
Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository

10-7-2015 12:00 AM

Impassioned Objects And Seething Absences: The Olympics In Canada, National Identity and Consumer Culture

Estee Fresco
The University of Western Ontario

Supervisor
Dr. Daniel Robinson
The University of Western Ontario

Graduate Program in Media Studies
A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy
© Estee Fresco 2015

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd>



Part of the [Cultural History Commons](#), [Film and Media Studies Commons](#), and the [Indigenous Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Fresco, Estee, "Impassioned Objects And Seething Absences: The Olympics In Canada, National Identity and Consumer Culture" (2015). *Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository*. 3332.
<https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/3332>

This Dissertation/Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Scholarship@Western. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository by an authorized administrator of Scholarship@Western. For more information, please contact wlsadmin@uwo.ca.

Impassioned Objects And Seething Absences: The Olympics In Canada, National
Identity and Consumer Culture

Thesis format: Monograph

by

Estee Fresco

Graduate Program in Media Studies

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
Western University
London, Ontario, Canada

© Estee Fresco 2015

Abstract

This dissertation critically analyzes the commercial practices and products of the 1976 Montreal, 1988 Calgary and 2010 Vancouver Olympics. The central questions I ask are: how did the Olympics in Canada become a platform for the intersection of patriotism and consumption? What were the key ideas about Canadian identity, history, and citizenship that Olympic organizers and corporate sponsors promoted? How did commodities symbolize these ideas? Finally, how do these ideas relate to political policies and practices?

This work contributes to an understanding of how branded commodities shape Canadian identity and citizenship norms by arguing that the objects sold during the Montreal, Calgary and Vancouver Olympics embodied unresolved contradictions in the meaning of national identity. Commodities (like mascots, Petro-Canada glassware and Hudson's Bay Company mittens) represented a version of national identity that glorified European settlement in Canada and obscured the disparity between Indigenous and Settler Canadians' quality of life. Further, by buying these commodities, Settler Canadians constructed their identity as valued citizens who make important material contributions to the nation. The production, consumption and promotion of branded products helped popularize the idea that reconciliation between Indigenous and Settler Canadians has been achieved when, in fact, it is an ongoing and unfinished process. Moreover, these practices deepened pre-existing conflicts involving land and natural resources in Canada, often at the expense of Indigenous peoples' interests and well-being.

The research is grounded in material from Olympic archives in Montreal, Calgary and Vancouver, which I use to conduct the first book-length study of the Olympics hosted in Canada. The theoretical framework that underpins this project is based on Anne McClintock's conceptualization of fetish and Avery Gordon's theory of "ghostly hauntings." McClintock's work helps explain how commodities can hold together contradictory ideas about Canadian identity while Gordon's theory provides a basis for understanding how the absence of information (e.g. facts about Canada's colonial past) can become perceptible or, in her words, "seething absences." Using this approach, I

demonstrate the importance of studying the symbolic significance of Olympic commodities rather than focusing exclusively on Olympic-related sponsorship and marketing practices. I argue that the production, consumption, promotion, and symbolism of the commodities have significant social and political consequences which include: shaping Canadian identity, influencing public knowledge about the nation's past, intervening in debates about land possession and resource allocation, including and excluding citizens from participation in civic life, educating children and teens about the nation, and influencing reconciliation between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples.

This research contributes to scholarship on branded nationalism by demonstrating the importance of studying the symbolic significance of Olympic commodities rather than focusing exclusively on Olympic-related sponsorship and marketing practices. It also illustrates that the rise of neo-liberalism and market fundamentalism in the 1980s helped popularize branded nationalism, cause-related marketing, and region branding in the Olympic Games hosted in Canada. Finally, this dissertation contributes to scholarship on the modern Olympic Movement by showing that the commercialism of the Olympics in Canada did not eclipse the political dimensions of the Games. Rather, they mutually reinforced one another.

Keywords

The Olympics; Canadian identity; branded nationalism; nation branding; Indigenous rights; consumer culture; fetish; Marx; McClintock; ghostly haunting; contractualization of citizenship; consumer-citizen hybrid.

Acknowledgments

I am deeply grateful for the time and energy Dr. Daniel Robinson, my advisor, has invested in me and my work. This thesis would not have been possible without his thoughtful, meticulous and insightful feedback. He has challenged me to become a better scholar and writer and has provided me with excellent advice throughout this process. The extent to which he cares about his students is clear in his dedication to them and I am very fortunate to be one of those students.

My heartfelt thank you to Dr. Sasha Torres, whose encouragement and support was essential as I navigated my way through the PhD process. Her insightfulness and kindness had a profound impact on my experience as a doctoral student. I am fortunate to have had the opportunity to work with Dr. Janice Forsyth, whose work I admire, and who has provided me with valuable feedback and mentorship. Dr. Amanda Grzyb provided me with enormous support as I wrote my thesis and I appreciate all the time she spent talking through ideas with me and guiding my work. Thank you to Dr. Gene Allen and Dr. Romaine Smith-Fullerton who were very valuable members of my defence committee and made insightful comments about my work that improved it significantly.

This thesis has benefited enormously from the following individuals who read select chapters and gave me helpful advice and suggestions: Amy Freier, Atle Kjosén, Dr. Sharon Sliwinski, and Danielle Taschereau Mamers. Thank you as well to the valued friends and colleagues who offered advice, laughs, and, on many occasions, a couch to sleep on: Andrea Benoit, Zak Bronson, Amy Freier, Sonya de Laat, Eric Lohman, Claudie Massicote, Chris Richardson, Gemma Richardson, Tiara Sukhan, Danielle Taschereau Mamers, Jessica Thom, Fannie Valois-Nadeau, and Matt Ventresca. I am lucky to have Dr. Natalie Coulter as a mentor, friend, and reading group partner. A special thank you to Kim Newman who generously extended her friendship and her home to me in London and to Juline Fresco Taller, Jessica Howsam, Jessica Herschman, and Chrissy Munroe who are talented copy-editors as well as wonderful friends.

I am grateful to the staff at the Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec and the City of Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver and Victoria Archives whose hard work made my archival research possible.

The staff at FIMS work tirelessly to make sure that everything runs smoothly and they deserve recognition for their hard work (despite being busy, they always find time to shower Emmett the dog with affection when he comes to visit). Throughout my time at Western, Dr. Nick Dyer-Witherford, Dr. Susan Knabe, and Dr. Pam McKenzie have been excellent Associate Deans and I have personally benefitted from their dedication to graduate students' well-being. A special note of gratitude to Dr. Knabe who consistently goes above and beyond to champion the students' causes and is unfailingly generous in the time she dedicates to students. I am deeply grateful for the support Dr. Knabe has shown me.

Mike Munroe has read every page of this thesis and been by my side through the entire writing process. His love and friendship has sustained me. Mike, my family and the Munroe/Sammon family have shown me a love and generosity that seems to know no bounds. It is, of course, reciprocated in equal measure.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	vi
List of Figures.....	ix
Chapter 1.....	x
Marx and McClintock Go to the Games: Introduction and Theoretical Context	1
“A Crisis in Social Meaning:” Commodities as Fetish Objects	7
Merging the Visible and Invisible: Haunted, Uncanny Commodities.....	12
A “Symbol of Canadian Cool:” Branded/Corporate Nationalism	17
Marketizing Social Life: Neo-Liberalism and Market Fundamentalism.....	21
A “Market Exchange:” Cause-Related Marketing and the Contractualization of Citizenship	27
The Gap Between “Idealist Rhetoric” and Reality: Commercializing the Olympic Games	32
Looking and Thinking: Methodology and Terminology	40
Chapter Outline.....	44
Chapter 2.....	47
Marketing Avery Brundage’s Apoplexy: The 1976 Montreal Olympics Self- Financing Model.....	47
The “Golden Rule:” The Self-Financing Games	49
“Help It Happen:” Self-Financing and Consumption	56
“Quebec’s Olympics:” French Canadian Identity.....	63
A “Voluntary Means of Public Participation:” The Olympic Lottery	70
Conclusion	72

Chapter 3.....	73
Haunted Beavers: The 1976 Montreal Olympics, French-Canadian Identity, and the Fur Trade	73
“Living Together Is Not Easy:” French Canadian Identity	77
“Emblematic of Canada:” The Olympic Mascot	82
“Ghost(ed)” Objects: Haunting and the Olympic Mascot	90
“We Now Claim Their Field Games:” Haunting and Olympic Coins.....	96
Chief Poking Fire: Resistance.....	100
Conclusion	101
Chapter 4.....	103
“Our Unique Western Heritage is Interesting to People:” City, Region, and Corporate Branding in the 1988 Calgary Olympics	103
“Survival-of-the-Fittest:” Organizing and Financing the Games	105
“Marketing for Success”: Olympic Education Resource Kits	111
Adding to “the Prosperity of its People:” City and Region Branding	113
Cagliari or Calgary?: Branding Western Canada.....	116
“Let the Eastern Bastards Freeze in the Dark:” Provincial-Federal Relations	123
“Forget Not My World:” The Lubicon Cree’s Anti-Olympic Campaign.....	129
Conclusion	134
Chapter 5.....	135
Haunted Spirits: the 1988 Calgary Olympics and the Contractualization of Citizenship	135
“Catch the Spirit:” Canadian Spirits in the Games	138
“Won’t you feel it?” The Contractualization of Citizenship	141
“Share the Blame:” Anti-Olympic Protests	148
“Man With No Land:” The Right to Have Rights	151

“Uncanny Experiences:” Fetish Objects	160
Conclusion	163
Chapter 6.....	165
“A Living Embodiment of the Olympic Ideal:” The Four Host First Nations, Sustainable Legacies, and Aboriginal Title in the 2010 Vancouver Olympics.....	165
“Creating a Larger Economic Pie:” The Olympic Bid	168
The “Most Important Issue Facing the Province:” Aboriginal Title in B.C.	175
Setting “New Standards of Achievement:” Sustainability, Legacy and Profits	180
“Unprecedented and Amazingly Successful:” The New Relationship in B.C.....	184
Conclusion	187
Chapter 7.....	189
Haunted History: National Identity, Indigenous-Settler Relations, and the 2010 Vancouver Olympics.....	189
The Inukshuk is a “Symbol of Canada:” Representations of National Identity	191
“This is Not the Start of a New Relationship:” Haunting Truths	200
“This Magic Mitten Moment:” The Hudson’s Bay Company and Brand Canada	207
Conclusion	214
Chapter 8.....	215
Conclusion: “Defiant Fists” and “Loyal Corporate Bodies”	215
Bibliography	215
Curriculum Vitae	238

List of Figures

Figure 1: Vancouver 2010 Olympics opening ceremony, <i>IOC Marketing Report Vancouver 2010</i> , 89.	2
Figure 2: Vancouver 2010 Olympics opening ceremony, screen grab from YouTube, www.youtube.com	2
Figure 3: “Blood On Your Hands” pamphlet, City of Vancouver Archives, PAM 2010-37, Fonds: AM1519: City of Vancouver Archives pamphlet collection, City of Vancouver Archives.....	4
Figure 4: Montreal Olympics action stamps, COJO, <i>Official Report</i> , 69-72.....	54
Figure 5: Montreal Olympics coins, COJO, <i>Official Report</i> , 69-70.....	55
Figure 6: Montreal Olympics postal meters, Canadian Design Resource website http://www.canadiandesignresource.ca/olympics/1976-olympic-postal-meter/	58
Figure 7: Keychain of the Montreal Olympics lottery ticket for sale on eBay, www.ebay.com	71
Figure 8: Souvenirs of the Montreal Olympics, COJO, <i>Official Report</i> , 60.....	78
Figure 9: Souvenirs of the Montreal Olympics, COJO, <i>Official Report</i> , 353.....	78
Figure 10: Souvenirs of the Montreal Olympics for sale on eBay, www.ebay.com	79
Figure 11: Clothing patches from the Montreal Olympics, for sale on eBay, www.ebay.com	81
Figure 12: Amik commodities, COJO, <i>Official Report</i> , 354.	84
Figure 13: Amik commodities for sale on eBay, www.ebay.com	84
Figure 14: Montreal Olympic coins, COJO, <i>Official Report</i> , 69-70.....	97
Figure 15: Calgary Olympics pin available on eBay, www.ebay.com	109
Figure 16: ABC sign, OCO’88, <i>Official Report</i> , 86.	109
Figure 17: Team Petroleum symbol, OCO’88, <i>Official Report</i> , 650.....	111
Figure 18: Smithbilt hat with the Calgary Olympics emblem available on eBay, www.ebay.com	117
Figure 19: Hidy and Howdy, OCO’88, <i>XV Olympic Winter Games</i> , 57.	118
Figure 20: Hidy and Howdy commodities available on eBay, www.ebay.com	120
Figure 21: Calgary Olympics emblem, OCO’88, <i>XV Olympic Winter Games</i> , 5.....	127
Figure 22: Calgary Olympics emblem pins available on eBay, www.ebay.com	127

Figure 23: Calgary Olympics pins available on eBay, www.ebay.com	129
Figure 24: Calgary Olympics opening ceremony, OCO'88, <i>Official Report</i> , 14.	150
Figure 25: Replica Calgary Olympics torches, www.calgaryisawesome.com	161
Figure 26: Mural by Jessie Corcoran, <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , Dec. 11 2009, A4.	166
Figure 27: Image from: Justine Hunter, "They Came for a pelt and left with a Quatchi," the <i>Globe and Mail</i> , Feb. 9, 2010, A3. The original caption reads: "While pelts of fox and other animal furs were on display in the temporary HBC post, visitors were more interested in the mitts, Quatchi and hats."	190
Figure 28: Vancouver Olympics emblem, VANOC, <i>Vancouver 2010: Staging the Olympic, Winter Games Knowledge Report</i> , September 2010, 1.	192
Figure 29: Vancouver Olympics loonie, Royal Canadian Mint website, www.mint.ca . 194	
Figure 30: Quatchi, Miga and Sumi commodities available for sale on eBay, www.ebay.com	196
Figure 31: A bin full of Quatchis, <i>IOC Marketing Report Vancouver 2010</i> , 118.	196
Figure 32: Hudson's Bay Company mittens in the Vancouver Olympics, <i>IOC, Marketing Report Vancouver 2010</i> , 107, 160.	211
Figure 33: "Blood On Your Hands" pamphlet, City of Vancouver Archives, PAM 2010- 37, Fonds: AM1519: City of Vancouver Archives pamphlet collection, City of Vancouver Archives.....	214

Chapter 1

Marx and McClintock Go to the Games: Introduction and Theoretical Context

During the opening ceremony of the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games, the flag bearer for the Canadian team marching in the Parade of Nations, Clara Hughes, was distinguished from the other athletes by her blue, red, green, yellow, and white striped scarf, the stripes an iconic Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) pattern. As the athletes waved to the crowd and the camera, the white maple leafs etched on their red mittens, also produced by the HBC, echoed the movement of Hughes' flag. The athletes' hands appeared as smaller Canadian flags, a literal and metaphorical embodiment of national identity. They walked toward a large group of Indigenous peoples dancing at the far end of the stage. The joyful music, cheering crowd, and exuberant expression on the athletes' faces juxtaposed against a surprising, and likely unintentional scene: from afar, the athletes, dressed mostly in red, looked like Mounties who were invading the Indigenous dancers' space.¹

¹ I am grateful to an insightful commentator at the 2012 *International Symposium on Olympic Research* who drew my attention to this juxtaposition.



Figure 1: Vancouver 2010 Olympics opening ceremony, *IOC Marketing Report Vancouver 2010*, 89.



Figure 2: Vancouver 2010 Olympics opening ceremony, screen grab from YouTube, www.youtube.com.

Although the HBC initially designed the red and white mittens exclusively for torch bearers and Canadian Olympians to wear, consumer demand for them was immense. The company sold more than three million mittens by the end of the Vancouver Olympics and news stories quoted everyday Canadians saying that wearing the mittens made them feel proud of their national identity.² According to the HBC, the garments “became the iconic item for Canadians as the Games were celebrated on home soil.”³ While many Canadian consumers embraced the HBC mittens, other groups saw them more critically. The Olympic Resistance Network (ORN), a coalition of activists who opposed the Vancouver Olympics, distributed pamphlets showing the red and white HBC mittens dripping with blood under the caption “Blood On Your Hands.”⁴ The activists argued that, because the federal government did not negotiate treaties with most of British Columbia’s First Nations, the province lay on unceded Indigenous territory. The pamphlet told readers that, prior to Canada’s political founding in 1867, the HBC “acted as the colonial government” and it encouraged readers to boycott the company.⁵

² See: Trish Crawford, "\$10 Olympic mittens a runaway success," *Toronto Star*, February 9, 2010.

http://www.thestar.com/life/2010/02/09/10_olympic_mittens_a_runaway_success.html;

Karon Liu, "HBC's Olympic mittens are the it item at the Games," *Toronto Life*, February 9, 2010.

<http://www.torontolife.com/style/toronto-stores/2010/02/09/hbcs-olympic-mittens-are-the-it-item-at-the-games/>

³ “Hudson’s Bay: Official Outfitter,” *Canadian Olympic Committee*. <http://olympic.ca/partners/hudsons-bay/hudsons-bay-official-outfitter/>

⁴ “Blood On Your Hands,” PAM 2010-37, AM1519: City of Vancouver Archives pamphlet collection (PC), City of Vancouver Archives (CVA).

⁵ *Ibid.*



Figure 3: “Blood On Your Hands” pamphlet, City of Vancouver Archives, PAM 2010-37, Fonds: AM1519: City of Vancouver Archives pamphlet collection, City of Vancouver Archives.

Like the HBC mittens, many commodities sold during the Olympic Games in Canada contained symbols of the nation and some Canadians used them to express their national identity and pride, while others used them to express their disaffection with the nation. These objects include commemorative coins and stamps, plush toys of Olympic mascots, glassware and clothing produced by Olympic sponsors, and trinkets like key chains, buttons and pens etched with the Olympic Games’ emblem. I argue that the production, consumption, promotion, and symbolism of the commodities linked to the Olympics in Canada have significant social and political consequences that are not immediately obvious. The symbolic meaning of these commodities and the activities surrounding them are part a broad set of practices that, collectively, shape Canadian identity, influence public knowledge about the nation’s past, intervene in debates about land possession and resource allocation, include and exclude citizens from participation in civic life, educate children and teens about the nation, and publicize government-led reconciliation efforts between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. By arguing that the symbolism and consumption of commodities are equally as important as the content of promotional narratives that link a brand’s identity to national identity, I seek to make an original

contribution to the existing scholarship on the interplay of national identity and consumer culture.

My examination of the commodities sold during the Montreal, Calgary, and Vancouver Olympic Games and the promotional and consumptive practices surrounding these commodities gives rise to the following questions: How did the Olympics in Canada become a platform for the intersection of patriotism and consumption? What were the key ideas about Canadian identity, history, and citizenship that Olympic organizers and corporate sponsors promoted? How did commodities symbolize these ideas? Furthermore, how do these ideas relate to political policies and practices? Finally, how were Canadian children educated about the meaning and value of consumer goods that represent national identity?

I advance four key lines of argument in this dissertation. First, relying on Anne McClintock's conceptualization of fetish, I argue that many Olympic objects embodied unresolved contradictions in the official narratives about Canadian identity, history, and citizenship. Some commodities represented and obscured traumatic moments in Canadian history, such as the existence and ongoing legacy of the Indian Residential School System. Other commodities symbolized the fact that official narratives about national identity recognized and repudiated Indigenous peoples' rightful claim to land and natural resources in Canada. A third group of commodities represented the fact that, as an identity category, some Canadians were both included and excluded as citizens in the nation. Second, applying the works of Avery Gordon and Jacques Derrida on haunting to the Olympics in Canada, I argue that the Olympic Games, and related commodities, were haunted by information, such as Canada's identity as a Settler colonial country and the historic and ongoing trauma of the assimilation of Indigenous peoples in Canada.⁶ This information, I argue, breaks the coherence of official narratives about national identity, history, and citizenship promoted during the Games. If, as I argue, Olympic commodities both represented and effaced facts that complicated or contradicted official narratives

⁶ As I discuss later in this chapter, I define Settlers as all non-Indigenous Canadians, including immigrants to the country.

about the nation, these facts were, in Gordon's words, "seething absences." Although not always obvious, their presence could be felt.⁷

Third, I use Margaret Somers' concept of the contractualization of citizenship to argue that, in Canada, the rights and privileges of citizenship became something that individuals had to earn, in this case by consuming Olympic commodities. By purchasing such commodities, many Canadians endorsed official narratives about the nation and ignored the contradictions embodied in these commodities. However, as I argue in my fourth and final point, it was not possible to completely obscure the unsettling truths about national identity, history, and citizenship that Olympic commodities represented. Anti-Olympic activists and protestors publicized these unsettling truths and exposed the contradictions inherent in official narratives about the nation promoted during the Games. Exposing this information had the potential to arouse an uncanny feeling in consumers. This uncanniness, in turn, could undermine the idea that Olympic commodities represented familiar and positive ideas about Canada.

This research highlights the socio-cultural significance of critically analyzing the symbolic meaning of consumer goods. Although Olympic-related commodities are banal, their impact on the construction of Canadian identity and citizenship norms is anything but banal. These commodities represented a version of national identity that glorified European settlement in Canada and obscured the disparity between Indigenous and Settler Canadians' quality of life. Further, by buying these commodities, Settler Canadians constructed their identity as valued citizens who make important material contributions to the nation. Significantly, the promotion and consumption of Olympic commodities contributed to a broader cultural process aimed at shaping public memory of Canada's colonial past and preserving the state's claim to possess land and natural resources that Indigenous peoples argue rightfully belongs to them.

Put another way, what is at stake in this project is an understanding of how commodities and consumer practices help sustain the legitimacy of Canadian settler society. By

⁷ Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1997), 21.

identifying the socio-economic factors that made it possible for commodities to become popular symbols of national identity, I show how these commodities became intertwined with other processes and practices that helped maintain the legitimacy of the state. Moreover, my research shows that despite the popularity of Olympic objects, and the overt ideas about the nation they represented, their meaning was neither fixed nor uncontested. Indigenous groups and their supporters used the Olympics in Montreal, Calgary and Vancouver to raise awareness about the devastating impact of government policies and business practices on their communities. In doing so, these groups challenged the privileged meanings of Olympic consumer goods. Moreover, by highlighting the social exclusion, political disenfranchisement, human rights violations and low standards of living many Indigenous peoples (and other Canadians) experience, anti-Olympic activists undermined the coherency of the ideas about Settler society that were promoted through the Olympics and posed a direct challenge to the legitimacy of the Settler state.

“A Crisis in Social Meaning:” Commodities as Fetish Objects

The theoretical starting point for my project is a consideration of commodity fetishism. In 1760, the French philosopher Charles de Brosses used the word “fetishisme” to describe religious practices that, in his view, relied on “primitive” ideas about magic. Karl Marx drew on this idea to formulate his concept of commodity fetishism, using “the idea of primitive magic to express the central social form of the modern industrial economy.”⁸ He argued that in capitalist societies commodities take on a life of their own and appear to have inherent value.⁹ Marx famously wrote: “the relationships between the producers,

⁸ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 181.

⁹ Karl Marx, *Capital Volume One*, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 164.

⁹ Marx, *Capital Volume One*, 164, Michael Heinrich, *An Introduction to the Three Volumes of Karl Marx's Capital*, trans. Alexander Locascio (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2012), 74.

within which the social characteristics of their labours are manifested, take on the form of a social relation between the products of the labour.”¹⁰

A product becomes a commodity when it is exchanged for other objects.¹¹ The value of the commodity, however, is created prior to its exchange and is directly related to the labour required to produce the product. The process of exchange is merely an expression of the commodity’s value. In other words, the value of a commodity cannot be separated from the social processes related to the conditions under which it is produced and exchanged. Thus, individuals remain unaware of the labour involved in commodity production. Moreover, as Michael Heinrich points out, individuals in capitalist societies incorrectly assume that all commodities, in every social context, have inherent value.¹²

A process of concealment is always involved in commodity fetishism because the labour invested in producing a product becomes concealed when it is exchanged for money. Michael Billig draws a link between Marx’s concept of commodity fetishism and Freud’s work on repression when he argues that the act of forgetting lies at the heart of commodity fetishism. Billig writes that, through commodity fetishism, “the labour expended in the production is forgotten in the everyday understanding of the value of the commodity. The result is a routine concealment or forgetting....In daily exchanges, the labour involved in the production of commodities is pushed from awareness.”¹³ Billig relies on Freud’s concept of repression to describe the psychological process that people undergo when they forget the labour required to produce a commodity. According to Freud, people repress disturbing thoughts by banishing them from their conscious awareness.¹⁴ Billig writes: “One might see the routines of consumer capitalism as practices which accomplish a form of repression, as disturbing thoughts are pushed from consumer consciousness.”¹⁵ This approach to fetishism is valuable because it includes,

¹⁰ Marx, *Capital Volume One*, 164.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹² Heinrich, *An Introduction to the Three Volumes of Karl Marx’s Capital*, 74.

¹³ Michael Billig, "Commodity Fetishism and Repression: Reflections on Marx, Freud and the Psychology of Consumer Capitalism," *Theory & Psychology* 9, no. 3 (1999): 315.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 320.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 320.

but goes beyond, considerations about labour and the production of commodities. Similarly, James Carrier writes that fetishism refers “to the ignoring of denial of the background of objects” and that Marx’s work on commodity fetishism helps highlight “the general tendency to obscure the people and processes, of which labour power is a component, that are part of creating an object and bringing it to market.”¹⁶

Like Billig, Anne McClintock’s understanding of fetish relies on a Marxist and psychoanalytic understanding of the term. She argues against Freud’s assertion that fetish objects help men psychologically manage their fear of castration. According to Freud, this fear emerges when men learn that women do not have penises. Moreover, fetish objects do not entirely erase men’s fear of castration but, rather, allow them to disavow their fear.¹⁷ He wrote: “The fetish remains a token of triumph over the threat of castration and a protection against it.”¹⁸ For McClintock, fetish objects are not “merely phallic substitutes.”¹⁹ Rather, “fetishes can be seen as the displacement onto an object (or person) of contradictions that the individual cannot resolve at a personal level.”²⁰ This approach identifies a key similarity in Marx and Freud’s writing on fetish, namely, that the fetish represents, in McClintock’s words, “a crisis in social meaning.”²¹ According to McClintock the fetish exists “at the cross-roads of psychoanalysis and social history, inhabiting the threshold of both personal and historical memory” and is an “embodiment of an impossible irresolution.”²² Finally, “By displacing power onto the fetish, then manipulating the fetish, the individual gains symbolic control over what might otherwise be terrifying ambiguities. For this reason, the fetish can be called an impassioned object.”²³

¹⁶ James Carrier, "Protecting the environment the natural way: ethical consumption and commodity fetishism," *Antipode* 42, no. 3 (2010): 673.

¹⁷ Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. XXI, ed. and trans. James Strachey (London: The Hogarth press, 1953), 153-154.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 154.

¹⁹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 184.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

McClintock applies fetish theory to her analysis of national symbols, arguing that “nationalism inhabits the realm of fetishism” because objects including a country’s flag, uniforms, airplane logos, maps, anthems, and national flowers are fetish objects that embody crises in social meaning.²⁴ Unlike Benedict Anderson, who credits the emergence of nationalism primarily to the development of print media, McClintock argues that the power of nationalism since the late 1800s “has been its capacity to organize a sense of popular, collective unity through the management of mass national *commodity spectacle*.”²⁵ These commodity spectacles include team sports, military displays, and mass rallies. McClintock uses the example of the Afrikaner Tweede Trek through South Africa in the mid-1900s as an example of a national commodity spectacle. She notes that the trek offered “a potent symbolic amalgam of disjointed times, capturing in a single fetish spectacle the impossible confluence of the modern and the archaic, the recent displacement and the ancestral migration.”²⁶

McClintock’s theorization of fetish is applicable to Canadian commodities because it helps explain how these commodities have the capacity to paradoxically hold together contradictory ideas. She provides a framework for thinking about how the symbolic meanings of commodities hold in tension competing ideas about Canadian identity. This argument is informed by other scholars who have applied McClintock’s work on national fetishes to a Canadian context. Donica Belisle, for example, writes:

When it is bought and sold as a commodity, for instance, the Canadian flag becomes a fetish that signifies and displaces the violence of Canadian nation building. The representation of nature on the flag (the maple leaf) can be, on the one hand, interpreted as symbolizing the contradiction between the state’s ‘empty lands’ ideology, and on the other, the presence of Indigenous peoples throughout Canada.²⁷

²⁴ Ibid., 374.

²⁵ Ibid., italics in original.

²⁶ Ibid., 376.

²⁷ Donica Belisle, “Toward a Canadian Consumer History,” *Labour/Le Travail* 52 (2003): 185.

According to Belisle, the flag is a fetish object because it draws attention to, but also hides, the fact that Indigenous peoples lived in Canada before European Settlers first arrived in the country. Belisle perhaps invests too much symbolic power in the maple leaf and I am less convinced that it represents an “empty lands ideology.”²⁸ However, her work provides an early example of scholarship that considers Canadian commodities as fetish objects in line with McClintock’s definition of the term.

Belisle’s work also draws attention to the fact that symbols of the nation can paradoxically expose and hide information about Canadian identity and history. Margot Francis provides a nuanced exploration of this paradox in her book, *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary*. Francis argues that emblems of national belonging in Canada, such as the beaver, the Canadian Pacific Railway and Banff National Park, convey knowledge about national identity and history “that is both articulated and refused.”²⁹ She argues that Canadians Settlers’ historical mistreatment of Indigenous peoples is an open secret, information that is publicly known but not openly acknowledged. The nation, she contends, is “a country founded on a commitment to democratic forms of order and good government for some” but “devastating forms of legal exclusion, forced assimilation, and mass deaths for others.”³⁰ By analyzing Olympic commodities, I extend Francis’ argument that unsettling truths about the nation’s past inform the meaning of emblems of national identity by arguing that these truths also inform the meaning of popular consumer objects in Canada.

The image of Canada depicted through Olympic commodities (and, more generally, through the Olympics), such as the idea that the country is free of conflict and racial inequality, exists only in a hypothetical future. Thus, like other fetishes, these objects represent multiple time periods, embodying “contradiction, repetition, multiple agency and *multiple time...time without progress.*”³¹ In other words, the commodities linked to

²⁸ Ibid., 185.

²⁹ Margot Francis, *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 4.

³⁰ Ibid., 9.

³¹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 40, italics added.

the Montreal, Calgary, and Vancouver Olympics represented the nation's shameful past and an idealized nation that exists in an imagined future.

Merging the Visible and Invisible: Haunted, Uncanny Commodities

Avery Gordon and Jacques Derrida use the concept of ghostly haunting to explain how the past makes itself felt in the present. I apply Gordon and Derrida's work to Olympic commodities, arguing that they are haunted by unsettling knowledge about Canada's past. According to Gordon, a ghostly haunting is "a story about what happens when we admit the ghost – that special instance of the merging of the visible and the invisible, the dead and the living, the past and the present – into the making of worldly relations and into the making of our accounts of the world."³² Similarly, Derrida argues that the line dividing the past, present, and future is permeable, writing: "Before knowing whether one can differentiate between the specter of the past and the specter of the future, of the past present and the future present, one must perhaps ask oneself whether the spectrality effect does not consist in undoing this opposition, or even this dialectic, between actual, effective presence and its other."³³

Gordon uses three case studies to explore ghostly hauntings: Sabina Spielrein's relationship with Jung and Freudian psychoanalysis, accounts of the disappeared in Argentina (individuals who were tortured and killed by the state but whose bodies were never found) and the story of slavery in the United States. She argues that the invisibility of women haunts psychoanalysis and its history, the disappeared haunt Argentinean society and, even when slavery ended in America, it haunted former slaves and forced them to coexist with ghosts.³⁴ For example, in her analysis of Toni Morrison's book *Beloved*, Gordon argues that the book's characters must confront events in their past that impact their present condition. In the novel, Sethe, a runaway slave, chose to kill her

³² Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 24.

³³ Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York: Routledge, 1993), 48.

³⁴ Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 194.

young daughter, Beloved, rather than allow her to be apprehended by slave catchers and returned to slavery. After the Civil War, when Sethe is free, she is haunted by the memory and aftermath of her violent act and, more broadly, by the trauma of slavery in the United States. Beloved, who returns to Sethe's life as a ghost, is haunted herself and Morrison uses the figure of a haunted ghost to illustrate that grappling with this double form of haunting is a necessary part of the reconstruction process in post-Civil War America.³⁵

Derrida argues that Marx's theories are still relevant in capital societies and are present in spectral form. He writes: "At a time when a new world disorder is attempting to install its neo-capitalism and neo-liberalism, no disavowal has managed to rid itself of all Marx's ghosts."³⁶ When proponents of capitalism declare communism a thing of the past, "they do no more than disavow the undeniable itself: a ghost never dies, it remains always to come and to come-back."³⁷

Fetish objects are often haunted by the past. McClintock argues that fetishes are "*haunted* by both personal and historical memory."³⁸ Olympic-related commodities, I argue, are haunted by the memory of disturbing parts of Canadian history. Indeed, the authors of the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, published in 1996, write that the ghosts of Canadian history "haunt us still. The ghosts take the form of dishonoured treaties, theft of Aboriginal lands, suppression of Aboriginal cultures, abduction of Aboriginal children, impoverishment and disempowerment of Aboriginal peoples."³⁹ As I show in my project, these ghosts also haunt everyday consumer goods like HBC mittens and Petro Canada glassware.

³⁵ Ibid., 194.

³⁶ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 45-6.

³⁷ Ibid., 123.

³⁸ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 184-185, italics added.

³⁹ Canada, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), *Highlights from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: People to People, Nation to Nation* (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014597/1100100014637>; Emilie Cameron links this passage in RCAP to the concept of haunting. See: Emilie Cameron, "Indigenous spectrality and the politics of postcolonial ghost stories," *Cultural Geographies* 15, no. 3 (2008): 383-393.

Gordon describes ghostly matters as “seething absences”⁴⁰ or, in other words, absences that can be perceived and felt and asserts that “the ghostly haunt gives notice that something is missing.”⁴¹ Similarly, Derrida writes that the “non-presence of the specter demands that one take its times and its history into consideration, the singularity of its temporality or of its historicity.”⁴² Noticing how invisible or imperceptible things make their presence felt is not limited to material things like bodies but, rather, extends to immaterial things like historical facts. Moreover, an investigation of a haunting brings to light information that has been excluded from conscious public memory. In Canada, exposing information about the nation’s history that continues to haunt contemporary society is an important step toward achieving a more just society because it compels non-Indigenous Canadians to reckon with and come to terms with the nation’s colonial past. According to Gordon, reckoning with ghosts requires “providing a hospitable memory for ghosts *out of a concern for justice*.”⁴³ This type of reckoning draws attention to people or things that have been neglected and allows scholars to “make contact with what is without doubt often painful, difficult, and unsettling.”⁴⁴ Derrida similarly argues that exorcising a ghost does not chase it away but, rather, allows scholars to grant ghosts “the right, if it means making them come back alive, as *revenants* who would no longer be *revenants*, but as other *arrivants* to whom a hospitable memory or promise must offer welcome...Not in order to grant them the right to this sense but out of a concern for *justice*.”⁴⁵ He further argues that, if the scholar “loves justice,” he will learn from the ghost by discovering how to talk to it.⁴⁶

Learning from the ghosts of Canada’s past means understanding how unjust and traumatic events in the nation’s history destabilize popular narratives that depict the nation as harmonious and free of discord. In their introduction to a special edition of *University of Toronto Quarterly* journal on haunting and Canadian literature, Marlene

⁴⁰ Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 21.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁴² Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 124.

⁴³ Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 60, italics in original.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁴⁵ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 220, italics in original.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 221.

Goldman and Joanne Saul argue that “the spectral presences of North America’s Indigenous peoples and the Québécois repeatedly unsettle the imaginary, unified vision of an Anglo-Canadian nation-state.”⁴⁷ Sharon Rosenberg, Amber Dean, and Kara Granzow argue that Alberta’s Centenary Celebrations, held in 2005, were marked by “a series of haunted encounters that disrupt the centenary’s prevailing remembrance strategy of coherence, pride and accomplishment.”⁴⁸ They further contend that “Alberta’s colonial past *bears on and continues through* its present rather than being ‘settled’ by a recognition of (pre)colonial history or the encouragement of (multi)cultural renewal efforts.”⁴⁹ For example, a picture included in a handbook about the centenary celebrations ostensibly showed a single Aboriginal settlement but the authors discovered that it was actually a composite of 4 or 5 photographs. They argue that the photograph is a “ghost(ed) image: a representation of a repressed yet haunting presence repeatedly disavowed by the origin story of a centennial discourse that evacuates colonial history from the present.”⁵⁰

Emilie Cameron observes that, after the Nisga’a Nation successfully regained its title over a portion of the Stein Valley Nlaka’pamux Heritage Park in British Columbia, unsubstantiated urban legends depicting the valley as haunted emerged. Cameron argues the ghost stories non-Indigenous Canadians told reflected their anxiety over questions about Indigenous peoples’ rightful ownership of the land. She interviewed individuals who described their encounters with the ghosts of the Stein Valley “as frightening, unsettling, and scary, an impression of being unwelcome trespassers in what is ostensibly a public park.”⁵¹ Cameron concludes that, because the language of haunting can “re-inscribe the interests of the powerful upon the meaning and memories of place,”⁵² geography scholars should be wary of using Gordon’s theorization of haunting in their work. While I appreciate Cameron’s emphasis on the importance of using appropriate

⁴⁷ Marlene Goldman, and Joanne Saul, "Talking with ghosts: haunting in Canadian cultural production," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2006): 648.

⁴⁸ Sharon Rosenberg, Amber Dean, and Kara Granzow, "Centennial hauntings: Reckoning with the 2005 celebration of Alberta's history," *Memory Studies* 3, no. 4 (2010): 397.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 398, italics in original.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 404.

⁵¹ Cameron, "Indigenous spectrality and the politics of postcolonial ghost stories," 386.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 390.

language in academic writing, I do not share her conclusions. Unlike the Settlers in Cameron's article, Gordon encourages scholars to embrace, rather than repudiate, ghosts and to find ways to learn from these ghosts. According to this perspective, the ghost stories about the Stein Valley are haunted themselves. The stories are haunted by the fact that Settler Canadians settled on land that was inhabited by Indigenous peoples who have a rightful claim to that land.

Confronting the ghosts that haunt Canada can be an uncanny experience. Warren Cariou argues that the recent resurgence of Indigenous ghosts in Prairie literature "reflects a widespread and perhaps growing anxiety suffered by Settlers regarding the legitimacy of their claims to belonging on what they call 'their land'."⁵³ Cariou describes this anxiety in Freudian terms, as uncanny. Freud argues: "Uncanny is what one calls everything that was meant to remain secret and has come into the open."⁵⁴ The German word for uncanny is *un-heimlich*, which literally means unhomely (*heimlich* means homely).⁵⁵ Francis writes: "an experience of the uncanny can emerge when the place one considers home is somehow rendered unfamiliar."⁵⁶ According to Cariou, the Settlers' uncanny fear was linked to "a lurking sense that the places Settlers call home are not really theirs, a sense that their current legitimacy as owners or renters in a capitalist land market might well be predicated upon theft, fraud, violence, and other injustices in the past."⁵⁷

Conceptualizing Olympic commodities as haunted by unpleasant facts about Canadian identity and history can arouse an uncanny feeling in consumers. In other words, the potential for the uncanny emerges when consumers acknowledge and confront the truths about national history and identity that are not publicized in popular narratives about the nation. For Derrida, the uncanny and haunting are linked. The word "uncanny," he writes, "is the word of irreducible haunting or obsession. The most familiar becomes the most disquieting....the familiar, the domestic, or even the national (*heimlich*) frightens itself. It

⁵³ Warren Cariou, "Haunted Prairie: Aboriginal 'Ghosts' and the Spectres of Settlement," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2006): 727.

⁵⁴ Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, trans. David McLintock (London: Penguin Books, 1953), 132.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Francis, *Creative Subversions*, 7.

⁵⁷ Cariou, "Haunted Prairie," 727.

feels itself occupied, in the proper secret (*Geheimnis*) of its inside, by what is most strange, distant, threatening.”⁵⁸ Gordon similarly argues that “uncanny experiences are haunting experiences”⁵⁹ and emphasizes the importance of confronting the uncanny by facing ghosts rather than repudiating them. I argue that Canadians must reckon with how the ghost is felt in the material objects that fill their homes and cover their bodies, even if (or perhaps because) this confrontation is uncanny.

A “Symbol of Canadian Cool:” Branded/Corporate Nationalism

By applying McClintock, Gordon and Derrida’s theories to the Olympics hosted in Canada, I fill a gap in existing scholarship on branded/corporate nationalism and draw attention to the importance of commodities’ symbolic meanings. Steven Jackson defines corporate nationalism as “the process by which corporations, both national and transnational use the nation and its symbolic value for commercial interests.”⁶⁰ Catherine Carstairs uses the term branded nationalism to describe the emergence, in the 1980s, of a new form of Canadian nationalism linked to consumption and branding rather than cultural or economic factors.⁶¹ Carstairs recognizes that many brands use symbols of national identity in their campaigns. Coca-Cola, Ralph Lauren and Tommy Hilfiger include the American flag in their promotional material⁶² while IKEA uses Swedish colours in its brand and ad designs. Moreover, the Swatch brand emblem is a modified version of the Swiss flag.⁶³ What is new about the branded nationalism that emerged in the 1980s, Carstairs argues, is that brands like Roots (a clothing company) have come to

⁵⁸ Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 181.

⁵⁹ Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 50.

⁶⁰ Steven Jackson, “Globalization, Corporate Nationalism and Masculinity in Canada: Sport, Molson Beer Advertising and Consumer Citizenship,” *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics* 17, no. 7 (2014): 902.

⁶¹ Catherine Carstairs, “Roots Nationalism: Branding English Canada Cool in the 1980s and 1990s,” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 39, no. 77 (2006): 235-255.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 240; for further reading, see: Mark Pengergast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola: The Unauthorized History of the Great American Soft Drink and the Company that Makes it* (New York: Macmillan, 1993); Teri Agins, *The End of Fashion: How Mass Marketing Changed the Clothing Business Forever*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2000).

⁶³ Carstairs, “Roots Nationalism,” 240.

represent a distinctly Canadian way of life.⁶⁴ Similarly, Patricia Cormack and John Cosgrave argue that Tim Hortons, a chain of coffee shops in Canada, is “the most successful and long-standing private commercial enterprise to brand itself by way of overt national identity and pride.”⁶⁵

Like Tim Hortons, Canadian beer companies depict themselves as central to national identity. Ira Wagman argues that many Canadian beer ads emphasize the idea that Canadian cultural values are superior to American values.⁶⁶ Gregory Millard, Sarah Riegel, and John Wright use examples from Molson Canadian, Labatt’s, and Roots to debunk the stereotype that Canadians express their national pride less assertively than Americans. They argue that in these companies’ ads, Canadians loudly announce that they are quietly and politely patriotic: “Waving the Canadian flag wherever one goes on grounds that it stands for the ‘quiet North American’ is like entering a library and loudly announcing one’s silence.”⁶⁷

Jackson argues that Molson Canadian’s “I Am [Canadian]” ad campaign united stereotypes about masculinity and Canadian identity and produced hegemonic “masculine nationalisms” and “national masculinisms.”⁶⁸ Further, a series of the “I am [Canadian]” ads that aired during the 2008 Stanley Cup Finals exemplified “the holy trinity of sport, beer and masculinity within a particular expression of nationalism.”⁶⁹ Like Jackson, Mary Louise Adams introduces considerations of sport and gender into scholarship on branded/corporate nationalism. Adams uses the example of a Labatt’s ad aired during the 1998 Nagano Winter Olympics to support her argument that narratives depicting hockey

⁶⁴ Ibid., 241.

⁶⁵ Patricia Cormack, and James Cosgrave, *Desiring Canada: CBC, Contests, Hockey Violence, and Other Stately Pleasures* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 64.

⁶⁶ Ira Wagman, “Wheat, Barley, Hops, Citizenship: Molson’s ‘I Am [Canadian]’ Campaign,” *The Velvet Light Trap - A Critical Journal of Film and Television* Fall (2002): 87.

⁶⁷ Gregory Millard, Sarah Riegel, and John Wright, “Here’s where we get Canadian: English-Canadian nationalism and popular culture,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 1 (2002): 78.

⁶⁸ Jackson, “Globalization, Corporate Nationalism and Masculinity in Canada,” 909.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 909.

as the iconic symbol of Canadian identity privilege native-born, white men.⁷⁰ In the Labatt's ad, white men play an impromptu game of shinny while women and people of colour watch the game from the sidelines.

Carstairs notes that, beginning in the 1980s, Canadians began to embrace Roots clothing as a way to express their patriotism.⁷¹ The Roots "poor-boy" hats that sold during the 1998 Nagano Olympics were unexpectedly popular and, in Carstairs' words, became "an international symbol of Canadian cool."⁷² Cormack and Cosgrave argue that difference and identity are increasingly being constructed through consumption and "the subtle and endless meanings that coffee allows makes it the ideal commodity for the work of identity."⁷³ Unfortunately, Carstairs and Cormack and Cosgrave do not devote a great deal of attention to the symbolic meaning of Roots hats or Tim Hortons coffee cups or other merchandise. I fill this gap by examining the meaning and significance of commodities that represent the nation. To be clear, I do not ignore the importance of promotional campaigns but, rather, illustrate that it is important to study the symbolic meanings of commodities in addition to analyzing ad narratives.

Carstairs argues that Roots nationalism lacks the positive features of earlier versions of Canadian nationalism such as tolerance, diversity, and community.⁷⁴ Similarly, Millard et al. describe the version of nationalism in ads for Molson, Labatt's and Roots as an "in-your-face, though ultimately empty nationalism."⁷⁵ I take a different view to Carstairs and Millard et al. and argue that the nationalism represented through Olympic commodities is not empty or void of positive values like harmony and tolerance. On the contrary: it is too full of these, bursting with contradictory ideas about national values and identity. Additionally, Carstairs and Millard et al. do not consider how commodities

⁷⁰ Mary Louise Adams, "The Game of whose Lives? Gender, Race and Entitlement in Canada's 'National' Game," in *Artificial Ice: Hockey, Culture and Commerce*, ed. by David Whitson and Richard Gruneau. (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2006), 71.

⁷¹ Carstairs, "Roots Nationalism," 236.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 236.

⁷³ Cormack and Cosgrave, *Desiring Canada*, 69.

⁷⁴ Carstairs, "Roots Nationalism," 254.

⁷⁵ Millard et al., "Here's Where We Get Canadian," 19.

represent ideas about early European settlement in Canada, a form of representation that, I argue, is highly selective.

Surprisingly, scholars have not studied the significance of the fact that children and teens often consume nation-branded products like Roots clothing. I argue that, like other Olympic-related objects, Olympic mascots marketed to children embody contradictory ideas about the nation. Furthermore, the educational resources that Olympic organizing committees distributed to schools in Canada taught children about these mascots and exposed students to ideas about Canadian history, culture, and values that were consistent with the ones conveyed through Olympic-related promotional practices. These resources exemplify the fact that, during the Olympic Games in Canada, political and commercial narratives about national identity often converged.

Wagman and Cosgrave and Cormack argue convincingly that commercial practices in Canada have political effects. Wagman writes that the Canadian Heritage Minister Sheila Copps showed a Molson Canadian ad during a talk she delivered at the International Press Institute's World Congress in 2000. The talk was part of a panel discussion called "American Culture: The People's Choice or a Form of Imperialism?" and Copps used the ad to argue that Canadians did not like the homogenizing effects of globalization.⁷⁶ According to Wagman, Copps' decision to show the Molson ad allowed her to make a rhetorically effective point and enhanced Molson's brand image.⁷⁷ Like Copps, Peter McKay, Canada's Foreign Minister, bridged cultural and political spheres in 2006 when he took the U.S. Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, to a Tim Hortons kiosk in Afghanistan. Cormack and Cosgrave argue that politicians affiliate themselves with the Tim Hortons brand in order to gain legitimacy and appeal to voters because the company has effectively positioned itself as "the new authority for the collective practice of memory over and against other sources."⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Wagman, "Wheat, Barley, Hops, Citizenship," 84.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁷⁸ Cormack and Cosgrave, *Desiring Canada*, 74.

Marketizing Social Life: Neo-Liberalism and Market Fundamentalism

The Montreal Olympics occurred in 1976, when branded nationalism had yet to emerge as a popular phenomenon in Canada. By the time Calgary hosted the Olympics in 1988, however, branded nationalism had become a popular marketing tool. Thus, a comparison of the commercial practices linked to the Montreal and Calgary Games provides insight into the rise and evolution of branded nationalism in the country. Carstairs identifies two reasons why branded nationalism became prominent in the 1980s. First, brands were responding to Canadians' concern that the US-Canada Free Trade Agreement, signed in 1988, would cause American culture to eclipse Canadian culture. Second, a number of events fragmented Canadians' sense of shared identity.⁷⁹ In 1990 and again in 1992, the government failed to pass a constitutional amendment recognizing Quebec as a distinct society. Moreover, in 1990, a sustained and at times violent confrontation broke out between the Quebec provincial police (and, eventually the Canadian army) and members of the Mohawk Nation over contested land in Oka, Quebec. Moreover, during the 1995 referendum on Quebec sovereignty, 49% of Quebecers voted "yes" to the question: "Do you agree that Québec should become sovereign?"⁸⁰

Belisle argues that, although branded nationalism became pronounced in the 1980s and 1990s, it did not emerge at that time. Rather, the phenomenon dates back to the 1890s, when Eaton's, Simpson's, and the HBC depicted their department stores as national icons.⁸¹ Similarly, Paula Hastings argues that in the early 1900s representations of the Canadian landscape and political figures "permeated the language and iconography of consumer culture."⁸² For example, images of the Canadian Parliament buildings, political

⁷⁹ Carstairs, "Roots Nationalism," 248.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 249-50; the full question read: "Do you agree that Québec should become sovereign, after having made a formal offer to Canada for a new economic and political partnership, within the scope of the Bill respecting the future of Québec and of the agreement signed on 12 June 1995?"

⁸¹ Donica Belisle, *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 54.

⁸² Paula Hastings, "Branding Canada: Consumer Culture and the Development of Popular Nationalism in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Canadas of the Mind: The Making and Unmaking of Canadian*

figures, rural landscapes, and Indigenous peoples appeared on labels for products like canned fruits and vegetables, shoe polish, cream separator, and tomato chutney.⁸³

Carstairs, however, never argues that branded nationalism emerged in the 1980s and she acknowledges that Canadian companies used symbols of the nation in their marketing campaigns prior to the '80s. Her central argument is: "What is new is the degree to which Canadians have been willing to drape themselves in branded products such as Roots and Molson Canadian gear, embracing them as part of a Canadian way of life."⁸⁴

The Montreal Olympic coin and stamp programs failed to meet fundraising targets, I argue, partly because Canadians were not familiar with branded nationalism in 1976. On the other hand, branded nationalism was prevalent in 1988, when Calgary hosted the Olympics, and its prevalence helps explain why the Olympic mugs that Petro Canada produced became so popular. Additionally, the marketing and branding of national identity in the Vancouver Olympics was more intense and prevalent than in the previous two Olympic Games. In Vancouver, ideas about the nation permeated Olympic-related promotional and cultural practices to an unprecedented degree. Canadians were not only, in Carstairs words, "willing to drape themselves in branded products" but were inundated with promotional messages about the value of this activity.⁸⁵

In addition to the factors Carstairs identifies (NAFTA and the fragmentation of national identity), another factor helped popularize branded nationalism in the 1980s. The rise of neo-liberalism and market fundamentalism contributed to the popularity of Olympic commodities that symbolized the nation and shaped the organizing of the Calgary and Vancouver Olympic Games. As David Harvey writes, neo-liberalism is an economic theory which "proposes that human well-being can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework

nationalisms in the twentieth Century, ed. Norman Hillmer and Adam Chapnick (Montreal: Press, McGill-Queen's University, 2007), 134.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁸⁴ Carstairs, "Roots nationalism," 240.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 240.

characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade.”⁸⁶

Proponents of a neo-liberal economic model favour minimal government involvement in citizens’ lives and few restrictions on market capitalism. Thus, neo-liberals reject Keynesianism, an economic policy which asserts that the success of capitalist economic systems depends on government regulation of the market. In contrast to Keynesianism, neo-liberalism is underpinned by the belief that individuals’ prosperity, freedom, and happiness thrives when governments allow market capitalism to operate largely unfettered.⁸⁷

Margaret Somers uses the term market fundamentalism to describe a comprehensive worldview and political movement governed by the belief that market capitalism exists in a natural state outside the realm of politics and government and, as such, should not be heavily regulated.⁸⁸ Somers acknowledges that market fundamentalism is similar to neo-liberalism but she prefers the former term because many Americans, who associate “liberalism” with left-wing ideals, sometimes find the word neo-liberalism confusing.⁸⁹ Somers also prefers this term because it highlights that market fundamentalists, like religious fundamentalists, build a system of beliefs around a central idea (the natural state of the market).⁹⁰ George Soros used the term to describe the idea that all aspects of social life should be organized according to market principles.⁹¹ Accordingly, any element of government or civil society that is not marketized is coercive and inefficient. Somers defines marketization as “the processes, techniques, policies, and technologies used to convert all areas of social life that are considered inefficiently marketized into markets or pseudo markets.”⁹² Thus, under market fundamentalism, goods and services that were not previously subject to market pressure become treated as commodities that can be priced

⁸⁶ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 2.

⁸⁷ Inger Stole, "Philanthropy as Public Relations: A Critical Perspective on Cause Marketing," *Journal of Communication* 2 (2008): 21.

⁸⁸ Margaret Somers, *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to have Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 73.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, n. 15.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 81.

and sold.⁹³ In accordance with Somers, I use the term market fundamentalism to describe the philosophy that all areas of social life should function according to the logic of the market. In contrast, I use the term neo-liberalism to describe specific economic practices and policies.⁹⁴

Nation, region, and city branding practices exemplify the market fundamentalist drive to turn all elements of society into marketable commodities. These practices use marketing strategies taken from the corporate world to situate geographic regions competitively within the global economy. Thus, nation/region/city branding “allows national governments to better manage and control the image they project to the world, and to attract the ‘right’ kinds of investment, tourism, trade and talent, successfully competing with a growing pool of national contenders for a shrinking set of resources.”⁹⁵

Scholarship on nation, region, and city branding first emerged in the early 2000s in the fields of marketing and business studies.⁹⁶ Simon Anholt’s book, *Competitive identity: The new brand management for nations, cities and regions*, is a formative text on this topic. Anholt is a branding consultant who claims to have coined the term “nation branding.”⁹⁷ Since 2005, Anholt has released an annual Anholt Nations Brands Index (ANBI), which measures a country’s global brand equity. Anholt also writes about city

⁹³ Ibid., 81.

⁹⁴ Jules Boykoff argues that the concept of “celebration capitalism” best describes the economic system that underpins recent Olympic Games, beginning in 2004 with the Athens Olympics. Celebration capitalism strategically uses moments of euphoria to push the economy closer to a lopsided public-private partnership, in which private companies benefit from public funding. According to Boykoff, celebration capitalism is a better model than neo-liberalism to describe the economic system underpinning the Olympics because the key tenets of neo-liberalism such as privatization and the relaxation of regulation, are not applicable to the Olympics. Rather, the Games are funded by enormous amounts of public and the IOC imposes strict rules upon the host country regarding financing and other commitments. While Boykoff correctly identifies public-private partnerships as key features of recent Olympic Games, I prefer Somers’ theory of market fundamentalism to Boykoff’s theory of celebration capitalism. As I demonstrate in my discussion of the Vancouver Olympics, public *and* private funds (as well as public-private partnerships) were used to achieve a key market fundamentalist goal, namely the drive towards marketizing all aspects of social life. Moreover, I identify the 1988 Calgary Olympics as governed by market fundamentalist principles; thus, unlike Boykoff’s theory, Somers’ theory applies to pre- and post-2004 Olympics. See: Jules Boykoff, *Celebration Capitalism and the Olympic Games* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

⁹⁵ Melissa Aronczyk, “‘Living the Brand’: Nationality, Globality and the Identity Strategies of Nation Branding Consultants,” *International Journal of Communication* 2 (2008): 42.

⁹⁶ See: Simon Anholt, *Competitive identity: The new brand management for nations, cities and regions*. (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007); Michalis Kavaratzis, “From city marketing to city branding: towards a theoretical framework for developing city brands,” *Place Branding* 1, no.1 (2004): 58-73.

⁹⁷ Aronczyk, “Living the Brand,” 46 n. 11.

branding and place or destination branding, which relies on the same logic that governs nation branding and treats geographical locations “as ‘products’ to be marketed, through tourism development and branding activities.”⁹⁸

The best known nation branding campaigns associated with the Olympics are linked to the 2000 Sydney and 2004 Athens Olympics. The Australian Tourist Commission launched the Brand Australia campaign in 1995, two years after the IOC awarded Sydney the 2000 Summer Olympics. This campaign brought together and strengthened three brands: Brand Australia, the Olympic brand, and Olympic partners’ brands.⁹⁹ Roy Panagiotopoulou argues that hosting the 2004 Athens Summer Games helped Greece push for a greater role within the European Union (EU) and improve its infrastructure.¹⁰⁰ Pere Berkowitz et al. argue that one of the reasons that China scores low on the ANBI is because of incidents like Tiananmen Square which tarnished the country’s international image.¹⁰¹ Writing before China hosted the Olympics, Berkowitz et al. argued that China could improve its ANBI rating by using the Beijing Games to re-brand itself and re-shape the international community’s perception of the government. Writing after the Beijing Olympics, Li Zhang and Simon Xiaobin Zhao argue that, for Beijing, hosting the 2008 Games only partially changed global perception of the city’s brand. While citizens and tourists were impressed by its economic growth, the realities of everyday life in Beijing, such as its substandard housing and poverty contradicted and the ideas that city branders promoted.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Li Zhang & Simon Xiaobin Zhao, “City Branding and the Olympic effect: A case study of Beijing,” *Cities*, 26 (2009): 246.

⁹⁹ Graham Brown, Laurence Chalip, Leo Jago and Trevor Mules, “Developing Brand Australia: examining the role of events,” in *Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition*, second edition, eds. Nigel Morgan, Annette Pritchard and Roger Pride (Oxford: Elsevier, Butterworth-Heinemann, 2004), 297

¹⁰⁰ Roy Panagiotopoulou, ‘Hosting the Olympic Games: From promoting the nation to nation-branding,’ in *Sport and the Transformation of Modern Europe: States, Media and Markets 1950-2010*, eds. Alan Tomlinson, Christopher Young and Richard Holt (New York: Routledge, 2012), 159; Greece’s role in the EU changed dramatically in 2010 when it accepted billions of dollars in loans from the Eurozone to ease its debts and the 2004 Olympics are seen today as a contributing factor to the country’s eventual bankruptcy.

¹⁰¹ Pere Berkowitz, George Gjermano, Lee Gomez and Gary Schafer, “Brand China: Using the 2008 Olympic Games to enhance China’s image,” *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 3, no. 2 (2007): 169; note the authors’ use of de-politicized language to discuss the Tiananmen Square massacre.

¹⁰² Zhang and Zhao, “City Branding and the Olympic Effect,” 246.

Zhang and Zhao do not view the gap between the appearance and reality of Beijing's city branding campaign as an ethical problem. Rather, they argue that the campaign failed because it did not successfully convert citizens into "brand ambassadors."¹⁰³ This perspective overlooks the fact that socially and economically marginalized citizens are often unable or unwilling to represent their city in a favourable way to the global community. In fact, these scholars do not consider the social and political implications of nation branding in the Olympics. In contrast, Aronczyk, Zala Volcic and Mark Andrejevic have provided insightful critiques of nation branding. Aronczyk argues that the practice shifts decision making about culture from the political to the corporate sphere. She writes:

By transposing authority from elected government officials to advertising and branding professionals, by replacing accountability with facilitation, and by fitting discussions of the nation into categories that privilege a particular kind of collective representation over diverse expression, nation branding affects the moral basis of national citizenship¹⁰⁴

Similarly, Volcic and Andrejevic use the example of Slovenia's nation branding campaign to argue that nation branding frames national identity as a consumer choice "rather than a site of collective belonging and action."¹⁰⁵ Moreover, Aronczyk and Volcic and Andrejevic argue that nation branding campaigns oblige citizens to "live" the nation's brand by compelling them to build, reinforce, and reproduce a nation's brand identity.¹⁰⁶ In other words, nation branders offload "the work of message circulation onto the populace."¹⁰⁷ For Aronczyk, this obligation glosses over the pluralities, conflicts, and potentials for resistance in public life and, rather, perpetuates a homogenous version of national identity and culture.¹⁰⁸ I add to these critiques by showing how region and

¹⁰³ Ibid., 252

¹⁰⁴ Aronczyk, "Living the Brand," 43.

¹⁰⁵ Zala Volcic and Mark Andrejevic, "Nation Branding in the Era of Commercial Nationalism," *International Journal of Communications* 5 (2011): 611.

¹⁰⁶ Aronczyk, "Living the Brand," 54; Volcic and Andrejevic, "Nation Branding in the Era of Commercial Nationalism," 602.

¹⁰⁷ Volcic and Andrejevic, "Nation Branding in the Era of Commercial Nationalism," 600.

¹⁰⁸ Aronczyk, "Living the Brand," 55.

corporate branding practices mutually supported one another during the Calgary Olympics. Collectively, they helped shape public perception of the petroleum industry in Alberta and gave the impression that the province should have jurisdiction over its oil and gas resources. However, these branding practices obscured the devastating effect that oil and gas extraction practices were having on the Lubicon Cree, whose territory in northern Alberta sat on valuable petroleum reserves.

A “Market Exchange:” Cause-Related Marketing and the Contractualization of Citizenship

In addition to examining nation/city/region branding, my project considers the Olympics in Canada in relation to two other phenomena that emerged within the context of neo-liberalism and market fundamentalism: cause-related marketing and the contractualization of citizenship. Cause-related marketing (CRM) is a practice in which brands affiliate themselves with a social cause and create marketing campaigns that help raise money for this cause.¹⁰⁹ CRM campaigns encourage individual consumers, rather than governments, to contribute to social services and emerged within a neo-liberal economic environment.¹¹⁰ Inger Stole argues that when governments began to cut investments in social services in the late 1970s in accordance with neo-liberal economic policies, businesses teamed up with private not-for profit organizations that were seeking to repair a broken safety net.¹¹¹ She writes: “Cause marketing fills a function, not only as a promoter of products and producer of consumer goodwill, but in [sic] an important tool in the neo-liberal struggle for greater privatization of welfare and social services.”¹¹² Samantha King argues that CRM is a type of strategic philanthropy. She argues that, prior to the 1980s, companies used to support charities in random and unscientific ways. However, they began treating their philanthropic practices as activities that could increase

¹⁰⁹ Stole, "Philanthropy as Public Relations: A Critical Perspective on Cause Marketing," 26.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 33.

profits.¹¹³ Most large corporations now focus on one charitable cause (i.e. breast cancer, environmentalism), integrate their giving programs with their marketing and public affairs programs, form partnerships with outside groups, provide incentives to employees who volunteer for the cause and measure the results of their giving programs.¹¹⁴

Like Stole, King situates the emergence of strategic philanthropy within a neo-liberal economic context. She writes: under neoliberalism, “public-private initiatives and individual corporate giving are promoted as morally and economically viable means through which to respond to social needs, in lieu of the state’s role in mitigating the social effects of capitalism.”¹¹⁵ King points out that, in 1981, U.S. President Ronald Reagan created the Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives to encourage individuals and private companies to support non-profit organizations. The President also increased the amount of charitable donations that companies could deduct from their taxes, which gave them added incentive to donate money to social causes. At the same time, public funding for non-profit companies dried up and companies began receiving an unprecedented number of requests for aid from non-profit organizations.¹¹⁶ As companies fought to succeed within a highly competitive business environment, businesspeople began evaluating their companies’ philanthropic practices using the same measures they used to evaluate other business practices and started to treat charitable donations as investments. CRM emerged as an effective way for companies to increase their brand value and earn consumer loyalty.¹¹⁷

A portion of the proceeds from sales of many commodities sold during the Montreal, Calgary, and Vancouver Olympics helped fund the Games. The promotional campaigns for these products shared many similarities with CRM. Olympic organizers and sponsors told Canadians that they could materially support the Olympics hosted in Canada and demonstrate their national pride and loyalty by buying these commodities. I show that

¹¹³ Samantha King, *Pink Ribbons, Inc.: Breast Cancer and the Politics of Philanthropy*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 2.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, xxvii.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6-9.

this option was open to Canadians as early as the 1976 Montreal Olympics, when the proceeds of the sales of Olympic coins and stamps helped fund the Games, but it only became successful during the 1988 Calgary Games.

At the same time as CRM was becoming popular, citizenship was becoming contractualized. Somers uses the phrase “the contractualization of citizenship” to describe “the process by which the government’s relationship with its citizenry changes from noncontractualism to contractual quid pro quo market exchange.”¹¹⁸ She recognizes that the ability to enter into private contract with others has, historically, been understood as a right that citizens hold. However, Somers holds that the criteria used to determine citizenship was never limited to a person’s contractual relationship to the state until the rise of market fundamentalism. She argues that, under market fundamentalism, inclusion in a national, civil, and political community is a privilege that citizens earn by contributing to the nation in economically profitable ways.¹¹⁹ She writes:

when citizenship has been contractualized, failing to provide a good or service of equivalent market value in exchange for what is now the *privilege* of citizenship, results in a reduction of the moral worth of the citizenship. And depending on the degree and frequency and quality of such failures to meet contractual criteria, there will be an increasing refusal to recognize the citizen as deserving of membership altogether in the political and social community.¹²⁰

Thus, only individuals who make profitable contributions to their community, such as adding to the economy by working a job, are valued and included within that community.¹²¹ Somers defines social inclusion as “the right to *recognition* by others as a

¹¹⁸ Somers, *Genealogies of Citizenship*, 87.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 70-117.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 89, italics in original.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 110.

moral equal treated by the same standards and values and due the same level or respect and dignity as all other members.”¹²²

Drawing on Somers, I argue that during the 1988 Calgary and 2010 Vancouver Games Canadians could earn the privilege of citizenship by buying Olympic-related commodities. For example, a portion of the proceeds from sales of Petro Canada commemorative mugs and red and white HBC mittens helped fund Olympic athletes; as such, Canadians made materially valuable contributions to the nation and supported the Games when they purchased these objects. The fact that Canadians could earn the privilege of citizenship by consuming Olympic commodities reveals that the categories of citizen and consumer have become blurred, but not in the way that scholars have traditionally written about the citizen-consumer hybrid. Lizabeth Cohen and Michael Schudson argue that consumerism and citizenship, long believed to be oppositional categories, are interconnected.¹²³ Of course, citizens are also consumers (and vice versa), but citizenship and consumption were considered separate categories, the former relegated to the public sphere and the latter to the private sphere.¹²⁴ In her study of the history of consumer culture in the United States, Lizabeth Cohen found: “Rather than isolated ideal types, citizen and consumer were ever-shifting categories that sometimes overlapped, often were in tension, but always reflected the permeability of the political and economic spheres.”¹²⁵ Michael Schudson argues that consumption practices often have political dimensions to them. Consumer choices, he maintains, have political implications and, conversely, political choices share many similarities with consumer choices.¹²⁶ According to Schudson, people are “doing politics” when they vote, but also when they choose to hold a trade union meeting in a particular hotel, when they buy a

¹²² Ibid., 5, italics in original

¹²³ Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2003); Michael Schudson, "The Troubling Equivalence of Citizen and Consumer," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 608 (2006): 193-204.

¹²⁴ Frank Trentman, "Introduction: Citizenship and Consumption," *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 7 no. 2 (2007): 147.

¹²⁵ Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*, 8; Cohen argues that, in the 1930s, Americans' ethical and social values influenced their consumer choices. The most visible citizen consumers at this time were middle-class women who boycotted businesses until they agreed to lower prices and improve wages and working conditions for their female employees.

¹²⁶ Schudson, "The Troubling Equivalence of Citizen and Consumer," 198.

ticket to a benefit concert or donate their frequent flyer miles to a charitable organization.¹²⁷

Many people use consumption, or non-consumption, to agitate for social change. In 2006, Deirdre Shaw, Terry Newholm, and Roger Dickinson interviewed ethical shoppers in the United Kingdom and found that “in many instances participants viewed their market vote as more effective than a vote in a political election.”¹²⁸ Similarly, in his study of consumer boycotts of Starbucks, Bryant Simon argues that citizens often use consumption as a way to become politically engaged. He writes: “Through their consumer actions, shoppers are attempting to shape policy and be heard in the corridors of state power, recognizing that even if formal politics have lost their traction, access to government and broader structures of power still matters.”¹²⁹ Americans boycotted Starbucks to voice their positions on a range of issues including police accountability, gun control, food production and politics in the Middle East. Simon argues that consumers are using their “power as consumers, ahead of their power as voters, to try to shape the social order.”¹³⁰

In the context of the Olympics in Canada, some activist groups advocated consumer boycotts as a way to bring about social change. For example, during the Vancouver Olympics, the ORN encouraged individuals to boycott the HBC. However, most Canadians did not act like the consumer-citizens Cohen, Shaw et al. and Simon describe, who linked consumption (or anti-consumption) to social activism. Rather, understood in the context of Somers’ theory of the contractualization of citizenship, consumption was often a way that Canadians earned citizenship and, correspondingly, the right to be included in civil and political society. While these consumers were not trying to change

¹²⁷ Ibid., 202.

¹²⁸ Deirdre Shaw, Terry Newholm, and Roger Dickinson, “Consumption as voting: an exploration of consumer empowerment,” *European Journal of Marketing* 40, no. 9/10 (2006):1056. Although their findings are significant, the authors’ conclusions are based on a small sample size: they conducted in-depth interviews with 10 people.

¹²⁹ Bryant Simon, “Not going to Starbucks: Boycotts and the out-scouring of politics in the branded world,” *Journal of Consumer Culture* 11, no. 2 (2011): 147.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 161.

public policy, their consumer practices are salient examples of Cohen and Schudson's argument that consumption cannot be neatly separated from civic life.

Cormack argues that the roles of citizens and consumers are not easily reconciled: "The obligation of the citizen is to maintain an imaginative or thoughtful relationship to the notion of the common good. The consumer is not a political actor in this sense, at least not without a huge degradation of the notion of the political."¹³¹ Drawing on this critique, I argue that that using Olympic-related commodities to express and reflect national identity is deeply flawed. Consumers are not obliged to be thoughtful about the symbolism of consumer goods. The pleasure derived from buying and owning objects lies at the core of consumption and consumers often experience pleasure from things that, on a superficial level, represent positive Canadian values. On the other hand, Canadian citizens concerned with the common good should grapple with difficult and unpleasant issues, such as conflicts between Indigenous groups and the government over unresolved land claims. Moreover, by applying Somers' work to a consideration of Olympic commodities, I add to Johnson and Cormack's critiques of consumer citizens. I show that, in the context of the Olympics, what is at stake in the convergence of these two identities is the status of citizenship in Canada. Specifically, individuals who do not endorse the symbolic meanings of Olympic-related commodities are often unable to earn the rights and privileges of Canadian citizenship.

The Gap Between "Idealist Rhetoric" and Reality: Commercializing the Olympic Games

One additional socio-economic factor helps explain why branded nationalism was more prominent in the 1988 Calgary and 2010 Vancouver Olympics compared to the 1976 Montreal Olympics. Specifically, the Olympics became more commercialized in the 1980s. In their book, *Selling the Five Rings: the IOC and the Rise of Olympic*

¹³¹ Patricia Cormack, "Double-Double: Branding, Tim Hortons, and the Public Sphere," *Political Marketing in Canada*, ed. Alex Marchand, Thierry Giasson and Jennifer Lees-Marshment (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 222.

Commercialism, Bob Barney, Stephen Wenn, and Scott Martyn argue that the IOC transformed itself from a sporting body to a commercial organization in the early 1980s. During Juan Antonio Samaranch's term as President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), from 1980-2001, the IOC took control of the TV rights negotiation process from host cities and forged a closer relationship with corporate sponsors.¹³² Barney et al. and Alan Tomlinson argue that the 1984 Los Angeles (LA) Summer Olympics marked a turning point for the commercialization of the Olympics. Unlike previous Games, which for the most part were unprofitable, organizers of the LA Games generated a surplus of over \$22 million (US) and relied exclusively on private funds to fund the Games.¹³³ Gary Whannel argues that, before the LA Games, most countries did not want to host the Olympics because the associated costs were too high. However, when the 1984 Games showed that one could host the Games without going into enormous debt, countries renewed their interest in hosting the Olympics.¹³⁴

Barney et al. argue that, more than any other factor, income from broadcast rights, which increased significantly in the 1980s, transformed the IOC into a profitable entity.¹³⁵ TV networks pay enormous sums of money to secure the broadcast rights to the Olympics because they can make money off ad sales and can promote their own TV shows to a large and captive audience.¹³⁶ Maurice Roche argues that TV influences the nature and scale of major sporting events, especially the Olympics, and that TV complements the Olympics by adding to their intensity and dramatic appeal.¹³⁷ Andrew Billings argues that broadcasters skew audiences' perception of the Olympics by creating highly edited and

¹³² Robert Barney, Scott Wenn, and Scott Martyn. *Selling the Five Rings: The International Olympic committee and the Rise of Olympic Commercialism*, (Utah: University of Utah Press, 2002), 151, 232.

¹³³ Barney et al., *Selling the Five Rings*, p. 194; Alan Tomlinson, "The Commercialisation of the Olympics: Cities, Corporations, and the Olympic Commodity," in *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games*, ed. Kevin Young and Kevin Wamsley (Boston: Elsevier Jai, 2005), 184-185.

¹³⁴ Gary Whannel, "The Five Rings and the Small Screen: Television, Sponsorship and New Media in the Olympic Movement," in *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games*, ed. Kevin Young and Kevin Wamsley (Bingley: Emerald JAI, 2007), 165.

¹³⁵ Barney et al. *Selling the Five Rings*, 101.

¹³⁶ See: Barney et al., *Selling the Five Rings*; Garry Whannel, "Television and the Transformation of Sport," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 625, no. 1 (2009): 205-218; Andrew Billings, *Olympic Media: Inside the biggest Show on Television*, (New York: Routledge, 2008).

¹³⁷ Maurice Roche, *Mega-Events and Modernity: Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture*, (London: Routledge, 2000).

packaged telecasts of events. For example, he found that viewers of NBC's broadcast of the 2006 Torino Winter Olympics estimated that American athletes won approximately three times as many medals as were actually won.¹³⁸

Tomlinson argues that the overt commercialism of the Games transformed them into a celebration of global consumerism rather than of universalism or idealism.¹³⁹ Similarly, Maurice Roche contends that the intrusion of commercialism into the Olympics threatens Olympism.¹⁴⁰ Olympism, the philosophical framework that underpins the Games, maintains that sport helps people co-exist harmoniously and educates young people about peace, justice, fair play, mutual understanding, and international friendship.¹⁴¹ However, according to Roche, "There have always been...major gaps between the idealist rhetoric of Olympism and the realities of international sport culture and political economy," with these gaps widening in the 1980s and 1990s.¹⁴² Other scholars argue that the IOC constructs and articulates Olympic ideals in order to attract commercial interest in the Games. Joseph Maguire et al.'s study of the IOC's "Celebrate Humanity" campaign is a case in point. The ad agency TBWA/Chiat Day developed the Celebrate Humanity Campaign, a multi-platform ad campaign celebrating the Olympic Movement's ideals that launched in 2000.¹⁴³ However, according to Maguire et al., the campaign's true aim was to enhance the brand equity of the Olympics.¹⁴⁴ They maintain that, by drawing attention away from criticisms leveled at the increasing commercialism of the Olympics, the campaign paradoxically made the Olympic brand more attractive to Olympic sponsors.¹⁴⁵

Momin Rahman and Sean Lockwood argue that the IOC references the ancient roots of the Olympic Games in order to enhance the authenticity of the modern Games. This

¹³⁸ Billings, *Olympic Media*, 141.

¹³⁹ Tomlinson, "The Commercialism of the Olympics," 195.

¹⁴⁰ Roche, *Mega-Events and Modernity*, 192.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 194.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 197.

¹⁴³ Joseph Maguire, Sarah Barnard, Katie Bulter, and Peter Golding, "'Celebrate humanity' or 'consumers'?: A critical evaluation of a brand in motion," *Social Identities* 41, no. 1 (2008): 70-71.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 67.

appearance of authenticity, in turn, allows the IOC to secure “the continued commercial and cultural viability of the Games.”¹⁴⁶ In other words, the IOC tries to prevent audiences from realizing that they are being interpellated as consumers by referencing the origins of the Olympics.¹⁴⁷ The IOC establishes this link between the contemporary and ancient Olympics by emphasizing the amateur status of most athletes.¹⁴⁸ However, the Olympic ideal of amateurism is tied to class biases and is historically more nuanced than the IOC’s account. When the modern Olympic Games were revived in 1896, only the upper classes, who had access to private means of income, could afford to participate in sport on an amateur basis.¹⁴⁹ Additionally, athletes who participated in the ancient Greek Olympics often won monetary prizes and were sometimes paid to compete in the Games. Moreover, upon completion of ancient Olympic Games, many successful athletes were given money.¹⁵⁰

Like Olympic ideals of justice, peace, and international co-operation, the national values promoted through Olympics in Canada helped make these Olympics more valuable to marketers and sponsors. The Calgary and Vancouver Games inspired Canadians to feel national loyalty and pride, and marketers drew on these emotions when they promoted products like Petro Canada mugs and HBC mittens. Sporting events are an ideal platform for advertisers to promote brands because viewers are often in a heightened emotional state when they watch the ads.¹⁵¹ Often, these emotions derive from a sports viewers’ strong feelings of national pride. For example, companies who sponsor the FIFA World Cup hope that fans will transfer the loyalty they feel for a national team onto their brands.¹⁵² The fact that the national values celebrated through the Olympics in Canada strengthened their commercial value helps explain why branded/corporate nationalism

¹⁴⁶ Momin Rahman, and Sean Lockwood. "How to 'use your Olympian': the paradox of athletic authenticity and commercialization in contemporary Olympic Games," *Sociology* 45, no. 5 (2011): 817.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 817.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 817.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 823.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 823.

¹⁵¹ David Rowe, *Sport, Culture and the Media*, second edition, (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2004); Robert Madrigal, Coleen Bee and Monica LaBarge, "Using the Olympics and FIFA World Cup to Enhance Global Brand Equity: A Case Study of Two Companies in the Payment Services Category," in *Global Sport Sponsorship* ed. John Amis and T. Betinna Cornwell (New York: Berg, 2005): 179-190.

¹⁵² Madrigal et al., "Using the Olympics and FIFA World Cup to Enhance Global Brand Equity," 182.

was so prevalent during the Games, and why commodities that represent the nation, like the HBC mittens, became so popular.

Whannel argues that the commercialism of the Olympic Games undermines their capacity to engender political protests and activism. He observes that, after 1988, the Olympics were no longer associated with political protests and boycotts and, instead, host cities hoped to build their global image and earn money by hosting the Olympics.¹⁵³ Similarly, Jim McKay contrasts the black power salute of Olympic sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Mexico City Summer Olympics with basketball players Michael Jordan and Charles' Barkley's decision to honour their sponsor, Nike, by refusing to wear a Reebok jacket during the medal ceremony of the 1992 Barcelona Summer Olympics. Jordan and Barkley eventually wore the jacket but hid Reebok's logo by draping themselves in the American flag. McKay writes that a stark difference exists "between the defiant fists of Tommie Smith and John Carlos at Mexico City and the loyal corporate bodies of Barcelona."¹⁵⁴ Helen Lenskyj argues that the Gay Games, which began in 1982 and were intended to be a radical and egalitarian alternative to the Olympics, became undermined by commercial interests and came to emulate the profit-oriented nature of the Olympics.¹⁵⁵

Unlike Wannell, McKay and Lenskyj, I argue that the commercialism of the Olympics in Canada has not eclipsed the political dimensions of the Games. Rather, they mutually reinforced one another. The example of Indigenous activists using the 2000 Sydney Summer Olympics to discuss reconciliation is a case in point. Indigenous groups pressured the Australian government to apologize for the mass removal of Indigenous children from their family homes by government agencies, a practice that occurred between 1910 and 1970. However, the government claimed that the activists would

¹⁵³ Whannel, "The Five Rings and the Small Screen", 168.

¹⁵⁴ Jim McKay, "Enlightened Racism and Celebrity Feminism in Contemporary Sports Advertising Discourse," in *Sport, Culture and Advertising: Identities, Commodities and the Politics of Representation*, ed. Steven Jackson and David Andrews (London: Routledge, 2005), 95.

¹⁵⁵ Helen Lenskyj, "Gay Games or Gay Olympics? Corporate Sponsorship issues," in *Global Sport Sponsorship*, ed. John Amis and T. Bettina Cornwell (New York: Berg, 2005), 281.

tarnish the nation's global image if they continued to demand an apology.¹⁵⁶ Nike released an ad entitled "Sorry" around the same time that activists were demanding an apology. It featured Australian Olympians apologizing, ostensibly for being too preoccupied with training. However, the ad implied that the apology was actually directed at Cathy Freeman, who was the only Indigenous athlete in the ad and the only one who did not apologize. Instead, she ran past the camera and asked, "Can we talk about this later?"¹⁵⁷ Indigenous groups criticized the ad for trivializing the importance of reconciliation as a political issue.¹⁵⁸ McKay argues that the ad effaced institutionalized class and racial barriers that Indigenous peoples face because it only showed successful racial minorities.¹⁵⁹ The ad is also an example of a company making statements about, and dismissing, a controversial national issue. Like the Australian government's unwillingness to address substantive issues related to reconciliation, the ad suggested that an apology to Indigenous peoples (presumably for the mass removal of Indigenous children from their families) could wait.

This dissertation also contributes to scholarship on the commercial dimensions of the Olympic Games held in Canada by focusing on the political and social significance of the fusion of nationalism and consumption in the Games. Writing on the Montreal Olympics, Bruce Kidd, Romain Roul, Sylvain Lefebvre, David Whitson and Donald Macintosh consider political controversies linked to the Montreal Games, but do not address the relationship between the commercial and political dimension of these Games. Kidd argues that the impulse by Montreal Games organizers to "stage grandiose Games and the failings it led to were magnified by the clash of nationalisms which preoccupied and polarized Canadian society during the period."¹⁶⁰ Moreover, he argues that the Games helped ease, but did not eliminate, tensions between French and English Canadians.¹⁶¹ Romain Roul and Sylvain Lefebvre observe that the Montreal Games are "the perfect

¹⁵⁶ Catriona Elder, Angela Pratt, and Cath Ellis, "Running race: Reconciliation, nationalism and the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 41, no. 2 (2006): 181-200.

¹⁵⁷ "Sorry," Nike advertisement, *YouTube*. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aPPF46ASRoM>

¹⁵⁸ McKay, "Enlightened Racism and Celebrity Feminism," 91.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 91.

¹⁶⁰ Bruce Kidd, "The Culture Wars of the Montreal Olympics," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 17, no. 2 (1992), 153.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 159.

model of post-Olympic failure.”¹⁶² Organizers did not adequately plan for post-Olympic use of the stadium and, as a result, it became underused and unprofitable.¹⁶³ Additionally, David Whitson and Donald Macintosh argue that Montreal incurred so much debt from hosting the 1967 World Expo and 1976 Olympics that it was not left with enough money to provide adequate social services to citizens.¹⁶⁴

A number of authors contribute valuable insight about the political implications of the Olympics in Canada by arguing that organizers of these Games misrepresented Indigenous peoples’ cultures and perpetuated long-held stereotypes about them. Christine O’Bonsawin, who is the only scholar to compare Indigenous groups’ participation in the Montreal, Calgary, and Vancouver Games, writes: “Despite varying efforts to incorporate Indigenous people and imagery into official Olympic programs, all three organizing committees (1976, 1988, 2010) have been heavily criticized for failing to follow a respectful process of dialogue and for misappropriating Indigenous cultures.”¹⁶⁵ Janice Forsyth and Kevin Wamsley argue that Montreal Olympics organizers appropriated Indigenous images in order to depict Canada as a multicultural nation.¹⁶⁶ Wamsley and Mike Heine argue that organizers of the Calgary Games relied on archetypes such as the Mountie, the cowboy, and “their symbolic complement, Native people”¹⁶⁷ to depict Calgary as a stereotypical Western Canadian town. Moreover, they argue that organizers involved Indigenous peoples in the planning of the Games in order to divert attention from the Lubicon Lake Cree community’s opposition to the Games.¹⁶⁸ They write: “The advocates for the Games and cultural programs appropriated the discursive power not

¹⁶² Romain Roult, and Sylvain Lefebvre. "Planning and Reconversion of Olympic Heritages: The Montreal Olympic Stadium," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 27, no. 16-18 (2010): 2732.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 2740.

¹⁶⁴ David Whitson, and Donald Macintosh, "The Global Circus: International Sport, Tourism and the Marketing of Cities," *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 23 (1996): 289.

¹⁶⁵ Christine O’Bonsawin, "No Olympics on Stolen Native Land': Contesting Olympic narratives and asserting Indigenous rights," *Sport in Society* 13, no. 1 (2010): 59.

¹⁶⁶ Janice Forsyth, and Kevin Wamsley, "Symbols without substance: Aboriginal peoples and the illusion of Olympic ceremonies," in *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games*, eds. Kevin Young and Kevin Wamsley (Oxford: Elsevier Press, 2005), 234.

¹⁶⁷ Kevin Wamsley, and Mike Heine, "'Don't mess with the relay - it's bad medicine': Aboriginal culture and the 1988 Winter Olympics," in *Olympic Perspectives: Third International Symposium for Olympic Research*, ed. Robert Barney (London: Centre for Olympic Studies, 1996), 173.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 175.

only to strategically incorporate Native symbols for the purposes of the Games, but also to minimize the impact of resistance to the structures of significations produced by such incorporation.”¹⁶⁹

O’Bonsawin argues that organizers and sponsors of the Vancouver Olympics misappropriated symbols of Indigenous cultures. For example, she criticizes the logo of the Vancouver Olympics, an inukshuk (plural: inuksuit), arguing: “Attempts to market inuksuit dishonours Inuit cultures as it threatens to taint and avert their original function” as directional markers.¹⁷⁰ Additionally, the sweaters that the HBC sold at the Vancouver Games were imitations of traditional sweaters made by members of the Cowichan First Nation on Vancouver Island. The HBC admitted that it considered hiring Cowichan knitters, who pass on knitting skills from generation to generation, to make the sweaters but hired a professional company instead because of strict production deadlines.¹⁷¹

I contribute to literature on Indigenous peoples’ involvement in, and opposition to, the Olympics in Canada by critically analyzing Olympic commodities using McLintock’s work on fetish and Gordon’s theory of ghostly. This approach also adds a new perspective on the Games not shown in existing graduate theses on the Vancouver Olympics.¹⁷² I highlight the role that commodities played in shaping how Indigenous

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 176.

¹⁷⁰ Christine O’Bonsawin, “The conundrum of Ilanaaq: First Nations representation and the 2010 Vancouver Olympics,” in *Cultural Imperialism in Action: Critiques in the Global Olympic Trust: Eighth International Symposium for Olympic Research*, eds. Nigel Crowther, Robert Barney and Michael Heine, (London: International Centre for Olympic Studies, 2006), 390.

¹⁷¹ Christine O’Bonsawin, “Indigenous Peoples and Canadian-Hosted Olympic Games”, in *Aboriginal Peoples & Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Challenges*, eds. Janice Forsyth and Audrey Giles (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 56.

¹⁷² See: Anahit Armenakyan, “An International and Longitudinal Study of Mega-Event and Country Images: Attitude Formation and Sense Making Concerning the XXI Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics” (PhD Dissertation, Carleton University, 2012); Catharine Hilary Dunn, “Aboriginal Partnerships for Sustainable 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games: A Framework for Cooperation” (Master’s Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2007); Jane Kirby, “Navigating Power and Privilege: Examining Activist Solidarity in Resistance to the 2010 Olympics” (Master’s Thesis, Dalhousie University, 2009); Jeff McDonald “Snowing on Public Discourse: Local Print Media and Vancouver’s 2010 Winter Olympics Bid” (Master’s Thesis, Royal Roads University, 2006); A. Margaret Orłowski, “Communication, Protest, and the Right to City: Case of Vancouver 2010” (Master’s Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2011); Leanne Ritchie, “Social Media Enter the Stadium: A Case Study on the Political Economy of Media at the 2010 Winter Olympics” (Master’s Thesis, Royal Roads University, 2011); Priya Vadi, “Rights, Rituals, and Repercussions: Aboriginal Participation in the 2010 Olympic Games Planning Process” (Master’s Thesis,

peoples' cultures were represented in the Olympics and makes explicit the commercial practices of the Games to larger political issues related to Indigenous peoples' rights and well-being. I link the meaning of Olympic commodities to broader political struggles over issues like Indigenous groups' unresolved land claims in British Columbia and Alberta. Moreover, by arguing that many Olympic-related commodities are fetish objects, I consider how these objects embody ambivalent meanings about Indigenous peoples' cultures and, in so doing, paradoxically celebrate and dishonour Indigenous cultures. Finally, I describe how the practice of including symbols of Indigenous cultures in the design of Olympic-related commodities originated in the Montreal Olympics.

Looking and Thinking: Methodology and Terminology

I ground my examination of the Montreal, Calgary, and Vancouver Olympics in archival material from municipal and provincial archives in Montreal, Calgary, and Vancouver. After each Olympic Games is completed, the organizing committee gives all Olympic-related documents to the archives of the host city or province. I collected material on the following categories: Olympic mascots and logos; Olympic merchandise; ceremonial and cultural elements of the Games; educational initiatives related to the Games; partnerships between organizing committees and civic groups; Olympic sponsors; and print and broadcast ads. The IOC mandates that select material, including information related to corporate sponsorship, remains sealed until 15 years after the completion of the Games, so many documents related to the Vancouver Olympics are inaccessible to the public until 2025. Moreover, much of the unrestricted material has not been processed yet, so I have collected less archival material on the Vancouver Olympics than on the Montreal and Calgary Olympics. I rely mostly on documents about Vancouver's Olympic Bid and the anti-Olympic flyers and pamphlets that are housed in the Vancouver municipal archives.

Simon Fraser University, 2010); Marianne Van Oosten, "Canadian Pride During the Vancouver 2010 Olympics" (Master's Thesis, Carleton, 2010); Dalia Vukmirovich, "Sex Trafficking Discourse and the 2010 Olympic Games" (Master's Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2013).

The archival documents that were most relevant to my research were correspondence between organizing committee members, meeting minutes and memos produced by the fundraising, marketing, and arts and culture departments of the organizing committees. In addition, I consulted a number of publicly available Olympic-related documents. For example, I accessed official reports of the Montreal, Calgary and Vancouver Games and IOC documents, including marketing reports, that are available for download on-line¹⁷³ as well as Olympic ads and the Vancouver Olympic opening ceremony that are posted on YouTube. Finally I also used newspaper articles about the Olympics in Canada published in *The Globe and Mail*.

Julie D'Acci's circuit of media study guides how I structure, organize, and analyze my research material. D'Acci's circuit modifies Stuart Hall's Encoding/Decoding model by expanding it to contain four (rather than two) interconnected sites of analysis: cultural artifact, production, socio-historical context, and reception.¹⁷⁴ Each chapter of my thesis discusses consumer objects linked to the Olympic Games in Canada, such as souvenirs and official coins and stamps. However, by addressing all the sites on the model, I avoid narrowly framing my analysis of these commodities. Recognizing that situating artifacts within their socio-historical context is just as important as studying the objects themselves, I contextualize them within the commercialism of the Olympic Games, the educational and cultural elements of the Games, and relevant political events in Canada. Moreover, I examine ads, the labour required to produce products and the pleasure some Canadians derived from consuming these objects.

I once attended a history conference where the presenter advised the audience: "look, don't think." His point was that rigorous scholarship emerges from strong archival research. However, I look hard *and* think hard about my archival material. To this end, the archival documents I have collected guide the direction of my project and my

¹⁷³ The official reports of Olympic Games are available for download through the LA 84 Foundation's digital library: <http://www.la84.org/> and the IOC's marketing report for Vancouver 2010 is available for download through the IOC's website: www.olympic.org.

¹⁷⁴ Julie D'Acci, "Cultural Studies, Television Studies, and the Crisis in the Humanities," in *Television After TV: Essays on a Medium in Transition*, ed. Lynn Spiegel and Jan Olsson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004): 41-450.

theoretical framework, based on fetish and haunting theory, shapes my analysis of this material. Paul Rutherford articulates the importance of theory to historians when he argues that it “enables the practicing historian to put his work in the broader context of culture” and that theory “offers explanations. It serves as a kind of lingua franca to link otherwise disparate projects...it can provide a frame which makes all the archival work meaningful.”¹⁷⁵ Indeed, without haunting and fetish theory, my work would be incomplete, as I would be unable to examine the full significance of Olympic commodities in relation to citizenship, national identity, consumption, social justice, Indigenous rights and collective memory.

Gordon’s approach to studying ghostly haunting also shapes my analysis of archival material. Gordon argues that identifying examples of hauntings draws “attention to a whole realm of experiences and social practices that can barely be approached without a method attentive to what is elusive, fantastic, contingent, and often barely there.”¹⁷⁶ Similarly, I identify what relevant information is included and missing from the archival material. Gordon encourages scholars to reckon with the ghost but, as Rosenberg et al. point out, she “does not fully conceptualize what she means by reckoning” and they build on Gordon’s work by developing a methodology of “thinking in relation.”¹⁷⁷ This approach uses juxtaposition to identify how documents and narratives “are haunted by what they cannot contain.”¹⁷⁸ Instead of simply identifying the “contours and limits”¹⁷⁹ of narratives, this method considers narratives in relation to relevant but unacknowledged events or information. For example, Rosenberg et al. juxtapose the discovery of the bodies of three women on the outskirts of Edmonton in 2005 (the same year the province’s centenary celebrations took place) with the celebratory narratives of Indigenous cultures articulated during the centenary celebrations. This juxtaposition, they argue, reveals how the ghosts of colonial sexual violence haunt the centenary

¹⁷⁵ Paul Rutherford, “Encounters with Theory,” in *Communicating in Canada’s Past: Essays in Media History*, ed. Gene Allen and Daniel J. Robinson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 285.

¹⁷⁶ Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 26.

¹⁷⁷ Rosenberg et al., “Centennial Hauntings,” 400.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 400.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 401.

celebrations.¹⁸⁰ This approach encourages scholars to embrace the complexity and ambiguity that emerges when seemingly incompatible pieces of information are considered in relation to each other.

A central focus of this thesis is how narratives about national identity, history, and citizenship popularized during the Olympic relate to contemporary social and political issues facing Indigenous peoples in Canada. To this end, I draw heavily on scholarship about Indigenous peoples' history and rights in Canada. Taiaiake Alfred, for example, shaped my understanding of the meaning of colonialism. He makes the convincing argument that the "invasion and eventual domination of North America by European empires that we know as colonization is best understood as the culmination of thousands of years of differential societal developments under specific environmental conditions."¹⁸¹ For Alfred, colonialism in Canada involves, but is not limited to, actions and institutions like the exploitation and appropriation of Indigenous peoples' land, the Indian Residential School system, racism, and the eradication of Indigenous peoples' rights. Alfred emphasizes the fact that Indigenous peoples experience colonialism as "causes of harm to them as people and as communities, limitations placed on their freedom, and disturbing mentalities, psychologies, and behaviours."¹⁸² Like Alfred, I recognize that colonialism has dramatically impacted, and continues to impact, Indigenous peoples' lives in Canada and this project examines a number of specific examples of colonialism's enduring effects on Indigenous communities in the country.

In keeping with Alfred and others, I use the term "Settlers" to describe the non-Indigenous people who first arrived in Canada and contemporary non-Indigenous Canadians. As Paulette Regan makes clear, the term, "Settler" "refers not only to Euro-Canadians whose ancestors came to Canada during the colonial period but also to more recent immigrants from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds who are part of

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 400.

¹⁸¹ Gerald Taiaiake Alfred, "Colonialism and State Dependency," *Journal of Aboriginal Health* Nov. (2009): 45.

¹⁸² Ibid., 43.

[contemporary Canadian] Settler society.”¹⁸³ I use the term Indigenous peoples rather than Aboriginal peoples to describe the original inhabitants of Canada because, as Alfred argues, the label “aboriginal” “is a legal and social construction of the state, and it is disciplined by racialized violence”¹⁸⁴ Additionally, O’Bonsawin uses the term “Indigenous” in her work because “it represents an identity that is not geographically or socially defined.”¹⁸⁵

Chapter Outline

The chapters in this study address the Olympic Games chronologically, starting with the 1976 Montreal Summer Olympics and ending with the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics. I dedicate two chapters to each of the Olympic Games held in Canada. One chapter focuses on the economic details of the Games and the regional context in which they were held. The other chapter pays greater attention to critical issues related to the narratives about national identity and history promoted during the Games.

Chapter Two examines the programs that helped finance the 1976 Montreal Summer Olympic Games. Two of these programs -- the sponsorship, licensing and supplier program, and coin and stamp programs -- raised far less money than expected. I identify two interrelated factors to explain why sales of Olympic commodities were low. First, the Organizing Committee for the Montreal Olympic Games’ (COJO)¹⁸⁶ self-financing model offered Canadians the opportunity to support the Olympics by purchasing commodities. However, consumers were not yet familiar with cause-related marketing campaigns. Second, COJO could not draw a link between the Games and national pride because French and English Canada were divided over linguistic and cultural differences. Moreover, I argue that the eventual success of the Olympic lottery had less to do with the

¹⁸³ Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), n. 14, 240.

¹⁸⁴ Taiaiake Alfred, *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*, (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2005), 23.

¹⁸⁵ O’Bonsawin, *Indigenous Peoples and Canadian-Hosted Olympic Games*, n.1, p. 60.

¹⁸⁶ The acronym COJO comes from the French name for the organizing committee: Comité d’Organisation des Jeux Olympiques.

Olympics and more to do with the fact that it was the first legal national lottery in Canada.

In Chapter Three, I analyze the symbolic meanings of commodities sold during the Montreal Olympics like objects bearing the Games' emblem, mascot, and commemorative coins. I argue that some of these objects represented the idea that the Olympics were Quebec's Games, rather than Canada's Games. Other objects, like plush toys of the mascot and certain coins, represented the history of the fur trade in Canada and were haunted by past efforts to assimilate Indigenous peoples into Settler society. By applying Gordon and Derrida's work on haunting to Olympic commodities, I illustrate that important information about the nation's history can be obscured, but not completely expunged from public memory. Additionally, I argue that many Olympic commodities symbolized irreconcilable ideas about Canada and highlighted, rather than resolved, conflicts between English- and French- Canadians.

Chapter Four discusses city and region branding practices of the 1988 Calgary Winter Olympics. I show that these practices overlapped and complemented the oil industry's sponsorship of the Games, arguing that the rise of neo-liberalism and market fundamentalism in Canada during the 1980s made this overlap possible. Collectively, the city, region, and corporate branding campaigns in the Olympics depicted Calgary and Western Canadian cultures as rooted in, but not constrained by, the region's pioneer history and positioned the petroleum industry as central to Alberta's modern prosperity and growth. Many Olympic commodities represented these ideas, but the Cree Lubicon's highly publicized opposition to the Calgary Olympics undermined the coherency of the region and corporate branding messages of the Games, thus undermining the intended symbolism of Olympic commodities.

In Chapter Five, I analyze how organizers of the Calgary Olympics used the terms "Olympic spirit" and "Canadian spirit" to describe Olympic and Canadian values. I argue that the spirit of the Olympics was linked to the contractualization of citizenship because Canadians could only share in the spirit if they increased the Games' commercial value. Significantly, buying Olympic commodities was one way in which Canadians could

fulfill their contractual obligations as citizens. Anti-Olympic protestors who did not share the spirit were excluded from the Games. Despite this exclusion, their protests drew attention to the fact that the Lubicon Cree did not have, in Hannah Arendt's words, the "right to have rights."¹⁸⁷

Chapter Six explores the partnership between the Bid Corporation/Organizing Committee of the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games and four First Nations in B.C., known collectively as the Four Host First Nations (FHFN). I show that the FHFN played a central role in Vancouver's successful Olympic bid and helped make the Games profitable for organizers, the IOC and sponsors. Additionally, the FHFN's involvement in the Olympics was part of a broader set of practices within B.C. aimed at mitigating the risk that Indigenous peoples' land claims would weaken the economy. Ultimately, the Games did not leave a positive impact on most Indigenous communities in B.C.

In Chapter Seven, I identify narratives about national identity and history that were promoted in the commercial and non-commercial activities of the Vancouver Olympics. I argue that the ideas about Canadian identity represented in the Games obscured the history and legacy of colonialism in Canada.¹⁸⁸ By contrast, anti-Olympic protests brought pressing political and social issues to the fore and made it difficult to ignore the colonial practices and policies in Canada's past. Olympic commodities, I argue, were fetish objects that were haunted by the history and legacy of colonialism in Canada.

¹⁸⁷ Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1996), 297.

¹⁸⁸ This argument is informed by critiques of the federal government's reconciliation practices. See: Matthew Dorrell, "From Reconciliation to Reconciling: Reading What 'We Now Recognize' in the Government of Canada's 2008 Residential Schools Apology," *English Studies in Canada* 35, no. 1 (2009): 27-45; Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham, "Colonial Reckoning, National Reconciliation?: Aboriginal Peoples and the Culture of Redress in Canada," *English Studies in Canada* 35 no. 1 (2009): 1-26; Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham, "Introduction", in *Reconciling Canada: Critical Perspectives on the Culture of Redress*, eds. Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 3-30; Eva Mackey, "The Apologizers' Apology", In *Reconciling Canada: Critical Perspectives on the Culture of Redress*, eds. Jennifer Henderson, and Pauline Wakeham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 47-62; Kevy Martin, "Truth, Reconciliation, and Amnesia: Porcupines and China Dolls and the Canadian Conscience," *English Studies in Canada*, 35, no. 1 (2009) : 47-65.

Chapter 2

Marketing Avery Brundage's Apoplexy: The 1976 Montreal Olympics Self-Financing Model

In May 1970, Montreal's Mayor Jean Drapeau was in Amsterdam bidding against Los Angeles and Moscow for the 1976 Summer Olympic Games. Hours before the final vote, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) asked the mayors to provide them with financing guarantees. The Americans and Russians quickly obtained funding pledges from their federal governments, but Drapeau knew that Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau would not do likewise. The federal government had financed much of the 1967 Montreal Exposition and many Canadians did not want their tax dollars going to another large-scale cultural event in Montreal.¹ When he addressed the IOC the following day, Drapeau said that he did not need to give any financial guarantees because he was staking Montreal's reputation on the Olympics. Moreover, Drapeau promised something that the other Mayors had not: he vowed to preserve the amateur nature of the Games and avoid extravagant costs.² This promise impressed the IOC and Montreal won the bid on the second round of voting, after Los Angeles was eliminated and all the IOC members who voted for Los Angeles transferred their votes to Montreal.³

Upon returning to Canada, Drapeau faced tough questions from the press about how he planned to fund the Olympics. The Organizing Committee for the Montreal Olympic Games (COJO)⁴ designed a self-financing model, which was intended to raise all the money required to finance the Olympics through private fund-raising projects. The Mayor famously declared that the Olympics could "no more have a deficit than a man can have a baby."⁵ The *Montreal Gazette* ran a cartoon by Aislin (Terry Mosher) in 1974

¹ Brian McKenna and Susan Purcell, *Drapeau* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1980), 265.

² *Ibid.*, 266.

³ James Worrall, *My Olympic Journey: Sixty Years with Canadian Sport and the Olympic Games*, (Toronto: Canadian Olympic Association, 2000), 144.

⁴ The acronym COJO comes from the French name for the organizing committee: Comité d'Organisation des Jeux Olympiques.

⁵ McKenna and Purcell, *Drapeau*, 271.

in response to Drapeau's statement that showed a pregnant Mayor calling Dr. Morgentaler, a well-known Canadian abortion provider.⁶ The cartoon was prophetic, as COJO's self-financing model did not raise close to enough money to cover the cost of the Games. They ultimately left Montreal and Quebec with a joint debt of approximately \$1 billion.⁷

COJO's self-financing model is an under-studied but significant component of the Montreal Olympics. Existing scholarship on the financial dimensions of these Games mostly focuses on the enormous costs of building Olympic infrastructure, especially the Montreal Olympic stadium.⁸ Thus, by analyzing COJO's self-financing model in-depth, I address a gap in the academic literature on the Montreal Olympics. I focus on three COJO fundraising programs: its sponsorship, licensing and supplier program; the coin and stamp programs; and the lottery program. Profits from the sale of Olympic commodities fell far below COJO's expectations while, conversely, the Olympic lottery raised far more money than expected. This result is significant considering that later, in Calgary and Vancouver, sales of Olympic goods, most notably Petro Canada glassware and Hudson's Bay Company mittens, were unexpectedly high.

Two interrelated factors influenced sales of Montreal Olympic commodities. First, COJO's self-financing model offered Canadians the opportunity to support the Olympics by purchasing commodities. However, consumers were not yet familiar with the idea that they could contribute to a social cause through consumption and they did not widely embrace this idea. Second, COJO could not draw a link between the Games and national

⁶ Terry Mosher, "Gazette's Aislin looks at 100 years of editorial-page cartooning in Montreal," *The Gazette*, December 31, 1999; Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), "Aislin's favourite 'toons: Political Cartoonist Terry Mosher looks back". <http://www.cbc.ca/news/arts/photos/aislin-s-favourite-toons-1.1815169.html>

⁷ Comité d'Organisation des Jeux Olympique (COJO), *The Official Report of the XXIst Olympiad Montréal 1976*. (Ottawa: Comité d'Organisation des Jeux Olympique, 1978) 58-59; all funds in Canadian dollars.

⁸ See: Bruce Kidd, "The Culture Wars of the Montreal Olympics," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 17, no. 2 (1992): 151-162; Daniel Latouche, "Montreal 1976," in *Olympic Cities: City Agendas, Planning, and the World's Games, 1896-2016*, vol. 2, ed. John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold (London: Routledge, 2011), 247-267 and Romain Roult, and Sylvain Lefebvre. "Planning and Reconversion of Olympic Heritages: The Montreal Olympic Stadium," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 27, no. 16-18 (2010): 2731-2747.

pride because French and English Canada remained divided over linguistic and cultural differences. Moreover, I argue that the popularity of the Olympic lottery had less to do with the Olympics and more to do with the fact that it was the first legal national lottery in Canada. This chapter lays out the foundation for my analysis of the fusion of commercialism and nationalism in the Olympics. I show that Olympic commodities only became popular symbols of Canadian identity within a particular socio-economic context and that the conditions required to create this context were missing in the Montreal Olympics. Thus, in this chapter, I identify the absence, rather than presence, of the social and economic factors needed to fuse commercialism and nationalism.

The “Golden Rule:” The Self-Financing Games

After Montreal won the bid to host the 1976 Olympics, Trudeau stood firm on his refusal to give the city any direct financial assistance. In 1972, the Liberals were gearing up for a federal election and facing low ratings in political polls. Brian McKenna and Susan Purcell write that, given the “continued unpopularity of Montreal’s plan to stage the Olympics, Trudeau had no choice but to maintain a firm position toward Montreal and the financing of the games.”⁹ The 1972 election left Trudeau’s Liberals with a minority government and, in July 1973, he introduced legislation authorizing the Olympic coin and stamp programs, along with the Olympic lottery.¹⁰ COJO would receive no direct federal funding.

The City of Montreal was responsible for the construction and installation of Olympic-related infrastructure, while COJO was responsible for organizing and staging the Olympics.¹¹ This division, however, was far from rigid, as Mayor Drapeau sat on COJO’s board of directors and handpicked many of its members. These included: Louis Chantigny, a sports writer and civil servant in the Quebec provincial government; Pierre

⁹ McKenna and Purcell, *Drapeau*, 271.

¹⁰ COJO, *Official Report*, 68.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 56.; the only exception to this division was that COJO built the Olympic village. Drapeau asked COJO to take on this project after he faced heavy criticism from the public, and members of his own party, for his plans to build the Olympic village on a golf course.

M. Charbonneau, a Sun Life insurance executive and the president of the Quebec Sports Federation; and Gerry M. Snyder, an entrepreneur and Montreal City Council member.¹² After consulting with the Prime Minister and Ministry of External Affairs, Drapeau asked Roger Rousseau, a career diplomat who at the time was serving as the Canadian ambassador to Cameroon, to be COJO's President and Commissioner.¹³

Drapeau created the initial budget for the Montreal Games in 1972, estimating the total cost would be \$310 million.¹⁴ The projected revenue from sales of Olympic coins and stamps was \$250 million and \$10 million respectfully, which would cover all construction costs.¹⁵ Other projected sources of revenue were: the Olympic lottery (\$32 million), ticket sales (\$9.5 million), TV rights (\$3 million), souvenirs (\$2 million), brochures, posters, photographs, slides, films and official guides (\$1.5 million), the Olympic village (\$1 million), interest on investment (\$1 million), donations (\$100, 000), and "other expenses" (\$800, 000).¹⁶ Paul Howell, COJO's planning advisor, wrote that Drapeau presented his budget "far too early for the cost estimates to be reliable, given the time and effort required to acquire data and make rigorous computations."¹⁷ Howell claims that if he or his colleagues had challenged Drapeau's numbers, they "would surely [have] been seeking other work."¹⁸

Drapeau's budget proved wildly inaccurate. In the end, according to the Official Report of the Montreal Olympics, COJO's self-financing model only covered about one third of all Olympic costs. The coin program raised about \$100 million in profits, "less than half the return originally estimated."¹⁹ The stamp program raised approximately \$7 million

¹² Paul Charles Howell, *The Montreal Olympics: An Insider's View of Organizing a Self-Financing Games*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 40.

¹³ COJO, *Official Report*, 24.

¹⁴ Howell, *The Montreal Olympics*, 23.

¹⁵ Although the coin and stamp programs were separate programs, organized by different divisions of the federal government (the Mint and the Postmaster General), they are often discussed together because the federal government, COJO and Mayor Drapeau treated the total income they earned as one pool of money, all of which helped fund construction costs. A federal bill, C-196, created the coin and stamp programs.

¹⁶ COJO, *Official Report*, 61.

¹⁷ Howell, *The Montreal Olympics*, 23.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁹ COJO, *Official Report*, 74.

compared to the forecasted \$10 million.²⁰ In contrast, Drapeau's initial estimate of \$32 million for the lottery was too cautious, which in fact, raised \$235 million. Other sources of income were: \$32 million in TV rights, \$27 million in admission ticket sales, \$9 million in interest on investments, \$9 million from the revenue division, which included COJO's official sponsorship, licensing and supplier program, \$2 million from athletes' accommodation and \$1 million in program sales.²¹ Even with the unexpected surplus from lottery revenue, the Montreal Olympics ultimately left Quebec with close to \$1 billion of debt.²² Montreal gave \$8 million to cover the cost of the Olympics and took on \$200 million in debt. The Quebec government gave \$25 million to the Games and took on \$790 million in debt. The province instituted a special tax on tobacco products and used the proceeds from this tax, as well as from the Olympic lottery, which the Canadian parliament extended until 1979, to help repay this debt.²³ Quebec only settled all its outstanding Olympic debt in 2006.²⁴

Rousseau described self-financing as "the Golden Rule of the Olympic Games of 1976."²⁵ Moreover, the guidebook COJO provided to Olympic hostesses and guides, which contained information they had to memorize and were tested on, stated: the "great innovation that characterizes the organization of the 1976 Olympic Games is the self-financing project that COJO established in collaboration with the federal, provincial, and municipal governments."²⁶ COJO's sponsorship, licensing and supplier program was a

²⁰ Ibid. The report cites the combined income from sales of coins and stamps at \$115 million. Sales of coins reached \$386 million, but \$278.7 million represented the face value of the coins, which must be held in reserve. Related expenditures were \$8 million, which the report includes in the \$115 million figure but which they leave out of the \$100 million they cite as the income raised from sales. From these figures, I concluded that the income from the stamps was approximately \$7 million.

²¹ Ibid., 59.

²² Ibid., 58.

²³ Ibid., 58.

²⁴ COJO, *Official Report*, 58; Roult and Lefebvre, "Planning and Reconversion", 2740.

²⁵ Letter from Roger Rousseau to W.A. Kennett, January 2, 1974, box 1981-06-009 \ 1969, binder Marketing Advisory Committee #3, Fonds Comité organisateur des Jeux Olympiques de 1976: E46 (FCOJO), Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec (BANQ).

²⁶ Centre D'Accueil, Manuel de base, 2-9, box 1981-06-009/1297, FCOJO, BANQ. The handbook was written in French and the quotation is my translation. The original French reads: "La grande innovation qui caractérise l'organisation des Jeux olympiques de 1976 est le programme d'autofinancement mis sur pied par le Cojo en collaboration avec les gouvernements federal et provincial et al municipalité."

key part of its self-financing program. In his 1973 marketing plan, Alfred Warkentin proposed that “everything and anything is potentially sponsorable. We should, on this basis, be theoretically able to obtain a supplier or sponsor for all the goods, services and facilities required at the 1976 Olympics.”²⁷

Neil Asselin, COJO’s Director-General of Marketing, celebrated the fact that COJO’s sponsorship, licensing and supplier program was pushing the Olympics in a more commercial direction: “We’re breaking new ground in areas of financing the Games. Traditionally the approach has been very amateur. Commercialism was not encouraged. Governments put up most of the money. But there’s a realization now that there are other ways to finance them.”²⁸ It is ironic that Asselin depicted amateurism, a value the IOC has consistently and proudly associated with Olympic athletes, as antiquated. Commenting on COJO’s sponsorship and marketing program, journalist Jim Kearney wrote: “It’s a good thing [former IOC President, Avery] Brundage, the last of the unreconstructed amateurs, has retired. The way Montreal is going, even Avery’s apoplexy would have wound up being copyrighted. And marketed.”²⁹ Bruce Kidd supports this view when he writes: “COJO’s innovative approach to sponsorships paved the way for the heady commercialization of the 1980s.”³⁰ Julian Boykoff concurs, writing that “Montreal should be viewed as a key step toward the corporate commercialization of the Games.”³¹

The ambitious nature of COJO’s sponsorship and licensing program is evident in its impact on the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games. Their marketing division developed an official sponsor and licensing program modeled on COJO’s program. According to a report by the division, “one of the most productive sources of

²⁷ Marketing Plan, Corporate Relations, Alfred Warkentin, July 26, 1973, box 1981-06-009\1967, binder Marketing Plan, Corporate Relations, FCOJO, BANQ.

²⁸ Asselin Jim Kearney column, *Vancouver Sun*, FCOJO (E46). BANQ. Box: 1981-06-009\1967, File: Marketing.

²⁹ Jim Kearney column, *Vancouver Sun*, FCOJO (E46). BANQ. Box: 1981-06-009\1967, File: Marketing.

³⁰ Kidd, "The Culture Wars of the Montreal Olympics", 158.

³¹ Jules Boykoff, *Celebration Capitalism and the Olympic Games* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 29.

information” on licensing came from COJO.³² However, few companies were interested in affiliating themselves with the Edmonton Commonwealth Games and organizers were unable to match the scale of COJO’s marketing program. One Commonwealth Games report noted: the Olympics “have had the effect of reducing the stature of the Commonwealth Games by the inevitable comparisons that are made.”³³

In July 1973, the federal government passed the *Olympic Act (1976)*, establishing the Olympic stamp and coin programs and the Olympic lottery. That same year, Canada Post launched its fund-raising program, concentrating on four areas: Olympic action stamps, stamp sculptures, commemorative stamps, and stamp souvenirs.³⁴ It added a surcharge to the cost of action stamps, the first time in history it added such a charge, and issued one series of action stamps every year for four years.³⁵ The first series bore the emblem of the Montreal Games and subsequent series depicted Olympic water sports, body-contact sports and team sports. Also available for sale were eight series of commemorative stamps but, unlike the action stamps, these ones did not come with a surcharge.

³² Summary Report, Marketing Division, Class 2, subclass 16: marketing division, File: Summary Report, Marketing division report, September 1978. Commonwealth Games Fonds: RG-79 (CGF), City of Edmonton Archives (CEA).

³³ Letter to Mr. Paul Woodstock, Class 2, Sub-Class 6: stamps and coins. File 4, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Correspondence, July – December 1975, CGF, CEA.

³⁴ COJO, *Official Report*, 68.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 72.



Figure 4: Montreal Olympics action stamps, COJO, *Official Report*, 69-72.

The Royal Canadian Mint issued seven series of commemorative coins between 1973 and 1976, adding a surcharge to the face value of each coin. Every series contained two coins with a face value of \$10 and two with a face value of \$5.³⁶ Each series was based on one of the following themes: geography, Olympic symbols, early Canadian sports, track and field sports, water sports, team and body-contact sports and Olympic souvenirs.³⁷ In addition, Ottawa granted the Mint the authority to issue a gold coin with a \$100 face value.³⁸ Individuals could purchase the coins and related commodities at chartered banks, financial institutions, post offices, coin dealers, and major department stores.³⁹

³⁶ Ibid., 61.

³⁷ Ibid., 61.

³⁸ Ibid., 68.

³⁹ Ibid., 71.

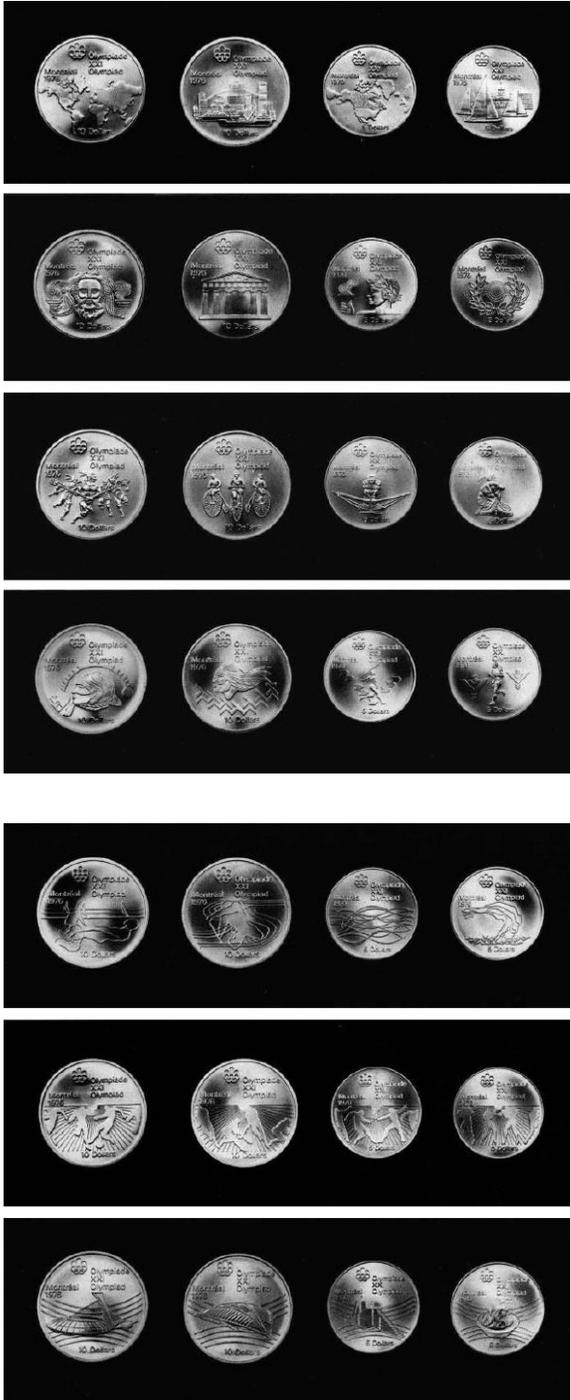


Figure 5: Montreal Olympics coins, COJO, *Official Report*, 69-70.

The Olympic lottery was the most profitable part of its self-financing program. When compared to the initial estimate of \$32 million, the lottery's ultimate net profit of \$235

million marks a 750% increase in expected vs. received profit.⁴⁰ “Returns were so high,” the Official Report concluded, “that the Olympic lottery became the keystone of the overall financing scheme.”⁴¹ The Olympic Lottery Corporation, a federally chartered corporation, held nine draws between April 1974 and August 1976.⁴² The price per ticket was \$10 and winners received \$1 million.⁴³ Participating provinces, which had to formally agree to operate the lottery, received 50 cents on every ticket sold in their province. In total, provinces received more than \$25 million, which they used to fund amateur sport.⁴⁴ Quebec was permitted to use its share of the lottery proceeds to pay for Olympic-related construction, but COJO was not permitted to transfer its lottery earnings to the city to help pay construction costs.⁴⁵

“Help It Happen:” Self-Financing and Consumption

COJO believed, unrealistically, that its self-financing model would entirely eliminate its dependence on public funding. It hoped to replace its reliance on Canadians’ tax dollars with their consumer dollars and framed consuming Olympic-related goods as a way for individuals to contribute to a charitable cause. The official report noted that the self-financing model allowed Canadians to “make voluntary contributions toward the cost of organizing the Games.”⁴⁶ The writers of COJO’s 1973 marketing plan observed: “In conversation with several persons it has been suggested to us that we should not neglect the probability of individuals contributing to the success of the Olympic Games much the way they would contribute to a charity of their choice.”⁴⁷ That same year, Drapeau wrote a letter to Trudeau, anticipating that COJO’s self-financing program would offset its need for federal funding: “the self-financing formulas and programs and programs already

⁴⁰ Ibid., 67.

⁴¹ Ibid., 64.

⁴² Ibid., 67.

⁴³ Ibid., 65.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 65.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 64.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 48.

⁴⁷ Alfred Warketin, Marketing Plan, Corporate Relations, July 26, 1973, Box 1981-06-009\1967, Binder: Marketing Plan, Corporate Relations, FCOJO, BANQ.

presented to the federal government's analysts...permit us to state that the City of Montreal will not have to ask the federal government to contribute to the Olympic Games out of federal funds."⁴⁸

In addition, Drapeau believed that the income from sales of coins and stamps would raise enough money to cover the entire cost of constructing Olympic infrastructure, thus eliminating the need for public funding. He was of course incorrect, as revenues proved far lower than construction costs.⁴⁹ Yet this belief contributed to the fetishization of the stamps and coins. Sut Jhally argues that "to make a fetish out of something is to invest it with powers that it doesn't have."⁵⁰ Moreover, Russell Belk argues that many commodities, including collector objects (like coins and stamps) "are invested with special meanings that remove them and set them apart from the everyday items thought to typify marketplace exchanges."⁵¹ In the case of the Olympic coins and stamps, COJO invested them with a special meaning and power: the ability to make the Olympic Games possible or, in Canada Post's words, to "help it happen."

COJO, Canada Post and the Mint consistently promoted this message about Olympic stamps and coins. Canada Post used the theme of civic participation in its Olympic stamp marketing campaign. It ran ads in all major Canadian newspapers and magazines and aired ads on TV and radio using the theme: "Make it Happen."⁵² Companies publicized their support of the Olympics by buying special postal meters that stamped envelopes with the Games emblem and the slogan, "We Help It Happen," or, "Official Supplier of the 1976 Olympic Games." The Postmaster General argued that purchasing Olympic

⁴⁸ Letter from Jean Drapeau to Pierre Trudeau, Feb. 1 1973, Box 1981-06-009\485, File: Documents préparatoires, FCOJO, BANQ.

⁴⁹ Even if the coin program had been more profitable, its ability to offset the costs of Olympic-related construction would have been jeopardized by the enormous costs of Olympic construction. Drapeau and Roger Taillibert, the designer of the Olympic stadium, mismanaged construction projects and caused enormous cost overruns. For a detailed discussion of this topic, see: Howell, *The Montreal Olympics* and McKenna and Purcell, *Drapeau*.

⁴⁹ Roullet and Lefebvre, "Planning and Reconversion of Olympic Heritages," 2731-2747.

⁵⁰ Sut Jhally, *The Codes of Advertising: Fetishism and the Political Economy of Meaning in the Consumer Society*, (New York: Routledge, 1990), 28.

⁵¹ Russell W. Belk, "The Ineluctable Mysteries of Possessions," *Journal of Social Behaviour and Personality* 6, no. 6 (1991): 35.

⁵² COJO, *Official Report*, 74.

action stamps “allows every citizen to participate, on a purely voluntary basis, in defraying the total cost of the Games.”⁵³ A pamphlet issued by Canada Post about the action stamps echoed this sentiment, noting: “The purpose of the surcharge [on the stamps] is to give the public a convenient opportunity to support the Games on a voluntary and personal basis.”⁵⁴ Asselin discussed the coin program in similar terms. He argued: “The Olympic Coin Program has been conceived as a means of encouraging international and individual participation in the financing of the Olympic Games.”⁵⁵



Figure 6: Montreal Olympics postal meters, Canadian Design Resource website <http://www.canadiandesignresource.ca/olympics/1976-olympic-postal-meter/>.

COJO also fetishized the coins and stamps by obscuring an important fact: it depended on the profits from its self-financing program to replace direct federal funding of the Olympics. To be clear, COJO did not obscure the fact that it needed these profits. Rather, it obscured the reason why it needed the money – it was not receiving direct funding from the federal government and hoped that income from consumer purchases of coins and stamps would replace this funding. Two letters that Rousseau and Drapeau wrote to Trudeau in February 1973 show their reliance on the coin and stamp programs. Both politicians wrote to the Prime Minister guaranteeing that COJO would not need money

⁵³ Ibid, 72.

⁵⁴ Olympic Games semi-postal 1974, Pamphlet issued by Canada Post. Box 1981-06-009\2441, File: Timbres, FCOJO, BANQ.

⁵⁵ Memo from Neil Asselin to G. Snyder, Sept. 7, 1973. Box 1981-06-009 \ 1969, Binder: Marketing Advisory Committee #1, FCOJO, BANQ.

from the federal government provided it received all the net profits from the sale of coins and stamps.⁵⁶ Rousseau wrote:

Provided that the federal government agrees to remit to COJO the net proceeds of the sale of special Olympic coins and stamps, the COJO also agrees that the federal government will not be called upon to make any special contribution towards the payment of any or all expenses incurred in connection with the Olympic Games of 1976.⁵⁷

Drapeau used almost identical language in his letter to Trudeau⁵⁸ and the Prime Minister's refusal to give any direct financial support to COJO meant that the main responsibility of funding the Olympics was shifted from federal taxpayers to Quebec taxpayers. (Montreal municipal taxes and provincial taxes helped pay the Olympic debt.) However, COJO's coin and stamp programs, along with COJO's other fundraising projects, helped reduce the money taxpayers had to contribute to the Olympics. Approximately \$369 million from consumers, along with \$1 billion from Quebec taxpayers, helped fund the Games.⁵⁹

COJO's efforts to minimize its reliance on public funding foreshadowed the reliance on consumers' dollars to fund social causes and public services in the late 1970s and 1980s. However, in the early and mid 1970s, Canadians were unfamiliar with the idea that they could support a cause (the Olympics) by collecting stamps and coins. Although many foreign governments have imposed surcharges on stamps to fund charitable causes, the Olympic Action Stamps were the first stamps in Canada to have such a charge.⁶⁰ The

⁵⁶ At the time that the letters were written, the federal government had not yet agreed to authorize an Olympic lottery.

⁵⁷ Letter from Roger Rousseau to Pierre Trudeau, Feb. 1, 1973, Box 1981-06-009\485, File: Documents préparatoires, FCOJO, BANQ. The original letter was in French, but a translation was included in the archives.

⁵⁸ Letter from Jean Drapeau to Pierre Trudeau, Feb. 1 1973, Box 1981-06-009\485, File: Documents préparatoires, FCOJO, BANQ.

⁵⁹ \$369 million is the combined profits of the Olympic stamp, coin and lottery programs and ticket sales.

⁶⁰ For example, Jack Child examines the practice of adding surcharges to stamps in Latin America: Jack Child, "The Politics and Semiotics of the Smallest Icons of Popular Culture: Latin American Postage Stamps," *Latin American Research Review* 40, no. 1 (2005): 118.

first postage stamp in the U.S. to raise funds for charity was a stamp for breast cancer research. First Lady Hillary Clinton unveiled the stamp on July 29, 1998 and, by June 2005, revenues had reached \$45.6 million.⁶¹ As Samantha King observes, American politicians argued that the *Stamp Out Breast Cancer Act* (the legislation that made the stamp possible) opened up “new ethical and political possibilities for the buying of a stamp, for what was previously conceived as a straightforward act of consumption.”⁶² King’s research on strategic philanthropy (discussed in Chapter 1) reveals that, by the time the breast cancer stamp was unveiled, corporate social responsibility campaigns were widespread in the U.S. Unlike the Montreal Olympics, the breast cancer cause was one of the most popular causes championed by companies. Corporations, ranging from BMW to KitchenAid, created cause-related marketing campaigns to raise money for the Susan G. Komen Breast Cancer Foundation; and marketing experts described breast cancer as a “dream cause.”⁶³

Avid coin collectors are not, in general, motivated to purchase coins out of a sense of national loyalty or social consciousness. Their top reasons for collecting are: to become an active part of the coin collecting community; to enhance their social standing and self-image within this community; and to make sound financial investments.⁶⁴ The Royal Canadian Mint could have addressed consumers’ reticence through clever marketing campaigns. However, the Mint had little experience with marketing coins to consumers, as seen in a 1982 meeting between Mint officials and organizers of the 1988 Calgary Olympics:

When the Montreal Olympic Coin Program was initiated in 1971, there was no formal marketing structure in place; the Mint was a manufacturing

⁶¹ Samantha King, *Pink Ribbons, Inc.: Breast Cancer and the Politics of Philanthropy*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 61.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 72.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶⁴ Donald O. Case, “Serial collecting as Leisure, and Coin Collecting in Particular,” *Library Trends* 58, no.4 (2009): 749; Russell W. Belk, “Collectors and Collecting,” in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan M. Pearce (New York: Routledge, 1994), 317-326 ; John Bryant, “Stamp and Coin Collecting,” in *Handbook of American Popular Culture*, ed., M. Thomas Inge (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1989), 1329-1365.

organization. A Vice President Marketing by the name of Garth McKye (now VP Marketing for VIA Rail) was installed, but not in time to change the Mint's focus. The Montreal coins were 'marketed on a crash basis through bad distribution.'⁶⁵

At this meeting, Mint representatives identified key mistakes they made with the Montreal program: "The coins were advertised as an investment rather than a commemorative collectable, they were manufactured according to the numbers legally authorized rather than to demand, and the Mint realizes there were far too many multiples made available."⁶⁶ In this meeting, Mint officials also revealed that its overproduction of Olympic coins had damaged its reputation and that it took the Mint at least two years after the 1976 Games to regain its credibility in the international coin market. This program also caused a global decline in interest for Olympic coins.⁶⁷

The findings of a 1974 consumer survey reveals that few individuals who purchased Series Two of Olympic coins did so to support the Montreal Olympics. A survey showed that only 21% of purchasers of a prestige set did so to support the Olympic Games. The most cited reason for buying coins was to build a coin collection. For consumers who did not buy a complete set, only 15% said that they had purchased the coins to support the Olympic Games; the most cited reason for purchasing the coins was to keep them as souvenirs.⁶⁸

The coin program suffered from two additional problems: inflation and labour unrest. Howell writes: "the oil crisis of 1973, half-hearted management of labour in Quebec, and the beginning of burgeoning inflation all increased [Olympic related] costs and reduced

⁶⁵ Royal Canadian Mint Meeting Minutes, Dec. 22, 1982, Marketing, Section I – OCO'88 Marketing Group, Corporate Relations, Administrative Files, Box 3, File: Coin Program, Royal Canadian Mint, XV Olympic Winter Games Inventories (XVWGI), City of Calgary Archives (CCA).

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ A Preliminary report on price sensitivity for Olympic Coins, April 11, 1974, Box 1981-06-009 \ 1969, Binder: Marketing Advisory Committee #3, FCOJO, BANQ.

scheduling options.”⁶⁹ In 1973, the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) implemented an oil embargo in response to the Arab-Israeli conflict. That same year, Canada experienced a dramatic rise in inflation, which boosted the price of many goods, including the steel used in the construction of Olympic facilities and the price of silver used to make the coins.⁷⁰ Writing in 1975, Austin Page, the Director General of the Olympic Coin Program, argued that weak sales of Series Two coins were due, in part, to “the change in attitude of investors who were buying when the price of silver was rising but who have stopped buying as the price of silver stabilized [at a high price].”⁷¹ In January 1975, the Marketing Advisory Committee on the Olympic Coin Program reduced the number of Olympic silver coins the Mint produced by one third because sales were lower than expected. It revised forecasted sales of the coins downward from \$250 million to \$175 million, but even this forecast was optimistic as the coins would ultimately earn less than \$100 million in profit.⁷²

In 1974, labour disputes between the government and unions representing construction workers stalled work on various Olympic sites.⁷³ Union leaders were in a powerful position because work stoppages could delay construction of buildings that had to be ready by fixed deadlines.⁷⁴ Unions used work disruptions to press their demands and the city compensated for lost time caused by these disruptions by increasing construction work to 24 hours a day, seven days a week. The official report notes that the cost of maintaining ceaseless labour was crippling: “overtime, the cost of heating sections of the site during the bitter Canadian winters, extended equipment rentals and the consequent effects on subcontractors, all pushed COJO's construction expenditure to record

⁶⁹ Howell, *The Montreal Olympics*, 5.

⁷⁰ COJO, *Official Report*, 16; Marketing Advisory Committee Meeting Minutes, Olympic Coin Program, Jan. 7, 1975, 1981-06-009 \ 1969, Binder: marketing advisory committee #3, FCOJO, BANQ.

⁷¹ Marketing Advisory Committee Meeting Minutes, Olympic Coin Program, Jan. 7, 1975, 1981-06-009 \ 1969, Binder: marketing advisory committee #3, FCOJO, BANQ.

⁷² COJO, *Official Report*, 71; Marketing Advisory Committee Meeting Minutes, Olympic Coin Program, Jan. 7, 1975, 1981-06-009 \ 1969, Binder: marketing advisory committee #3, FCOJO, BANQ.

⁷³ COJO, *Official Report*, 15-16.

⁷⁴ McKenna and Purcell, *Drapeau*, 309.

heights.”⁷⁵ In addition, workers at the Royal Canadian Mint went on strike in January 1975, which delayed the release of the third series of Olympic coins. They wanted higher salaries and a provision that employees in Winnipeg receive the same benefits as those in Ontario and Quebec.⁷⁶ In late January 1975, striking employees on Parliament Hill burned effigies of Treasury Board Chairman Jean Chrétien and Chief Administrator of the Royal Canadian Mint Geoffrey Ferguson.⁷⁷ The strike lasted seven weeks and was only settled in March 1975.⁷⁸

“Quebec’s Olympics:” French Canadian Identity

Richard Gareau, COJO’s director of licensing and legal affairs, argued that Olympic promotion and publicity must serve two roles. First, it must convince “Canada that our Games are a truly Canadian event.”⁷⁹ Second, COJO must channel its energies “into the prime objective of translating the value of these Games into dollars.”⁸⁰ COJO was unable to achieve either of these goals because most Canadians viewed the Olympics as a regional project, not a national one. Howell writes: “When Montreal made its winning bid...it was clear to Canadians that the Montreal Games would be the Quebec Games.”⁸¹ Ross MacNab, a Canadian who participated in the International Youth Camp, a program that brought Canadian and international youth together to experience the Olympics, echoed Howell’s sentiment. He wrote: “It appeared that it was not Canada’s Olympics, but Quebec’s Olympics.”⁸² Moreover, Drapeau viewed the Montreal Olympics as an opportunity to showcase the strength of French-Canadian culture. Discussing his plans for the Olympic Stadium, the Mayor said: “As French Canadians....the only way we’re

⁷⁵ COJO, *Official Report*, 16.

⁷⁶ Canadian Press, "Far apart on wages: Coin supply cut off by walkout at Mint," *Globe and Mail*, Jan. 10, 1975, 1.

⁷⁷ N.a., "Two burned in effigy in Ottawa, Jan. 31 1975," *Globe and Mail*, January 1975, 1975, 8.

⁷⁸ Canadian Press, "Mint arbitrator awards 29%," *Globe and Mail*, March 24, 1975, 8.

⁷⁹ Memo from Richard Gareau to G.M. Snyder, May 17, 1973, Box 1981-06-009\2441, File: Revenue – Notes de Service, FCOJO, BANQ.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Howell, *The Montreal Olympics*, 17.

⁸² Ross MacNab, Olympic Youth Camp Report, Box: 1981-06-009/1297, FCOJO, BANQ.

going to survive is to make our mark not only in this country, but on the entire continent. We must never be poor copies of others.”⁸³ Bruce Kidd writes that Drapeau wanted to host the Games in order to dramatize “the will of French Canada to survive in the face of two centuries of English-Canadian attempts at assimilation.”⁸⁴

The Montreal Games were held after a series of dramatic events in Quebec. During the 1960s, the province underwent a period of political and social modernization known as the “Quiet Revolution.”⁸⁵ On June 22, 1960, the Liberals, led by Jean Lesage, won the provincial election. They replaced the socially conservative Union Nationale government, which had been in power from 1944 to 1960 and was led by Maurice Duplessis until his death in 1959.⁸⁶ Under Lesage’s leadership, the power and influence of the Catholic Church in Quebec diminished and many Quebecers moved from rural to urban areas.⁸⁷ The major goals of the Quiet Revolution were to politically modernize the province, create new social and political opportunities for francophones, and give them control over the province’s economy. Quebecers began to view Quebec as a national state that could spearhead the changes needed to achieve these goals.⁸⁸ Under Lesage’s leadership, the Quebec legislature became increasingly involved in the administration of social services, including education and healthcare. Many Quebecers supported this move, believing that the province should take over the development, administration, and funding of every key element of the Quebec society including its economy, education system, social welfare programs, and healthcare provision.⁸⁹ In 1963, Lesage opposed Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson’s efforts to introduce a national pension plan. Lesage insisted that

⁸³ Drapeau, qtd. in McKenna and Purcell, *Drapeau*, 271.

⁸⁴ Kidd, “The Culture Wars of the Montreal Olympics”, 156.

⁸⁵ This transformation reached its height in the 1960s, but Robert Bothwell and Donald Cuccioletta and Martin Lubin argue that it began earlier. Bothwell argues the transformation began in the 1940s while Cuccioletta and Lubin argue it began during the interwar years. See: Robert Bothwell, *Canada and Quebec: One Country, Two Histories* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995); Donald Cuccioletta and Martin Lubin, “The Quebec Quiet Revolution: A Noisy Evolution,” *Québec Studies* 36, no. Fall 2003/ Winter 2004 (2004): 125-138.

⁸⁶ Cuccioletta and Lubin, “The Quebec Quiet Revolution”, 126.

⁸⁷ Sean Mills, *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal*. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 19.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁸⁹ Bothwell, *Canada and Quebec*, 104.

Quebec develop a plan that was separate from, but compatible with, the federal pension plan.⁹⁰ Pearson eventually acquiesced to Lesage's demands and when Pearson left office in 1968 he was said to be "worn out by the demands of office and unsatisfied by his inability to strike a new balance within Canada between Canada and Quebec."⁹¹

The Quiet Revolution also led to changes aimed at addressing the income disparity between English and French Canadians. Beginning in the 1940s, French-Canadian authors like Gabrielle Roy and Roger Lemelin published novels depicting Montreal as a city divided into wealthy anglophone and poor francophone neighbourhoods. These anglophones lived in luxurious areas with paid servants, while disadvantaged francophones lived in slums and struggled to earn enough money to improve their living conditions.⁹² Sean Mills writes: "It was in Montreal, with scarcity and wealth inscribed upon the very geography of the city, that many French Canadians came to realize the extent of the cultural and material oppression they faced."⁹³ The dominance of English in professional environments was a major factor in the income disparity between anglophones and francophones. The finding of the federal government's 1969 *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* highlighted such disparities.⁹⁴ In 1961, 56% of Montreal's highest paid workers were anglophones, even though they comprised only 24% of the workforce. Although francophones made up the majority of Quebec's population, they only controlled 20% of Quebec's economy. Additionally, the infant mortality rate for low-income French speakers was higher than the overall rate in Canada.⁹⁵ These findings illustrated that the linguistic and class disparities between French and English Canadians were interrelated and lay at the heart of francophones' dissatisfaction.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ Ibid., 111.

⁹¹ Ibid., 104.

⁹² William Johnson, qtd in Bothwell, *Canada and Quebec*, 87.

⁹³ Mills, *The Empire Within*, 21.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 20.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 20-21.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 21.

Many Quebecers worried they would be forced to assimilate into English Canada and lose their distinct language and culture. Some began calling for the creation of a separate Quebec state.⁹⁷ The nationalist movement in Quebec developed rapidly, seen first with the establishment in 1967 of a separatist party, the Mouvement Souveraineté-Association, led by René Lévesque.⁹⁸ Quebecers began organizing demonstrations around French-language rights. For example, in 1969, students organized public demonstrations in opposition to the destruction of a computer centre at Sir George Williams University in Montreal. The Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ), a militant Quebec separatist group began small-scale bombing campaigns in 1963 and, in the summer of 1970, nine members of the group held a meeting to discuss the possibility of escalating their campaign.⁹⁹

On October 5th, 1970, a group calling themselves the Liberation Cell of the FLQ kidnapped James Richard Cross, a British diplomat living in Montreal.¹⁰⁰ In exchange for Cross' release, the FLQ issued a list of demands, which included the release of political prisoners, rehiring postal workers that were laid off, and money and a piloted plane to Cuba or Algeria.¹⁰¹ The FLQ's manifesto opposed the colonial and capitalistic elements of Quebec society, stating: "The Front de Liberation du Quebec wants the total independence of Quebecers, united in a free society, purged forever of the clique of voracious sharks, the patronizing 'big bosses' and their henchmen who have made Quebec their hunting preserve for 'cheap labour' and unscrupulous exploitation."¹⁰² On October 8th, a Radio-Canada announcer read the manifesto on-air and newspapers published it the next day.¹⁰³ After hearing the manifesto, many Quebecers supported the

⁹⁷ Bothwell, *Canada and Quebec*, 117.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁹⁹ Mills, *The Empire Within*, 176-177.

¹⁰⁰ Ron D. Crelinsten, "Power and Meaning: Terrorism as a Struggle over Access to the Communication Structure," in *Contemporary Research on Terrorism*, eds. Paul Wilkinson and Alasdair M Stewart (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), 424.

¹⁰¹ Mills, *The Empire Within*, 177.

¹⁰² Raphael Cohen-Almagor, "The Terrorists' Best Ally: The Quebec Media Coverage of the FLQ Crisis in 1970," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 2 (2000).

¹⁰³ Crelinsten, "Power and Meaning", 427.

ideas it expressed, but most condemned the FLQ's violence.¹⁰⁴ More than fifty per cent of callers to radio talk shows in Quebec endorsed the spirit of the FLQ's manifesto.¹⁰⁵

On October 10th, the Chenier Cell of the FLQ kidnapped Pierre Laporte, a Quebec cabinet minister. As the crisis dragged on, support for the FLQ grew. Eight hundred Université du Québec à Montréal students went on strike, hoping to pressure the government to negotiate seriously with the FLQ.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, the situation drew attention to the issue of Quebec's independence from Canada. When the Premier of Ontario commented on the FLQ crisis, sixteen influential Quebecers issued a joint statement opposing the Premier's comments, