk’s past athletic achievements, as well his coaching success, clearly displayed the dominance of the Soviet sport system; Olympic champions were creating the next generation of Olympic champions. Even more important, the Canadian press, through both the Korbut and Bondarchuk examples, suggested the Soviet sport system was advancing sport itself. The construction of the Soviet Union advancing sport was strengthened when, following a Cuban loss to Russia in the Olympic volleyball tournament, the Montreal *Gazette* printed, “A Cuban loss to the USSR, however, is not really considered a defeat, since the USSR sent ‘sport educators’ to Cuba after the revolution. ‘The Russians helped us a lot in all the aspects of sports,’ said [Cuban coach] Perdomo. ‘We now have teams that can face up to the best.’”<sup>55</sup> The Soviet Union, while creating its own strong national sport program, helped other countries to develop their sport systems as well.

While USSR veteran athletes were generally celebrated regardless of their performance outcome, other Soviet sport losses were discussed in the press with

disbelief. For instance, following a Soviet basketball loss to Yugoslavia, “Canadian coach Jack Donohue sa[id] it was a real shocker. ‘I didn’t see how they could lose, they’re so good.’”<sup>56</sup> However, after reading multiple headlines like “Soviets tower of strength over Canadians” and “Russian’s beat US team 9-1 in sabre event” in newspapers, it is understandable why Soviet dominance in every sport could have been the expectation among spectators who did not follow amateur sport outside the Olympic Games.

The Soviet sport-domination construction was strengthened when it was reported that the Soviet women’s swimming team ended East Germany’s dominance in the pool, which was headed by swimming star Kornelia Ender. “Three Russian girls broke the East German hold on women’s swimming here last night, taking the first three places in the 200-metre breast stroke final...Canadians were given a lift by the Soviet breakthrough.”<sup>57</sup> Not only did the Soviets do well in the sports they were favored to win, but they acted as a point of encouragement for other nations looking to make the podium in sports traditionally dominated by other countries. Journalist Doug Gilbert highlighted this point when he commented on the impact of East German and Soviet performances on the United States:

Beating the US has been the aim of every country in the Olympic Games, all the way back to 1896. It used to be fun because it used to be nearly impossible. Now it’s getting easy in a lot of their traditional events. The future of the Olympic Games in the next decade might well depend on whether or not the United States finds a new way to get with it again in the international amateur sports.<sup>58</sup>

Clearly, the continued Olympic success of the Soviet Union compared to the United States had not gone unnoticed in the Canadian media. However, the perceived poor performances of Canadian athletes and the future of the Canadian sport system was the major theme juxtaposing Soviet athletic success in Montreal.

#### 3.5.1.4 The Canadian Comparison

Throughout the first week of Olympic coverage, the tone of Canadian-themed sport reporting exuded optimism and support for Canadian athletes, regardless of the outcome of their performance. For example, while basking in the glory of the Opening

Ceremonies, Tim Burke wrote, “our medal winners may be scarce, ...[but] Montreal is covered in gold.”<sup>59</sup> One article highlighted that Canada, for the first time in its history, had a strong chance of qualifying for the water polo finals.<sup>60</sup> Once more, Ian MacDonald reported, “because they have established themselves at a high performance of international efficiency, Canada’s swimmers have better chances than any of the country’s other athletes to win medals.”<sup>61</sup>

During the second week of the Games, the supportive tone of Canadian sport reporting was replaced with a sense of shame and urgency. For example, journalist Bob Morrissey emphasized at the end of week one, “only Mitch Kawasaki [could] give Canada a medal in Greco-Roman wrestling as yet *another* Canadian fell by the wayside [...]”<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, journalist Doug Gilbert, after a “devastating” day for Canadians on the track, begrudged the athletes, stating, “Debbie Brill can’t clear the opening height in the high jump. Same thing for Bruce Simpson in the pole vault. Joyce Yaubowich, who won the Pan Am gold in Mexico City with a Canadian record of 51.6 can’t run the same distance in better than 55.02 in the Olympic Games. ... You can’t do that in the Olympics. Next week is four years away.”<sup>63</sup>

On July 30<sup>th</sup>, the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* printed the same article claiming Canada’s Game Plan fell significantly short of its Montreal Olympic goals. Roger Jackson, the Director of Sport Canada, provided a critique of the Canadian Olympic delegation and the Canadian sport system, stating, “one-third of the athletes had come to the Olympics superbly prepared, another third had not been ready and the remainder [were] somewhere in between.”<sup>64</sup> In the same article, Jackson stated, “you can provide money (in this case, 5 million dollars), but if you don’t use it wisely, you’re just pouring it down the drain.”<sup>65</sup>

The perceived poor performances of Canadian athletes at the Montreal Games ran in the newspapers alongside the continued success of the Soviet athletes. While poor Canadian performances and a failing sports system was projected to audiences, the next largest sport construction audiences had for comparison was Soviet sport domination. The Montreal Olympics was the first time in history that a host nation failed to win a gold

medal at their own Games, which ironically has only occurred once since, when Canada hosted the 1988 Winter Olympic Games in Calgary. Due to these factors, Canadian Olympic audiences could have potentially understood the Soviet Union in multiple ways by drawing comparisons with Canadian athletic performances. For example, audiences could have believed the Soviet sport system was far better developed than the Canadian sport system, or audiences could have believed that the Soviet political system prioritized sporting culture differently than the Canadian political system, which it did, of course.

Strength, power, technique and precision were the key attributes highlighted by the Canadian press when discussing the Soviet Union at the Montreal Games. These characteristics, in conjunction with the shadow of mystery resulting from little insight into the Soviet athletes as individuals, creates the Soviet machine construction. The strength of the Soviets was further elevated by the perceived weakness of the Canadian Olympic delegation, and the recognized decrease of American dominance at the Olympic Games. However, negative actions by Soviet athletes and officials did not go unnoticed in the media.

### 3.5.2 The Soviet Union and Cheating at the Montreal Olympic Games

Approximately 2% of the *Montreal Gazette's* and *The Globe and Mail's* total coverage of the Olympic Games discussed ideas about cheating. Furthermore, 7 of 106 articles related to the Soviet Union were related to cheating—approximately 7% of all Soviet news coverage. As cheating is tied to the sport construction of a country, but simultaneously viewed as more significant than sports performance and outcomes, it will be discussed in isolation of the more general sport construction already presented.

Cheating is an interesting aspect of sport to discuss, as it aligns with ideas of “deviance” in sport. According to sport sociologists Jay Coakley and Peter Donnelly, “deviance occurs when people engage in behaviours that involve a rejection of cultural goals and/or the accepted means of achieving them.”<sup>66</sup> In terms of deviance and sport, there is often a discrepancy in the reasoning behind international competition. While audiences and organizers generally understand the goal of sport to be the engagement of

athletes in fair play, coaches and athletes often believe the goal of competition is to win. As a result, audiences generally perceive cheating as a deviant act, as it challenges the acceptable norms and values of the population. In contrast, the athlete who cheated would perceive the act of cheating as an essential undertaking to reach their goal.<sup>67</sup> This is relevant because the act of cheating at the Olympics is generally inconsistent with the dominant values and norms of an Olympic audience, and, therefore, is often perceived by the public in a negative way. As audiences tend to generalize characteristics across national populations, one verified act of cheating by a Soviet athlete had the potential to influence audience's perceptions of the whole nation. As a result, USSR athletes found cheating during the Games would have represented the Soviet Union in a negative way.

While some newspaper articles discussed the need for better regulations and testing for cheating in general terms, other articles discussed specific cases of cheating that arose during the Games. With the Soviet Union, two types of cheating were noted in three different incidences. The first incident centered around Soviet athlete Boris Onischenko, who was found cheating in the fencing component of the modern pentathlon. A strong contender for the gold medal, Onischenko was discovered cheating when his epee registered a hit on a missed advance towards Great Britain's Jeremy Fox.<sup>68</sup> Onischenko had built a device into the handle of his epee that attached to a button on the handle. When he advanced on his opponent, he would press the button, which would register a hit without actually touching the opponent by circumventing the pressure-sensitive electrified tip found on the end of the epee.<sup>69</sup> Deemed unimaginable that a Soviet athlete would cheat, Jeremy Fox "was at a loss to understand the cheating and said in eight years of fencing against the Soviet he has never suspected anything crooked."<sup>70</sup> The Soviet team was apologetic for the incident, but explained that even though Onischenko cheated, he was "a brilliant fencer. Make no mistake about that."<sup>71</sup> This episode was followed the next day in the Montreal *Gazette*, when the Soviet team "insisted that Onischenko ha[d] placed [the] illegal device in his epee himself. 'The team did not know about it, the trainers did not know about it,' the official said. 'It is a tragedy for the entire team. These are not our methods.'"<sup>72</sup>



The next incident of cheating occurred in two different sports, but is grouped together for this discussion because it involved the same method of cheating. It was reported that Soviet judges attempted to manipulate the scoring of both the gymnastics and diving competitions at the Games. Days after Onischenko was sent home, “the International Swimming Federation (FINA) set up an inquiry into accusations that the Russians tried to fix results in the men’s and women’s springboard diving by offering to trade points with other teams through their diving judges.”<sup>73</sup> While the accuser, the manager of the US diving team, admitted the incident was a “misunderstanding,”<sup>74</sup> a similar accusation was made against the Russians in gymnastics: “the executive director of the US Gymnastics Federation accused Soviet head judge Boris Cakhlin of trying to get scores changed during the finals of the team competition.”<sup>75</sup> This accusation was not discussed again in the remainder of the coverage. However, it is relevant to note that US representatives made both of these allegations, which creates a level of suspicion around the incidents. As a result, these views could have heavily impacted the way audiences interpreted these allegations depending on the audience’s understanding of Cold War politics.

These two instances of Soviet involvement in cheating are important for two reasons. In the first case involving Onischenko, the Soviet’s public representatives made explicitly clear that the Soviet Union delegation did not endorse the act of cheating. In the second instance involving judge tampering, as a consequence of attempted US whistle blowing, it is easy to dismiss the allegations as poor American sportsmanship as a reflection of Cold War politics. It is also relevant to note that there were no allegations of Soviet athletes taking anabolic steroids in the press coverage, while the same cannot be said for athletes from the United States, Poland, or Czechoslovakia. On July 31, *The Globe and Mail* reported that “Olympic officials closed in on the anabolic steroid menace after years of research yesterday and disqualified 2 men and a woman for using the body-building drugs... a 23-year-old U.S. heavyweight lifter, ...a Czech super heavyweight lifter, and... a Polish women discus thrower.”<sup>76</sup> As stated previously, only 7 of 106 articles related to the Soviet Union discussed instances of cheating. As the allegations were either stated as unacceptable by Soviet sport standards or unsubstantiated, the

manufactured view of the Soviet Union in relation to cheating found in the press was negligible.

However, the modern construction of Soviet cheating at the Olympic Games is in contrast to what was presented in the newspapers. It is now known that the Soviet Union did cheat in Montreal. For example, the Soviet delegation had a ‘hospitality’ boat at both the Montreal and Seoul Olympic Games, which was used as a medical center to ensure athletes would pass tests for anabolic steroids. Moreover, testimonies from Soviet coaches has revealed that they often personally administered anabolic steroids to their athletes.<sup>77</sup> None of this was publicized in the Canadian media during the Olympic Games, though according to Jim Riordan, “It ha[d] long been known by those familiar with Communist sport that drug taking was organized at the top and that no athlete was allowed overseas unless he or she has a clearance test before departing.”<sup>78</sup> This is an important finding since it is a clear example that the Soviet Union’s cheating construction was not always presented accurately in the Canadian media. This example shows that newspapers do not always present a full representation of an event in their reporting. As a result audiences are at risk of maintaining a skewed public opinion because of something they read in the news.

### 3.5.3 The Soviet Union and Politics at the Montreal Olympic Games

This section will analyze the political representation of the Soviet Union in the Montreal *Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail*. Specifically, this section analyses how the Olympic news coverage was used as a means to create, shape, and portray a political understanding of the Soviet Union during the Montreal Games. In total, 8 of 106 newspaper articles related to the Soviet Union discussed politics—approximately 7.5% of all Soviet Union news coverage.

During the Cold War, the colour red was most commonly associated with the Soviet Union, not only because it was the dominant colour of the Soviet flag, but because it was generally accepted that the colour red was representative of Communist Russia by the Western bloc. However, at the Montreal Games, the Soviet team was dressed head-

to-toe in new uniforms and new colours, which helped to portray a new representation of the nation to the international community. As stated in the *Montreal Gazette*, “SEEING RED?...Then have your eyes checked. The Soviet athletes aren’t wearing red so much these days as they are royal purple, beige, and even bright orange. ‘We’re changing our image, comrades,’ said the chef de missions.”<sup>79</sup> Projecting a new image through clothing is significant, as the athletes and the clothing they wear is highly visible to the public. As a result, clothing can be an effective way to make bold political statements. Using their athletics uniforms as a walking billboard to send messages to the international community, the Soviet Union tried to disassociate themselves from their communist image by removing red from their clothing.

Clothing was not the only tool the Soviet Union used to portray a different political image to the international community. The political image of the Soviet Union portrayed in the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* contrasted with the image portrayed through their sport performances. While the USSR was portrayed as a fierce competitor in sports, the nation was portrayed as a victim in political matters. This was especially true when discussing Ukrainian protests at Olympic events, as well as the case of a Soviet athlete attempting to gain political asylum in Canada.

During the Olympics, six articles discussed the Ukrainian political demonstrations at Soviet competitions. The reason for the protests were left up to audiences to decipher, as the only context provided was the slogan the activists wore on their shirts: “The demonstrators were each wearing a T-shirt emblazoned with a letter. When they were seated together, the letters spelled out: ‘Long Live Free Ukraine.’”<sup>80</sup> The demonstrations, which took place at multiple sport competitions, including soccer, volleyball, and handball were meant to bring media attention to the subject and to provoke an international reaction.<sup>81</sup> However, the Soviet reaction to these demonstrations was passive. Soviet officials either complained to security staff, who would either ask the group to stop or leave, or they would invoke “an IOC regulation that prohibit[ed] the waving of flags during Olympic events unless it’s IOC approved.”<sup>82</sup> While the Ukrainian demonstrations were discussed frequently compared to other political reporting related to

the USSR, the subsequent political episode, while less reported, was first page news on the last two days of Olympic coverage, making it highly prominent to readers.

On July 30<sup>th</sup>, 1976, the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* reported that 17-year-old Soviet diver Sergei Nemtsanov applied for defection to Canada. Nemtsanov, who had no known relatives in Canada, was said to be staying at an undisclosed location with a friend until his Olympic identity card expired on August 31<sup>st</sup>, 1976, at which time he would have to return to the Soviet Union unless his case had been resolved.<sup>83</sup> While Soviet officials had no comments on the first day of the incident, they came back the following day with accusations: “[t]he disappearance of Nemtsanov came against the background of what [Soviet officials] said was a campaign against the Soviet team and individual Soviet athletes since their arrival in Montreal.”<sup>84</sup> Moreover, officials stated, “it is completely evident that this incident represents one of the elements in a campaign of provocation planned in advance and aimed against the Soviet delegation.”<sup>85</sup> The Ukrainian demonstrations were another element associated with this operation. However, as a result of the alleged anti-Soviet campaign,

The Soviet Union threatened...to withdraw from the final two days of the Olympics and to break all sports ties with Canada, including an international hockey tournament..., unless a 17-year-old defector is returned to the team...

...Soviet Officials also charged that the official Olympics hostesses had been instructed to encourage athletes to defect. Reports said Nemtsanov was travelling to central Canada with a woman, but a spokesman for the Olympics organizing committee, COJO, said none of the Games hostesses were involved....

...The Soviet delegation regards the disappearance as “an abduction:” a “unilateral” attempt to disrupt the sports contacts established between the Soviet Union and Canada. “We will be obligated to review our sports contacts planned for the rest of the year. This especially refers to the hockey tournament in September, because the Canadian Government cannot guarantee the security of Soviet athletes in Canada.”<sup>86</sup>

The Soviet delegation’s response to the possible defection of Nemtsanov portrayed two concepts simultaneously: defense and victim. The fact that the Soviet delegation would attempt to spin this circumstance into a Canadian kidnapping of a Soviet athlete speaks to Soviet efforts to maintain a positive image of the nation, suggesting that no one would

leave the Soviet Union by choice. If a Soviet athlete received defection status, negative understandings of the Soviet Union would be reinforced to Canadian audiences, as “to gain entry as refugees, they must show a ‘well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, or political belief’ if they return to their native countries.”<sup>87</sup>

Moreover, to state that there had been a plan since the arrival of the USSR to convince athletes to defect to Canada portrays the concept of victimhood – the idea that the Soviets are the victims of an anti-communist plan created to weaken the Soviet delegation athletically and politically. The idea of victimhood will be discussed in greater depth in the following section on the national branding campaign of the Soviet Union.

### 3.5.4 The Soviet Union and a National Branding Campaign

In addition to the regular media about the Games, there was a unique circumstance found in the Montreal *Gazette* that warrants some discussion. A series of seven advertisements, which were presented as newspaper articles, was found in *The Gazette*, written by multiple Soviet authors ranging from political scientists, to geographers, to economists. The series, titled “A message from the Soviet Union, host of the 1980 Summer Olympics,” covered a wide range of topics, including Soviet-American relations, day-to-day life in the Soviet Union, and destinations for tourism. These articles were a form of Soviet national branding, and the Soviet Union used the Olympic media as a platform to disseminate its campaign. Moreover, these articles were an attempt by the Soviet Union to foster public diplomacy in Canada leading into the 1980 Moscow Games. As stated by media expert Roy Panagiotopoulou, “[n]ation branding uses the tools of branding to alter or change the behavior, attitudes, identity or image of a nation in a positive way,” with “[t]he intension to promote... a certain notion of competitiveness aiming either to boost tourism or to enhance the international political positioning of a city/country.”<sup>88</sup> Moreover, Panagiotopoulou believes,

Public diplomacy focuses on the ways in which a nation state communicates with citizens in other countries and societies to foster intercultural relations and to promote a certain image of itself. Public diplomacy is based on the concept that dialogue among citizens of

different nations is often more effective to achieve the goals of foreign policy than bland power pressure. It embraces the entire promotional campaign, positioning and re-positioning a country in the complex field of international relations with the aim of sustaining a positive image and favourable climate for interactions. In effect, it constitutes a part of the official foreign policy of a nation.<sup>89</sup>

National branding generally must be done over a long period of time and needs the cooperation of both national and international stakeholders to implement the branding strategy properly. However, the Olympic Games can be used as a part of this branding strategy, if only for a short period of time, if the Games are accompanied with other promotional activities held during and after the Olympics.<sup>90</sup> An example of a Soviet promotional activity that ran during the Montreal Games—the Soviet pavilion at the old Expo '67 site—was found in the media:

‘In the USSR, sports belong to all people.’

Th[is] quotation, painted on the doorway of the Soviet Union pavilion at Man and His World, sets the mood for a colorful exhibition displaying the Russian Government’s sports philosophies and a preview of the 1980 Moscow Games.

Martial music circulating throughout the pavilion and highlights of the country’s sports achievements create a nationalistic atmosphere similar to the flag-waving at the Olympic activities of the 1976 Summer Games a few miles away.<sup>91</sup>

Another example of a Soviet promotional activity during the Montreal Games was an exhibition chess tournament held at Montreal’s Café En Pannant. Female Soviet chess master, Nana Aleksandria, who travelled as part of the Soviet Olympic delegation, played 28 games over 5 hours and finished with a 24-4-0 record. Following the tournament, “Aleksandria, the tension broken, suddenly sat down and asked Demers for a cigarette. ‘Oh,’ she said, looking at the clock, ‘it’s midnight. How slow I am tonight!’”<sup>92</sup> The tournament, which was framed in the media as an example of female resilience in a male dominated world, also acted as a Soviet promotional activity outside the Olympics Games context. The following section examines the specifics of the seven advertisements through four different frames used by the USSR to influence audiences: US-USSR relations, day-to-day life, economy and tourism, and emigration. A construction centered on Soviet national grow was created through these four frames.

### 3.5.4.1 Soviet-American International Relations

Two articles were printed as part of the USSR national branding campaign that related to Soviet-US international relations. The first article, printed on July 19<sup>th</sup>, 1976, was called “‘Third Basket’ is not for garbage,” and focused on the use of cultural and intellectual exchanges to foster international understanding and cooperation among nations. The article stated,

A fundamental basis for all-round cooperation has been established in international relations. It rests on the premise that international cultural contacts shall promote mutual understandings between peoples and the intellectual development of the individual, that they shall not infringe upon the laws and customs of the states concerned, and shall not be used for subversive purposes or to interfere with each other’s internal affairs.

It is essential that international recognition of these principles and their application to the sphere of cultural and intellectual contacts be reached, above all because there is a fundamental difference between socialism and capitalism in the way the two systems interpret the goals of cultural policies, evaluate cultural values and define their attitudes towards the individual.<sup>93</sup>

While the opening of the article suggested that cultural and intellectual understanding was being fostered at the Games, the remainder of the article projected a different tone. The article suggested that the Western bloc had not tried to foster cultural and intellectual exchange to the same degree as the Eastern bloc, and more important, had created a culture which was an extension of the anti-Soviet propaganda created by the American government. As a result, even though the Soviet Union had attempted to share its literature, values, and knowledge in an intellectual and cultural way to help with international understanding, the attempt was futile:

It is by no means the “hard line” of the socialist countries that is to cast blame. What retards this development is the attitude of certain forces in the West who, instead of fulfilling provisions of the Final Act on cultural exchanges are trying to stuff the “third basket”—to use their own words—with all sorts of garbage strongly smelling of the cold war.<sup>94</sup>

The implication that international peace was being unilaterally undertaken by the Soviet Union came up again in Soviet historian Georgi Arbatov’s article, “Soviet-

American Relations,” on July 29<sup>th</sup>, 1976. However, in this article, the lack of American cooperation was a result of the US political system. The article, while stressing that the relationship between the two countries had drastically improved in spite of an overt anti-communist presence in the United States, stated,

Speaking about shifts in political sentiments in the United States, one cannot, of course, but see the realistic trends are making headway in a difficult and acute struggle, that in America there still exists quite a few inveterate opponents of better relations with the USSR.

They exist and their resistance grows with every new success of the relaxation of tensions. This is particularly true of the periods of aggravated struggle on the domestic policy scene. America is now living through such a period, the election campaign being intensified there.<sup>95</sup>

The article suggests that due to the way the American political system functioned, the strength of American military power, American anti-communist scare tactics, and the American nationalist mentality, “much of what is being done in the USA now creates additional difficulties in the way of resolving the urgent problems of Soviet-US relations, which are complicated even without such complications.”<sup>96</sup> In short, the US-Soviet relationship portrayed in the USSR’s national branding campaign depicted the US as the limiting factor in the advancement and resolution of international political tensions.

#### 3.5.4.2 Day-to-day life in the Soviet Union

Family life in the Soviet Union was also highlighted in an article printed as part of the Soviet campaign. The article, titled “The Family Budget in The Soviet Union,” written by Soviet economist A. Birman, outlined the typical financial dealings of the average Soviet family. Three themes were stressed: (1) there were no differences in the standard of living across individuals, (2) the standard of living was rising, and (3) men and women received equal pay for equal work. Furthermore, it was emphasized that while the average Soviet was making more money than ever before, the price of basic goods had not been raised in ten years, and costs for education and medical care were covered by the state. Together, these factors allowed people to spend their money on the things they needed, and, furthermore, allowed individuals to have savings, which was generally used for retirement or big purchases, like buying a car.



While the majority of the article stressed the strengths the Soviet system provided for its citizens, it did not ignore the weaknesses:

There are still shortages of some commodities, others could be of a much better quality, and our system of trade does not always have sufficient initiative and enterprise. We think the standard of services in many stores, repair shops, hotels is unsatisfactory. A family more often than not cannot spend its vacation together at a holiday home or resort.<sup>97</sup>

However, the Soviet Government provided a solution for these shortcomings. During the twelfth five-year plan (1976-1980), the Soviet government would raise the average income of the Soviet household by 20-22 percent. As stated in the article, “The Soviet state guarantee[d] all these measures.”<sup>98</sup>

In short, the article projected ideas of wealth a high standard of living in the Soviet Union. Through highlighting key items, such as financial growth, equality, and strong social services, the article portrayed a powerful image of national progress occurring in the Soviet Union. Moreover, by identifying some of the Soviet system’s flaws and plans for modification, the article conveyed the idea of Soviet social consciousness around the need for continuous improvement in the lives of its citizens. More pointed, this article suggested the Soviet government cared for its citizens.

### 3.5.4.3 Soviet National Resources and Tourism

Three articles in the USSR campaign series were centered on the theme of natural resources and tourism. One article, titled “Great Prospects for Soviet North,” outlined the largely untapped resources that were available in the Soviet North, which made up more than half of the country’s territory. Resources such as oil, minerals, gas, metals, and diamonds were discussed, as well as the struggles and limitations the northern territory naturally imposed on the Soviet Union’s economic development. There were many similarities to the Canadian north, which the author eventually stated:

Judging by written material and by visits of Soviet delegations to Canada, Canadians have achieved considerable success in tackling similar problems in their North. We are watching with great interest the drawing up in Canada of long-term plans for comprehensive development...

Both the Canadian and Soviet North are areas with great prospects. We hope that ways and means of developing the Northern territories will be among the main aspects of the scientific and technical cooperation between two countries.<sup>99</sup>

This article provided a strong point of comparison between the Soviet Union and Canada. By discussing Soviet struggles with economic development imposed by the northern territory, the article attempted to foster a mutual understanding and empathy with Canadians who had struggled with the same problem. Moreover, this article implied that the Soviet Union viewed Canada as a potentially powerful and equal economic partner by emphasizing the potential the Canadian and the Soviet North could have if properly developed, and insinuating that collaboration in bringing it to fruition would be necessary. The article also implied that international cooperation and a strong Canadian-Soviet relationship would be welcomed by the Soviet Union.

Beyond implying economic cooperation, two articles suggested that tourism was a viable means to foster mutual national understanding. “Tourists are always Welcome,” and “A large variety of tours awaits visitors to the USSR,” discussed the Soviet Union as a prime tourist destination for westerners.<sup>100</sup> The articles, which outlined multiple reasons for visiting the USSR, such as rest/relaxation, business, and medial treatments, also provided background into many potential destinations to visit while highlighting its famous architecture, museums, monuments, and historic cities. Emphasizing the cultural aspects of the USSR suggested that the country had evolved into a cultural mecca that could now be explored by the international community. The ideas presented in these articles fall in line with the cultural and intellectual development the Soviet Union believed the US was trying to impede. Through offering a personal invitation to audiences to visit the USSR, the articles implied it was time to open their nation to the international community and to foster international cooperation and mutual understanding.

#### 3.5.4.4 Emigration from the USSR

Emigration from the Soviet Union to other countries is also discussed in the USSR branding campaign. Potentially used as a tool to project the image that Soviet

citizens had political freedom, the article stated, “citizens wanting to leave the Soviet Union fill in appropriate questionnaires and submit their applications to local bodies of internal affairs.”<sup>101</sup> Once the application was processed, the emigrants paid a fee: 30 roubles for those leaving to another communist nation and 300 roubles for those leaving for capitalist nations. However, if the emigrant qualified through low-income status, the fee was waved.<sup>102</sup>

Moreover, the article stressed, “Soviet law and emigration rules are in full accord with the international covenant on civil and political rights adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 16, 1966.”<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, the article stated that the main reasons for emigration out of the Soviet Union were to be closer to family, marriage to foreigners, and religion, such as Judaism. With this noted, the article concluded by asserting that people who had left the USSR generally regretted their actions: “former Soviet citizens who have emigrated...are complaining of their social incompatibility to the economic, social and political conditions...For one thing, they point to the lack of the sense of stability and security, the absence of vital privileges to which the former Soviet citizens have got accustomed, the guaranteed right to work, free medical service, low rent, free education, etc.”<sup>104</sup> This article was printed on July 30<sup>th</sup>, 1976. This is relevant to note, as the article was printed after the Soviet defection scandal was discussed in the newspapers. Moreover, this article was printed following rumors that Soviet sprinter Valery Borzov had attempted to defect to Canada. This rumor was reconciled earlier in the week, when *The Globe and Mail* printed “Defection rumor ‘a lot of rubbish,’ Russian sprinter Valery Borzov says.” The article stated, “Soviet sprinter Valery Borzov, looking relaxed and smiling, yesterday described the rumors that he has left his team and might stay in Canada after the Olympics as ‘a lot of rubbish’...[and] said the rumors ‘are of no interest to me at all,’... ‘I came here to take part in the Games. Who needs this sort of intervention?’”<sup>105</sup> The article helped to reinforce a positive Soviet emigration construction created by the USSR and to project a positive image of the nation in the face of reports about multiple defections. Discussing emigration in the nation-branding campaign portrayed the idea that Soviet citizens had power over their own destiny. Moreover, this article suggested that due to the superiority of the communist system, individuals who left the Soviet Union struggled to cope with capitalist ideology.

### 3.5.4.5 Conclusion on the USSR National Branding Campaign

The Soviet authors of the seven part series, in an attempt to produce a carefully constructed understanding of the Soviet Union, capitalized on four different frames to project a favorable image of their nation. Through discussions on economics, international relations, tourism, day-to-day life, and emigration, the image of Soviet national growth and development was projected to Canadian audiences. This image projected of the Soviet Union most likely challenged the then current understanding of the USSR in Canada. As previously discussed, Canada was in a state of trying to find a balance between American influence and creating a unique Canadian national identity. Through consistent anti-American messaging in the Soviet campaign, the Soviet's articles fell in line with the changing US-Canada relationship. By providing a glimpse into Soviet society and by welcoming the world to their country, the campaign projected the idea that the Soviet Union was ready to enter the international community, if the international community would allow it. The effectiveness of this campaign is unknown, as USSR Cold War propaganda at the Montreal Games is not discussed in the academic literature. However, the identification of this national branding campaign is highly relevant to sport historians, especially for researchers discussing Cold War politics and propaganda in the Olympic context.

## 3.6 Conclusions

Nationalism is a complex term tied to ideas of national dignity and national loyalty. The use of the media as a viable tool in fostering a unique construction of nationalism and national representation of specific nations was highlighted throughout this chapter. Sport and Olympic coverage have the ability to influence audience perceptions of nations, as the general public tends to generalize athletic characteristics uniformly across foreign populations. As a result, a nation's national dignity and national loyalty can be influenced through the coverage of the Olympics Games. Moreover, using thematic traits and frequency counts, it is evident that all countries reported in the news coverage of the Olympics were associated with different aspects of the Games, and therefore each country was represented to Canadian audiences in a unique way.

As well, using the Soviet Union as a case study to discuss national representation at the Montreal Olympic Games, it was found that the Canadian media presented two frames of the USSR that countered each other. While in the sporting context the USSR was presented as a machine-like entity that dominated their opponents, the political construction presented a victimized nation that was misunderstood by the international community. Moreover, through the use of a seven-part branding campaign by the Soviet Union found in the Montreal *Gazette*, the USSR's image was further "softened" in the Canadian media through providing greater insight into the political, economical, societal, and geographical nature of the Soviet Union. This was potentially strengthened in Canadian audiences through drawing upon comparisons to Canadian life, as well as projecting ideas that American involvement in Soviet internationalism had inhibited international cooperation and political relaxation.

While the Soviet sport construction still generally persists in modern society, the political and national growth constructions that were found in this analysis are generally not maintained in public memory. This is a relevant finding as it potentially speaks to how the media's prominence, portrayal, and audience buy-in has impacted the public memory of the Montreal Olympic Games and the Soviet Union. From these findings, as well as those found in chapter 2, there now is an opportunity to draw relevant and useful conclusions from this study.

## 3.7 Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> Doug Gilbert, “The Games to date: An assessment; Athletes have been great, but...” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 28, 0-1. [italics added by author]

<sup>2</sup> Quote found in Barbara Keys, *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Barbara Keys, *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 38-39.

<sup>5</sup> Quote found in Barbara Keys, *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 36.

<sup>6</sup> Barbara Keys, *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 37.

<sup>7</sup> While the Soviet Union did not participate at the Olympics until 1952, the former Russian Empire participated at the 1900, 1908 and 1912 Olympic Games. See: <http://www.olympic.ru/100-year/chapter-1/>; Jim Riordian, “Rewriting Soviet Sport History,” *Journal of Sport History*, 20, 3 (1993), 250-251; Allen Guttmann, “The Cold War and the Olympics,” *International Journal*, 43, 4 (1988), 554-558.

<sup>8</sup> Riordian, “Rewriting Soviet Sport History,” 250-251.

<sup>9</sup> Quote found in Jim Riordian, “Rewriting Soviet Sport History,” *Journal of Sport History*, 20, 3 (1993), 251.

<sup>10</sup> Grant Jarvie, “Sport, nationalism, and cultural identity,” in *The Changing Politics of Sport*, ed. Lincoln Allison (New York: Manchester University Press, 1993), 70.

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<sup>11</sup> Quote found in Toby Rider, “The Olympic Games and the Secret Cold War: The U.S. Government and the Propaganda Campaign Against Communist Sport, 1950-1960, (PhD Dissertation: The University of Western Ontario, 2011), 80.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> A middle power is a term used to describe states as that are not deemed super- or great-powers, but still carry moderate influence on the international stage. These states have foreign policies that stabilize and legitimize the global order (e.g. peacekeeping), and typically work on global initiatives through multilateral and cooperative efforts.

<sup>14</sup> Jay Scherer, Gregory H. Duquette and Daniel S. Mason, “The Cold War and the (re)articulation of Canadian national identity,” in *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War*, eds Stephen Wagg and David Andrews, (New York: Routledge, 2007), 165-166.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 166-167.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, 167.

<sup>17</sup> Quote found in Jay Scherer, Gregory H. Duquette and Daniel S. Mason, “The Cold War and the (re)articulation of Canadian national identity,” in *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War*, eds Stephen Wagg and David Andrews, (New York: Routledge, 2007), 167.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Donald Macintosh, Tom Bedecki and CES Franks, *Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement since 1961* (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1987), 45-46.

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<sup>20</sup> Donald Macintosh and Michael Hawes, *Sport and Canadian Diplomacy* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 38.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, 39.

<sup>22</sup> Cheryl Brown, "An Examination of the Relationship between Sport Policy and Canadian Foreign Policy with Specific Reference to the People's Republic of China and the 1976 Olympic Issue," (Unpublished MA thesis: University of Western Ontario, 1979), 12.

<sup>23</sup> Jack Granatstein, "Gouzenko to Gorbachev: Canada's Cold War," *Canadian Military Journal*, 12, 1, (2011), 50.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>25</sup> "Bitter taste of defeat haunts Borzov to the end," *The Globe and Mail*, July 28, 1976, S6. [Italics added by author]

<sup>26</sup> Martin Griffith, *Rethinking International Relations Theory* (New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2011), 60.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, 60-67.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, 64-65.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>30</sup> Allan Guttman, "The Cold War and the Olympics," *International Journal*, 43, 4, (1988), 558.

<sup>31</sup> Griffith, *Rethinking International Relations*, 64-65.



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<sup>32</sup> George Sage, *Globalizing Sport: How Organizations, Corporations, Media and Politics are Changing Sports* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2010), 189.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, 188.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, 187-189.

<sup>35</sup> David Perry, "The Mass Media and Inference about other Nations," *Communication Research*, 12 (1985), 596.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, 598.

<sup>37</sup> When reviewing Table 8 and 9, take into consideration that only themes where country counts were reported were documented. In *the Montreal Gazette*, the following themes did not reveal any country counts: Commercialism, Amateurism, Arts/Culture, Closing Ceremony, Torch, Sex Testing, Rehabilitation, Aboriginal Issues, Sexual Culture, COC, COJO, Advice for Spectators, Scalpers, Olympic Marketing, and Expo '67. In *The Globe and Mail*, the following themes did not reveal any country counts: Commercialism, Montreal, Closing Ceremony, Torch, Sex Testing, Praise for Games, Olympic Merchandise, Sexual Culture, COC, COJO, Finance, Stadium, Scalpers, Olympic Marketing, Expo '67, Drapeau, and 1972 Munich Games.

<sup>38</sup> Dick Bacon, "Canadian men cagers hoping for another shot at Soviets," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 23, 0-2. [italics added by author]

<sup>39</sup> Randy Philips, "Soviets a tower of strength over Canadians," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 20, 1976, 0-5. [italics added by author]

<sup>40</sup> Dave Carter, "Russian crushes German, wins first judo gold medal," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 27, 0-2.

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<sup>41</sup> For examples, see: Dave Carter, "Russian crushes German, wins first judo gold medal," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 27, 0-2; "Basketball gold medal won by Russian girls," *The Globe and Mail*, July 24, 1976, 40; "Gymnast Nikolai Andrianov wins fourth gold medal," *The Globe and Mail*, July 24, 1976, 42; "Cager's bid for bronze runs into Soviet block," *The Globe and Mail*, July 28, 1976, S1; Randy Philips, "Soviet women cagers win gold medal in basketball," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 24, 1976, 0-2; Dennis Trudeau, "Soviet fencers strike gold," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 29, 1976, 0-6.

<sup>42</sup> Dick Bacon, "Big Red Machine impressive: Canada's cagers beaten," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 22, 1976, p. 0-2.

<sup>43</sup> Herbert Aronoff, "Soviet gym gold; Japanese strong," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 22, 1976, 0-2.

<sup>44</sup> Randy Philips, "Soviets a tower of strength over Canadians," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 20, 1976, 0-5.

<sup>45</sup> Margaret Haddrick, "Nelli Kim, Nadia share gymnastics glory," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 23, 1976, 0-1.

<sup>46</sup> Bob Morrissey, "Soviets win seven of 10 golds as Greco-Roman wrestling complete," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 26, 1976, 0-7.

<sup>47</sup> For some examples, see: "Canadians 'all-heart' in losing to Russians," *The Globe and Mail*, July 20, 1976, S2; "Russians booed for bid to quit polo competition," *The Globe and Mail*, July 24, 1976, 42; "Russians angered by demonstrators," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 22, 1976, 0-2.

<sup>48</sup> "Semenova's height gives Soviets edge," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 21, 1976, 0-6.

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<sup>49</sup> Ed Conrad and Juan Rodriguez, "American sets Olympic lift record but it only lasts for half an hour," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 26, 1976, 0-5.

<sup>50</sup> "Tiny, perfect Romanian becomes Olympic champ as Olga over the hill," *The Globe and Mail*, July 22, 1976, 49.

<sup>51</sup> Margaret Haddrick, "Nelli Kim, Nadia share gymnastics glory," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 23, 1976, 0-1.

<sup>52</sup> Tim Burke, "Ian and Olga score the best points for display of Olympic excellence," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 24, 1976, 0-3.

<sup>53</sup> "Olympic notebook," *The Globe and Mail*, July 30, 1976, S2.

<sup>54</sup> "Two former gold-medal champions are dethroned by star protégés," *The Globe and Mail*, July 30, 1976, S4.

<sup>55</sup> Alycia Ambroziak, "Cuban volleyball helped by Revolution," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 23, 1976, 0-7.

<sup>56</sup> Dick Bacon, "Revenge won't come about as Soviets knocked out in semi," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 27, 1976, 0-2.

<sup>57</sup> Christie Blatchford, "Russians upset E. Germans; Garapick 3<sup>rd</sup>," *The Globe and Mail*, July 22, 1976, 45.

<sup>58</sup> Doug Gilbert, "The Games to date: An assessment; Athletes have been great, but..." *The Montreal Gazette*, July 28, 0-1.

<sup>59</sup> Tim Burke, "Our medal winners may be scarce, but Montreal is covered in gold," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 19, 1976, 0-3.

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<sup>60</sup> Nick Powell, "Four top teams just too strong for Canada's water polo squad," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 17, 1976, 0-4.

<sup>61</sup> Ian MacDonald, "Canada's top chances for medals are in the pool," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 17, 1976, 0-4.

<sup>62</sup> Bob Morrissey, "Wrestler Kawasaki remains as Canada's one last Chance," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 23, 1976, 0-4.

<sup>63</sup> Doug Gilbert, "Canadian athletes today? Gloom, despair, shock, etc.," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 27, 1976, 0-2.

<sup>64</sup> Canadian Press, "Canada's Game Plan hurt by unprepared athletes, director says," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 30, 1976, 0-2; Canadian Press, "Grading scheme fell short of its goal, Jackson says," *The Globe and Mail*, July 30, 1976, S1.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Jay Coakley and Peter Donnelly, *Sports in Society: Issues and Controversies* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 2004), 153.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>68</sup> Joseph Durso, "Epee scored hit without hitting, Russian in pentathlon disqualified," *The Globe and Mail*, July 20, 1976, S4.

<sup>69</sup> Dennis Trudeau, "Judge ousts Soviet pentathlon fencer for cheating," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 20, 1976, 0-7.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>72</sup> “Onischenko leaves village in disgrace and fled home with his career over,” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 21, 1976, 0-3.

<sup>73</sup> “Russians are accused of attempting to fix diving competition,” *The Globe and Mail*, July 23, 1976, S1.

<sup>74</sup> “American denies saying Russians tried diving fix,” *The Globe and Mail*, July 24, 1976, 40.

<sup>75</sup> “Russian, Bulgarian sought deal on scores, U.S. trainer says,” *The Globe and Mail*, July 24, 1976, 40.

<sup>76</sup> “2 men, women disqualified for use of anabolic steroids,” *The Globe and Mail*, July 31, 1976, 40.

<sup>77</sup> Jim Riordan, “Soviet sport in Eastern Europe: the end of an era,” in *The Changing Politics of the Olympics*, ed. Lincoln Allison (New York: Manchester University Press, 1993), 50.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> Leon Harris, “Olympic notebook,” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 29, 1976, 0-2

<sup>80</sup> “Russians angered by demonstrators,” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 22, 1976, 0-2.

<sup>81</sup> “Russians angered by demonstrators,” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 22, 1976, 0-2; “Ukrainian held in flag incident,” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 23, 1976, 3; Bill Fox, “Ukrainians frustrate IOC with T-shirt billboard,” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 29, 1976, 5.

<sup>82</sup> Bill Fox, “Ukrainians frustrate IOC with T-shirt billboard,” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 29, 1976, 5.

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<sup>83</sup> Gillian Cosgrove, "Soviet diver asks refugee status," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 30, 1976, 1-2.; Stan Oziewicz, "2 more Eastern-bloc athletes seek asylum in Canada," *The Globe and Mail*, July 30, 1976, 1-2.

<sup>84</sup> "Soviet officials says ties threatened," *The Globe and Mail*, July 31, 1976, 2.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> "Soviets may quit Olympics: hockey series: Canada, Russia feud over defector," *The Globe and Mail*, July 31, 1976, 1.

<sup>87</sup> Gillian Cosgrove, "Soviet diver asks refugee status," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 30, 1976, 1-2

<sup>88</sup> Roy Panagiotopoulou, "Nation Branding and the Olympic Games: New Media Images for Greece and China," *The International Journal of History of Sport*, 29, 16 (2012), 2338.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid*, 2339.

<sup>91</sup> Canadian Press, "Russian sports history portrayed in buildup for 1980 Games," *The Globe and Mail*, July 22, 1976, 49.

<sup>92</sup> Tom Pawlick, "Soviet's café challenge checks male chess myth," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 31, 1976, 4.

<sup>93</sup> V. Guschin. "A message from the Soviet Union, host of the 1980 Summer Olympics: 'Third Basket' is not for garbage," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 19, 1976, 0-5.

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<sup>94</sup> V. Guschin. “A message from the Soviet Union, host of the 1980 Summer Olympics: ‘Third Basket’ is not for garbage,” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 19, 1976, 0-5. The ‘third basket’ is a reference to the Helsinki Final Act of 1975. The act, which was divided into four ‘baskets,’ was an agreement signed by 35 nations at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe held in Helsinki, Finland. The ‘third basket’ was related to human rights, “including freedom of emigration and reunification of families divided by international borders, cultural exchanges, and freedom of the press.” For more information, see: “Helsinki Final Act, 1975,” *US Department of State: Office of the Historian*, accessed July 15, 2013, <http://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/Helsinki>.

<sup>95</sup> Georgi Arbatov, “A message from the Soviet Union, host of the 1980 Summer Olympics: ‘Soviet –American Relations,’” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 29, 1976, 0-4.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> A. Birman, “A message from the Soviet Union, host of the 1980 Summer Olympics: ‘The Family Budget in The Soviet Union,’” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 28, 1976, 0-6.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> Grigory Agranat, “A message from the Soviet Union, host of the 1980 Summer Olympics: ‘Great Prospects for Soviet North,’” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 21, 1976, 0-9.

<sup>100</sup> “A message from the Soviet Union, host of the 1980 Summer Olympics: ‘Tourists Are Always Welcome,’” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 24, 1976, 0-4; “A message from the Soviet Union, host of the 1980 Summer Olympics: ‘Tallinn/A Large Variety of Tours Awaits Visitors to the USSR,’” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 31, 1976, 0-4.

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<sup>101</sup> “A message from the Soviet Union, host of the 1980 Summer Olympics: ‘Emigration from the USSR,’” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 30, 1976, 0-6.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> “Defection rumor ‘a lot of rubbish,’ Russian sprinter Valery Borzov says,” *The Globe and Mail*, July 27, 1976, S2.



## Chapter 4

### 4 Summary and Conclusions

The media coverage of the Montreal Olympic Games is an area of Olympic research that has been generally neglected in academe. While the Games have been used as a case study to discuss a variety of issues, including infrastructure, economics, politics, gender, and Canadian cultural relations, the media coverage of the event had never been analyzed. This study was the first in-depth analysis of the Montreal Olympics Games as a whole as mediated through two newspapers, the Montreal *Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail*. Two guiding questions acted as catalysts for this study. The first question centered on the media portrayal of the Games: What was the nature of the Montreal Olympic news coverage as represented by the two major Canadian newspapers? The second question was based on gaining insight into Canadian media constructions of the Soviet Union during the Montreal Olympic Games: What do the findings of a qualitative analysis of two major Canadian newspapers tell us about the way the Soviet Union was represented to the Canadian public at the Montreal Olympic Games? However, before these questions can be addressed, a basic review of the findings is necessary.

#### 4.1 Quantitative Results and Conclusions

The quantitative investigation was separated into five subsections. The first subsection was a general thematic analysis of the newspapers. The two themes most frequently reported in the media were sports and politics: approximately 64% of the articles reported on sports and 12% reported on politics. In other words, sports received five times more reporting in the media than the next largest theme, politics. This finding speaks to the media's portrayal of the Olympics as mostly a sporting event, with comparatively little recognition of the broader social meanings attached to the Games.

The second subsection compared week 1 and week 2 of the news coverage, and provided insight into how the reporting of the Montreal Olympic Games changed over time. Similar trends were found in both newspapers, but generally, minor differences in reporting across all themes were found. These findings suggest that the media coverage

of the Olympic Games were consistent over the two weeks of the event. This insinuates that consistent messaging about the Montreal Games, based on frequency of reporting, was projected to audiences during both weeks.

The third subsection was a deeper analysis of the sports theme. The sports that received the most news coverage across both newspapers were athletics, basketball, swimming, boxing, soccer, yachting/sailing, gymnastics, and volleyball. These findings suggest that these sports were the most valued sports at the Montreal Olympic Games, as reported on by the media. As well, due to increased frequency of reporting, athletic performances from these sports are more likely than others to still be remembered by Canadians today.

The fourth subsection broke the reporting down by gender. The results showed that approximately 80% of all sport coverage discussed male athletes and/or their performances, while approximately 30% of all reporting discussed female athletes and/or their performances. These findings do not sum to 100 percent as some articles discussed both male and female athletes/performances, as mentioned in Chapter 2. When comparing these findings to other modern studies on gender reporting at international sporting events, results imply that equality in gender reporting, while still not equal, has potentially improved since the 1976 Montreal Games.

The fifth subsection was a breakdown of national reporting of Olympic news coverage. The countries that received the most attention were Canada, the Soviet Union, the United States, East Germany, and Romania. These findings suggest that the perspectives of Olympic audiences related to these countries had the largest opportunity to be influenced and shaped by the media. As well, it was found that approximately half of the nations that competed at the Montreal Games received some attention between both newspapers. As a result, nations that believed participating at the Montreal Games would be a gateway to international recognition and press coverage were incorrect in their assumption.

In general, the quantitative findings are important because they show which themes were discussed in the media and which themes received the most attention.

Furthermore, these findings are important because they reveal what messages were being broadcast about the Olympic Games to readers of the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail*, two major daily newspapers with a wide subscription base in Canada at the time of the 1976 Games.

In terms of the quantity of reporting, the *Montreal Gazette* reported more articles on the Montreal Olympic Games than *The Globe and Mail*. However, this does not necessarily mean that the *Gazette* prioritized Olympic coverage more than *The Globe and Mail*: it is unknown how much of the Olympic coverage contributed to the total news coverage across both newspapers during the two weeks of the Games. As well, the nature of the reporting found in both newspapers was diverse and covered a very wide range of topics. While the academic literature concerning the Montreal Olympic Games focuses on issues related to politics, economics, and infrastructure, these research areas received little attention in the press. On the other hand, sport performance and outcome was covered more than any other theme in both newspapers. This leads me to believe that the Canadian media and the Canadian public deemed sporting events and sport performance to be the most important components of the Montreal Olympic Games. As well, I believe that male sport performances and outcomes were deemed of greater reader interest than female performances and outcomes to the Canadian public and media, since male sports/sport performances made up approximately 80% of the sport analysis, while female sports/sport performances made up 30%. Very likely, the media editors believed and/or had evidence that male sport performance attracted the greater proportion of interest and, by extension, greater newspaper sales.

While specific sports were discussed and represented differently than each other in the Canadian media, the fact of the matter is that the Canadian media predominantly represented the Montreal Games as a sporting event as a whole. With little discussion of politics, infrastructure, or finances, the Olympics were primarily represented as a place for international competition during the two weeks of the Games. This is an important finding, as it ties into public views of the Montreal Olympic Games today. As discussed in Chapter 1, collective memory of an event can be influenced and mediated through media coverage. With that noted, it is also relevant to state that the current collective

memory of the Montreal Games, as I have come to understand it (as experienced through my personal relationships with my parents, relatives, friends, coaches, and other contacts), is that of a triumphant display of international sport in Canada - generally highlighted by Nadia Comaneci's perfect ten performance scores in women's artistic gymnastics. This falls in line with how I analyzed the Montreal *Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* in terms of their representation of the Montreal Olympic Games.

## 4.2 Qualitative Results and Conclusions

Three different constructions of Soviet athletes and the Soviet Union at the Montreal Olympics Games were identified through a qualitative analysis of the news items: 1) sports, 2) politics, and 3) national growth.

The sport construction was centered on two themes. First, the Soviet athletes were portrayed as fierce competitors, with qualities more closely aligned to machines than humans. This mechanical theme was enhanced in the media since Soviet athletes rarely provided interviews about their performances, and, therefore, the individual personalities of many Soviet athletes were not presented to the public. As a result, Soviet athletes were dehumanized in their representation to Canadian audiences, which strengthened the mechanical construction presented in the media.

Second, Soviet athletes were generally regarded as the best in their respective sport regardless of their performance, usually because they were thought to have advanced their sport in some way, nationally and internationally. The idea of Soviet domination was further strengthened through comparisons with Canadian athletes, as the press consistently discussed poor Canadian performances alongside Soviet successes. Because of this comparison, Canadian audiences could have interpreted the Soviet Union as the dominant sporting power at the Montreal Olympic Games.

The sport construction was juxtaposed by the political portrayal of the Soviet Union in the newspapers. The media positioned the Soviets as political victims in their reports of Ukrainian protests and athlete defections. Soviet officials claimed that the protests and stories about defections were part of an anti-Soviet plan orchestrated by the

Olympic organizers; it was a unilateral attempt organized by Olympic organizers to end USSR-Canadian sport relations. As a result of this construction, the Canadian media represented the Soviet Union in a sympathetic light, which was furthered by the national growth construction.

The national growth construction was provided by a USSR national branding campaign that appeared only in the *Montreal Gazette*. The campaign was a series of seven articles written by Soviet journalists and academics, and promoted the idea that Canada and the USSR shared a number of important similarities, such as geography, economy, and culture, and could and should foster closer relations through cultural exchanges such as those offered by sport. As well, this construction projected ideas that international peace was stalled as a result of American influence on the western world. The advertisements were blatantly anti-American, which potentially aligned with some Canadian sentiments towards the United States during that time.

While three major constructions of the Soviet were depicted in the Canadian media, I do not believe that all three are still actively remembered today. While I believe the sport construction of the Soviet Union is still entrenched in the modern Canadian perspective of the Soviet Union, I do not believe the same can be said for the political and national growth constructions found in this analysis. Moreover, while I believe the sport construction of the Soviet Union still exists, I believe it has changed over time due to knowledge production created since the Montreal Games. For example, with the boycotts of 1980 and 1984, as well as the fall of the Soviet Union and the lifting of the iron curtain, new knowledge production around the Soviet Union has been created and disseminated to the public. As a result, the new information has either influenced, replaced, or overshadowed the former collective memories of the Soviet Union.

These qualitative findings suggest some important inferences about how the Soviet Union was represented to Canadian audiences at the Montreal Games, as evidenced from the two media sources. As well, this research adds to an existing body of literature that aims at fostering a better understanding of the Soviet Union as a nation, which historian Frank Furedi describes as “demystifying” the Soviet Union. As Furedi

states: “The Soviet Union needs to be demystified. Even the Soviet establishment now recognizes that it lacks a clear understanding of how its own society works.”<sup>1</sup> While this research does not demystify the political workings of the Soviet Union, it does shed light on how the Soviet Union was represented and discussed in Canada during the 1976 Olympic Games.

From this analysis, I now ask: what do the findings of this analysis of two major Canadian newspapers tell us about the way the Soviet Union was represented to the Canadian public during the Montreal Olympic Games? I believe there are a few conclusions that can be inferred from the findings. First, as the Soviet Union was the second most frequently discussed country at the Montreal Olympics, it can be inferred that Canadian news producers believed that the Soviet Union was the most newsworthy country at those Games after Canada. As 87% of the articles discussing the Soviet Union were based on sport, it can also be inferred that the Soviet’s dominant presence in the Canadian media was generally associated with its strong sport performances, which aligns with the results found in the quantitative analysis. The sports most often discussed were gymnastics, weightlifting, and basketball. From this finding, it can be inferred that Canadian news producers deemed these sports to be the most newsworthy in the Soviet context. This is likely because the Soviet athletes either performed well, or were expected to perform well, in these sports. The political and national branding component of this analysis were dwarfed in frequency and prominence compared to the sport component. This is an interesting fact to note, as it shows that the social components attached to the Soviet Union were not prioritized as highly as the sport component during the two weeks of the Games.

It is likely that the media coverage of the Montreal Olympic Games was truly representative of the then current Canadian political and cultural attitudes towards the Soviet Union. As described in Chapter 3, the US-Canada-USSR relationship was very complicated during the 1970s. Canada attempted to foster a unique cultural identity separate from the United States while simultaneously creating international relationships with socialist countries such as the Soviet Union and China. From reviewing the three constructions of the Soviet Union as described in the two Canadian media outlets,

conflicting representations are presented. For example, Soviet strength and power is contrasted by political sympathy and national growth. As a result, I believe the media constructions of the Soviet Union mirror the changing Canadian attitude towards the Soviet Union during this time.

### 4.3 Media Representations of the Olympic Games

Historians have written about the Games from a number of angles, especially politics and economics. Moreover, as previously mentioned, “while the debate still goes on in specialized circles as to whether the Munich, Montreal or Moscow Games should be awarded the prize for the worst-ever Olympics, there is no doubt that the Montreal Games have their place in the triangle of Disappointment Games.”<sup>2</sup> However, the topics that dominate the academic literature do not reflect the topics that were disseminated in the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* during the Games. While this finding is not surprising, as the role of an historian is to study, analyze, and produce relevant meanings and interpretations of their subject matter, the results of this study show that researchers who have focused on specific topic areas have created a particular perspective of the Games. In other words, the academic literature, as well as some grey and popular sources, paints a narrow picture of the Montreal Games, suggesting that stories about Olympic politics and economics flooded the newspapers. In contrast, this study presents a thorough representation of the Montreal Games, thus allowing researchers to see how the Canadian media discussed the Games as a whole. This type of analysis was a productive way to examine the Montreal Games, as a comprehensive and descriptive view of the 1976 Olympics provided an alternative, and in some cases complimentary, view of what is published in the literature. Through expanding the Montreal Olympic representation, a better understanding of the role the Montreal Games had on Canadian society can be examined.

That being said, while academics provide a critical examination of the specific issues on the Montreal Olympics, the newspapers tended to shy away from discussing topics that could potentially ‘taint’ the Games. The underreporting of key issues discussed in academia helps to explain why the public appreciates the Olympics as a sport spectacle and fails to understand the critical issues that affect the Games in modern

society. As a result, the public maintains a positive and unproblematic view of the Games. This is not to say that a positive public view of the Games is bad, but to emphasize that as a result of this view, the public generally does not understand the greater social significance of the Olympic Games. If social consciousness around the Olympic Games was increased, the public could make more informed decisions around Olympic related issues, such as whether or not their nation should bid for an Olympic Games.

#### 4.4 Potential Avenues for Future Research

The analytical approach to content analysis used in this study was useful for identifying the themes published on the Montreal Olympics, as well for determining the frequency of themes about the Games. Applying this method to other Olympic Games would provide a point of comparison for which themes make the news and how often they get reported in comparison to other themes. For instance, researchers on sex and gender would find this comprehensive analysis valuable, especially for showing long-term trends in reporting.

Exploring the national representation of other nations in the Canadian media, such as the United States or East Germany, could also produce important findings. For example, comparing the Canadian media construction of the United States to the Soviet Union and Canada during the Cold War could provide interesting insights into Canadian understandings of the United States and the Soviet Union during this time. Moreover, investigating the male and female gender constructions of these nations would also be a valid and insightful research area to explore in the future.

The Soviet Union's national branding campaign, as found in the *Montreal Gazette*, is also worth further exploration. Through exploring the other components of this campaign, such as other Soviet run events before, during, and after the Games, a robust understanding of the workings and effectiveness of the campaign could be found. This would contribute to research areas focused on Cold War sport and US-USSR Olympic propaganda campaigns.



Lastly, extending the research timeline on either side of the Montreal Olympic coverage could provide further insight on how the coverage of the Olympic Games changes before, during, and after the event, and therefore provide more information into how the media presented the Montreal Games to Canadian audiences. Moreover, this research would also extend the analytical practice of Olympic media analysis already mentioned.

## 4.5 Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> Frank Furedi, *The Soviet Union Demystified: A Materialist Analysis* (London: Junius Publications, 1986), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Latouche, "Montreal 1976," in *Olympic Cities*, eds. John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, (New York: Routledge, 2011), 246.

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## Appendix 1

### Appendix 1: Complete list of Thematic Flags

Theme	Description of Theme
1972 Munich Games	Articles that referred to the 1972 Summer Olympic Games in Munich, Germany.
1980 Moscow Olympics	Articles that referred to the 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow, Russia.
Aboriginal Issues	Articles that referred to problems pertaining to Canadian Aboriginals.
Advice for Spectators	Articles that provided information for spectators on how to best experience the Olympic Games.
African Boycott	Articles that referred to any circumstance related to the African Boycott.
Algeria	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Amateurism	Articles that referred to the construction of amateurism or professionalism in the context of sport, or in reference to a specific person. For the purpose of this study, amateurism refers to sport participation with little to no financial support.
Archery	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Argentina	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Arts/Culture	Articles that referred to the Olympic Arts and Culture program, which ran parallel to the Olympic Sporting program.
Athletics	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Australia	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Austria	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this

	country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Basketball	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Bermuda	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Boxing	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Brazil	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
British Royalty	Articles that referred to British Royalty.
Bulgaria	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Canada	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Canoe	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Cheating	Articles that referred to cheating in an Olympic sporting event, or discussed cheating in general.
China	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Closing Ceremony	Articles that referred to the Closing Ceremony of the Montreal Olympic Games.
COC (Canadian Olympic Committee)	Articles that referred to the Canadian Olympic Committee, or an individual on the Committee, in the headline or first paragraph of the text.
COJO (Olympics Organizing Committee)	Articles that referred to the Olympic Organizing Committee, or an individual on the Committee, in the headline or first paragraph of the text.
Cold War Undertone	Articles that referred to the Cold War directly, or mirrored the political construction or lingo of the Cold War in Olympic reporting.

Commercialism	Articles that referred to the influence or infiltration of the corporate world at the Montreal Olympic Games.
Cuba	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Cycling	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Czechoslovakia	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Diving	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Drug Testing	Articles that referred to drug testing in general, or at the Olympic Games.
East Germany	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Egypt	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Equestrian	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Ethiopia	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Expo '67	Articles that referred to the Exposition '67 that took place in Montreal from April 27- October 29, 1967.
Female	Articles that referred to female individuals or teams.
Fencing	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Field Hockey	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Finland	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the

	headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
France	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Guatemala	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Guyana	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Gymnastics	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Handball	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
History	Articles that referred to the History of the Olympic Games.
Hungary	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
India	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Infrastructure	Articles that referred to infrastructure in relation to the Olympic Games. For the purpose of this study, infrastructure refers to the basic physical and organization structures that were created and used in Montreal for the Olympic Games.
Interest Piece	Articles that took very specific interest into the lives of athletes or spectators during the Montreal Olympic Games. Articles that took very specific interest into an event also fit within this category.
IOC (International Olympic Committee)	Articles that referred to the International Olympic Committee, or an individual on the Committee, in the headline or first paragraph of the text.
Iran	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Iraq	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the

	headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Israel	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Italy	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Japan	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Judo	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Kenya	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Lebanon	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Malaysia	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Male	Articles that referred to male individuals or teams.
Marathon	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Mayor Drapeau	Articles that referred to the Mayor of Montreal, Jean Drapeau, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Mexico	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Miscellaneous	Articles that did not fall in line with other themes.
Modern Pentathlon	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Monaco	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Mongolia	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this

	country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Montreal	Articles that referred to the City of Montreal in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Morocco	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Netherlands	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
New Zealand	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
North Korea	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Olympic Future	Articles that referred to the future of the Olympic Games, generally because of the Montreal Olympic experience.
Olympic Marketing	Articles that referred to the marketing created for the Montreal Olympic Games, such as posters, symbols, and mascots.
Olympic Merchandise	Articles that referred to items that were created and sold for the Olympic Games, such as the Olympic coin sets or clothing.
Olympic Notebook	Articles that were written by columnists who discussed their personal experiences, observations, or interests about specific events that occurred during the Olympics, and generally discussed multiple topics briefly within the text.
Olympic TV/Radio	Articles that referred to television and radio coverage of the Montreal Olympic Games.
Olympic Village	Articles that referred to the Olympic Village in any context, ranging from how it ran to random events that took place.
Olympism	Articles which reflected the concept of Olympism discussed in the 1976 Olympic Charter: “The aims of the Olympic Movement are to promote the development of those fine physical and moral qualities which are the basis of amateur sport and to bring together the athletes of the world in a great quadrennial festival of sports thereby creating international respect and goodwill and thus helping to construct a better and more peaceful world.” (Olympic Charter, 1976, p. 5)

Opening Ceremony	Articles that referred to the Opening Ceremony of the Montreal Olympic Games.
Other Country	Articles that referred to any individual or teams from a country, or specifically mentioned a country, in the headline for in the first paragraph of the text, that was not accounted for on the form.
Pakistan	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Party Scene	Articles that referred to “parties” that took place during the Olympic Games, ranging from gatherings held by IOC members to celebrations by athletes.
Peru	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Poland	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Politics	Articles that made reference to general politics in terms of national governments, sport organizations, IOC, COC, COJO, or within specific sports.
Praise for Games	Articles that portrayed outright approval or admiration for the Montreal Olympic Games.
Puerto Rico	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Rehabilitation	Articles that referred to rehabilitation strategies for physical injuries.
Result Summary	Articles that provided simple summaries of sport performances from days past.
Romania	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Rowing	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Saudi Arabia	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.

Scalpers	Articles that referred to illegally selling Olympic event tickets.
Security	Articles that referred to Security in any aspect of the Olympic Games.
Senegal	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Sex Testing	Articles that referred to sex, or gender, testing at the Olympic Games.
Sexual Culture	Articles that referred to the sexual culture of the Olympic Games, with specific reference to sexual interests and activities of Olympic participants.
Shooting	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Soccer	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
South Africa	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
South Korea	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Soviet Union/Russia	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Spain	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Sport	Articles that referred to sport in either specific or general terms.
Stadium	Articles that referred to the Montreal Olympic Stadium in any form.
Sweden	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Swimming	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the



	headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Switzerland	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Taiwan	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Torch	Articles that referred specifically to the Olympic torch in any way.
Trinidad and Tobago	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Tunisia	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Two Chinas	Articles that referred to anything circumstance related to the Two Chinas issue.
Ukraine	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
United Kingdom	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
USA	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Volleyball	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Water polo	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Weightlifting	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
West Germany	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Wresting	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the

	headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Yachting/Sailing	Articles that referred to any individual or team participating in this sport, or specifically mentioned this sport, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.
Yugoslavia	Articles that referred to any individual or team from this country, or specifically mentioned this country, in the headline or in the first paragraph of the text.

## Appendix 2

### Appendix 2: Complete National Coverage by Country in the Montreal Gazette

Country	Sport	Weight Lifting	Basketball	Shooting	Swimming	Water Polo
Canada	148	4	16	3	17	8
Soviet Union/Russia	45	6	8	1	1	2
Romania	10	1	0	0	0	1
USA	38	1	11	3	2	0
East Germany	14	0	0	1	9	0
West Germany	7	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	10	2	0	0	0	0
Switzerland	2	0	0	0	0	0
Ukraine	1	0	0	0	0	0
Mexico	1	0	0	0	0	0
China	1	0	0	0	1	0
Yugoslavia	6	0	2	0	0	1
Algeria	1	0	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom	12	0	0	0	0	0
Brazil	6	0	0	0	0	0
Spain	1	0	0	0	0	0
Australia	7	0	0	0	0	0
India	5	0	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	2	0	0	1	0	0
Japan	13	0	3	0	0	0
Czechoslovakia	4	0	0	0	0	0
Cuba	9	0	1	0	0	0
Italy	8	0	2	0	0	2
New Zealand	4	0	0	0	0	0
South Korea	2	0	0	0	0	0
North Korea	1	0	0	0	0	0
Bulgaria	3	2	1	0	0	0
Hungary	4	0	0	0	0	3
Taiwan	1	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistan	2	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa	2	0	0	0	0	0
Egypt	1	0	1	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	1	0	1	0	0	0
Israel	2	1	0	0	0	0
Morocco	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argentina	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	1	0	0	0	0	0
Iran	1	0	0	0	0	0
Monaco	1	0	0	1	0	0
Finland	2	0	0	0	0	0
Saudi Arabia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	3	0	0	0	0	0
Bermuda	1	0	0	0	0	0
Iraq	1	1	0	0	0	0
Malaysia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peru	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	0	0	0	0	0	0

Complete National Coverage by Country in the Montreal *Gazette* (continued)

Country	Boxing	Soccer	Cycling	Handball	Gymnastics	Rowing	Volleyball
Canada	16	3	4	6	1	8	8
Soviet Union/Russia	0	4	2	2	5	0	3
Romania	0	0	0	0	7	1	0
USA	5	0	0	0	3	1	0
East Germany	0	2	1	0	0	1	0
West Germany	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Poland	0	5	0	0	0	0	2
Switzerland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ukraine	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Mexico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
China	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yugoslavia	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Algeria	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brazil	0	4	0	0	0	0	1
Spain	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Australia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
India	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Japan	0	0	0	1	4	0	3
Czechoslovakia	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Cuba	4	1	0	0	0	0	2
Italy	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Zealand	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
North Korea	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Bulgaria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hungary	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taiwan	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Egypt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Israel	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Morocco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argentina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iran	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Monaco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Finland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saudi Arabia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Bermuda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malaysia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peru	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Complete National Coverage by Country in the Montreal *Gazette* (continued)

Country	Equestrian	Field Hockey	Athletics	Yachting/ Sailing	Diving	Modern Pentathlon	Wrestling
Canada	3	2	12	8	3	1	11
Soviet Union/Russia	0	0	1	0	3	1	1
Romania	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
USA	1	0	3	0	3	0	0
East Germany	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
West Germany	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Switzerland	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ukraine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mexico	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
China	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yugoslavia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Algeria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom	7	0	0	3	0	1	0
Brazil	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Spain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Australia	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
India	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Japan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Cuba	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
New Zealand	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
South Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bulgaria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hungary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taiwan	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistan	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Egypt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Israel	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Morocco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argentina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iran	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Monaco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Finland	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Saudi Arabia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bermuda	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malaysia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peru	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Complete National Coverage by Country in the Montreal *Gazette* (continued)

Country	Fencing	Judo	Archery	Canoe	Marathon	Olympic Notebook	Olympic Village
Canada	3	2	1	3	0	3	0
Soviet Union/Russia	2	2	0	0	0	3	0
Romania	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
USA	0	0	5	0	0	1	1
East Germany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
West Germany	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Switzerland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ukraine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mexico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
China	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Yugoslavia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Algeria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Brazil	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Australia	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
India	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Japan	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cuba	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Italy	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Zealand	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bulgaria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hungary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taiwan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Egypt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Israel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Morocco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argentina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iran	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Monaco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Finland	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Saudi Arabia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bermuda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malaysia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peru	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Complete National Coverage by Country in the Montreal *Gazette* (continued)

Country	Olympism	Politics	Two Chinas	African Boycott	Olympic Future	Montreal	History
Canada	3	13	5	1	1	2	2
Soviet Union/Russia	0	5	0	0	1	0	0
Romania	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
USA	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
East Germany	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
West Germany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Switzerland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ukraine	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
Mexico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
China	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Yugoslavia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Algeria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
Brazil	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Australia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
India	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Japan	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cuba	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
New Zealand	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
South Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bulgaria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hungary	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Taiwan	0	7	6	1	1	0	0
Pakistan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa	0	3	1	5	1	0	0
Egypt	0	2	0	2	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Israel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Morocco	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Ethiopia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argentina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	2	0	2	0	0	0
Lebanon	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iran	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Monaco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Finland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saudi Arabia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bermuda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malaysia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peru	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Complete National Coverage by Country in the Montreal *Gazette* (continued)

Country	Interest Piece	Opening Ceremony	Party Scene	Drug Testing	Male	Female	Praise for Games
Canada	26	1	1	2	115	41	2
Soviet Union/Russia	4	0	0	1	32	11	0
Romania	3	0	0	0	4	7	0
USA	4	0	0	1	29	14	0
East Germany	7	0	1	0	7	10	0
West Germany	0	0	1	0	6	2	1
Poland	2	0	0	0	9	1	0
Switzerland	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Ukraine	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Mexico	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
China	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yugoslavia	0	0	0	0	6	0	0
Algeria	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
United Kingdom	2	0	0	0	6	7	0
Brazil	0	0	0	0	5	0	0
Spain	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Australia	0	0	0	0	7	0	0
India	0	0	0	0	5	0	0
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Japan	1	0	0	0	8	6	0
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
Cuba	0	0	0	0	8	1	0
Italy	1	0	0	0	8	0	0
New Zealand	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
South Korea	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
North Korea	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Bulgaria	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
Hungary	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Taiwan	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Pakistan	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
South Africa	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Egypt	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Israel	2	0	0	0	1	1	0
Morocco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argentina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iran	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Monaco	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Finland	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
Saudi Arabia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Bermuda	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Iraq	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Malaysia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peru	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	0	0	0	0	0	0	0



Complete National Coverage by Country in the Montreal *Gazette* (continued)

Country	Olympic Merchandise	Olympic Radio TV	Infrastructure	IOC	Result Summary	1980 Moscow Games	Cold War Undertone
Canada	1	1	0	1	1	0	2
Soviet Union/Russia	0	2	1	0	1	9	13
Romania	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
USA	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
East Germany	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
West Germany	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Switzerland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ukraine	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Mexico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
China	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Yugoslavia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Algeria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brazil	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Australia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
India	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Japan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cuba	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Zealand	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
South Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bulgaria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hungary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taiwan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Egypt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Israel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Morocco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argentina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iran	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Monaco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Finland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saudi Arabia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bermuda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malaysia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peru	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	0	0	0	0	0	0	0



## Appendix 3

Appendix 3: Complete National Coverage by Country in *The Globe and Mail*

Country	Sport	Weight Lifting	Basketball	Shooting	Swimming	Water Polo
Canada	133	0	14	3	12	5
Soviet Union/Russia	47	2	5	1	1	1
Romania	11	0	0	0	0	0
USA	32	1	4	2	2	0
East Germany	20	0	0	0	7	0
West Germany	4	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	5	1	0	0	0	0
Switzerland	1	0	0	0	0	0
Ukraine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mexico	4	0	2	0	0	0
China	2	0	0	0	2	0
Yugoslavia	2	0	2	0	0	0
Algeria	0	0	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom	6	0	0	0	0	0
Brazil	10	0	0	0	0	0
Spain	0	0	0	0	0	0
Australia	8	0	1	0	1	1
India	3	0	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	1	0	0	0	0	0
Japan	10	0	2	0	0	0
Czechoslovakia	4	1	1	0	0	0
Cuba	13	0	2	0	0	0
Italy	4	0	0	0	0	0
New Zealand	4	0	0	0	0	0
South Korea	4	0	0	0	0	0
North Korea	4	0	0	0	0	0
Bulgaria	3	0	1	0	0	0
Hungary	5	0	0	0	0	2
Taiwan	1	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistan	2	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa	2	0	0	0	1	0
Egypt	0	0	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	0	0	0	0	0
Israel	3	0	0	0	0	0
Morocco	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	2	0	0	0	0	0
Argentina	1	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	1	0	0	0	0	0
Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iran	2	0	0	0	0	1
Monaco	1	0	0	1	0	0
Finland	4	0	0	0	0	0
Saudi Arabia	1	0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	3	0	0	0	1	0
Bermuda	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malaysia	1	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	1	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	2	0	0	0	0	0
Peru	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	2	0	0	0	0	0

Complete National Coverage by Country in *The Globe and Mail* (continued)

Country	Boxing	Soccer	Cycling	Handball	Gymnastics	Rowing	Volleyball
Canada	9	3	2	1	1	6	4
Soviet Union/Russia	0	2	2	1	8	1	1
Romania	0	0	0	0	8	0	0
USA	3	0	0	0	2	1	0
East Germany	1	3	1	0	0	3	1
West Germany	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Poland	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Switzerland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ukraine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mexico	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
China	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yugoslavia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Algeria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brazil	0	6	0	0	0	0	4
Spain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Australia	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
India	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Japan	0	0	0	0	2	0	4
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cuba	4	1	0	0	1	0	1
Italy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Zealand	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
South Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
North Korea	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Bulgaria	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Hungary	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Taiwan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Egypt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Israel	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Morocco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argentina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iran	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Monaco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Finland	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saudi Arabia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Bermuda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malaysia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Peru	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
France	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Complete National Coverage by Country in *The Globe and Mail* (continued)

Country	Equestrian	Field Hockey	Athletics	Yachting/ Sailing	Diving	Modern Pentathlon	Wrestling
Canada	3	3	27	15	1	2	7
Soviet Union/Russia	0	0	6	2	3	2	2
Romania	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
USA	1	0	7	0	2	1	0
East Germany	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
West Germany	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Switzerland	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ukraine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mexico	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
China	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yugoslavia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Algeria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom	2	1	0	3	0	0	0
Brazil	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Australia	1	3	0	0	0	0	0
India	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Japan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Czechoslovakia	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Cuba	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
New Zealand	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
South Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bulgaria	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Hungary	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Taiwan	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Pakistan	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Egypt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Israel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Morocco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Argentina	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iran	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Monaco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Finland	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
Saudi Arabia	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Sweden	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bermuda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malaysia	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peru	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	0	0	2	0	0	0	0

Complete National Coverage by Country in *The Globe and Mail* (continued)

Country	Fencing	Judo	Archery	Canoe	Marathon	Olympic Notebook	Olympic Village
Canada	1	3	1	5	0	8	1
Soviet Union/Russia	3	1	0	0	0	1	0
Romania	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
USA	1	1	3	0	0	0	0
East Germany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
West Germany	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Switzerland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ukraine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mexico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
China	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yugoslavia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Algeria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brazil	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Australia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
India	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Japan	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cuba	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Italy	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
New Zealand	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Korea	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
North Korea	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Bulgaria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hungary	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taiwan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Egypt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Israel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Morocco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argentina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iran	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Monaco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Finland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saudi Arabia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bermuda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malaysia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peru	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Complete National Coverage by Country in *The Globe and Mail* (continued)

Country	Olympism	Politics	Two Chinas	African Boycott	Amateurism	Arts/Culture	Olympic Future
Canada	2	17	5	2	2	1	1
Soviet Union/Russia	0	3	0	0	0	1	0
Romania	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
USA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
East Germany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
West Germany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Switzerland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ukraine	0	2	0	0	0	2	0
Mexico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
China	0	5	1	1	0	0	2
Yugoslavia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Algeria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom	0	2	1	1	0	0	0
Brazil	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Australia	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
India	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Japan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cuba	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Italy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Zealand	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
South Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bulgaria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hungary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taiwan	0	5	5	0	0	0	0
Pakistan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa	0	4	0	3	0	0	0
Egypt	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Israel	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Morocco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Argentina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Senegal	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Tunisia	0	2	1	1	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iran	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Monaco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Finland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saudi Arabia	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bermuda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malaysia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peru	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Complete National Coverage by Country in *The Globe and Mail* (continued)

Country	History	Interest Piece	Opening Ceremony	Party Scene	Drug Testing	Rehabilitation	Male
Canada	1	26	2	0	5	1	94
Soviet Union/Russia	1	7	0	0	0	0	31
Romania	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
USA	0	5	0	0	2	0	23
East Germany	0	4	0	0	1	0	10
West Germany	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Poland	0	0	0	0	1	0	5
Switzerland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ukraine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mexico	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
China	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Yugoslavia	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Algeria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
Brazil	0	1	0	0	0	0	8
Spain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Australia	0	2	0	0	0	0	8
India	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Japan	0	1	0	0	0	0	7
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Cuba	0	3	0	0	0	0	12
Italy	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
New Zealand	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
South Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
North Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Bulgaria	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Hungary	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Taiwan	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Pakistan	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
South Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Egypt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Israel	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
Morocco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Argentina	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iran	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Monaco	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Finland	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
Saudi Arabia	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Sweden	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Bermuda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malaysia	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Kenya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Peru	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	0	1	0	0	0	0	2



Complete National Coverage by Country in *The Globe and Mail* (continued)

Country	Female	Olympic Radio/TV	Aboriginal Issues	Infra- structure	IOC	Advice for Spectators	Result Summary
Canada	34	2	0	0	1	1	2
Soviet Union/Russia	14	1	0	0	0	0	1
Romania	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
USA	10	0	0	0	0	0	1
East Germany	10	1	0	0	0	0	1
West Germany	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Switzerland	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ukraine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mexico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
China	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yugoslavia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Algeria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brazil	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spain	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Australia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
India	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Japan	3	0	1	0	0	0	0
Czechoslovakia	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cuba	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Italy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Zealand	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
South Korea	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Korea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bulgaria	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hungary	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taiwan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistan	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
South Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Egypt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Israel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Morocco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argentina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iran	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Monaco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Finland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saudi Arabia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bermuda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malaysia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peru	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Complete National Coverage by Country in *The Globe and Mail* (continued)

Country	1980 Moscow Games	Cold War Undertone	Security	Sports- manship	British Royalty	Miscellaneous	Cheating
Canada	2	3	2	2	1	4	0
Soviet Union/Russia	3	5	1	1	0	1	5
Romania	1	2	1	0	0	0	0
USA	0	1	2	2	0	1	4
East Germany	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
West Germany	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Poland	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Switzerland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ukraine	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Mexico	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
China	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Yugoslavia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Algeria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom	0	0	2	1	5	0	0
Brazil	0	0	2	0	0	0	3
Spain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Australia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
India	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Japan	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cuba	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Italy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Zealand	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Korea	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
North Korea	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Bulgaria	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Hungary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taiwan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pakistan	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
South Africa	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Egypt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Israel	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Morocco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argentina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iran	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Monaco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Finland	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Saudi Arabia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bermuda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malaysia	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Kenya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peru	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

## Curriculum Vitae

**Name:** Joshua Frederick Peter Archer

**Post-secondary Education and Degrees:** The University of Western Ontario  
London, Ontario, Canada  
2007-2011 B.A.

The University of Western Ontario  
London, Ontario, Canada  
2011-2013 M.A.

**Honours and Awards:** Academic All-Canadian: Track and Field  
2009, 2011, 2012, 2013

2013 OUA Student-Athlete Service Award, Track and Field

Queen Elizabeth 2: Aiming for the Top Award  
2007-2008

**Related Work Experience** Teaching Assistant  
The University of Western Ontario  
2011-2013

*in motion*<sup>TM</sup> Coordinator, City of London  
London, Ontario, Canada  
2011-2013

### Publications & Presentations:

- Archer, J. (2012, Oct). The 1976 Montreal Olympic Games: A Reflection of Canadian Identity. Paper presented at the 11th International Symposium for Olympic Research, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario.
- Archer, J. (2012, June). No Tennis in South Africa: The ACOA and U.S. Resistance to South African Apartheid. Paper presented at the North American Society of Sport History Annual Conference, Hotel Shattuck Plaza, Berkeley, California.
- Forsyth, J., & Archer, J. (under revision) Simpson is no Longboat: Public Memory and the Construction of Historical Knowledge. Paper accepted to *Sport History Review*, January 2012.
- Forsyth, J., & Archer, J. (2011, May). Fred Simpson is no Tom Longboat: A Discourse-analytical Reading of Two Peterborough Newspapers. Paper presented at the North American Society of Sport History Annual Conference, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas.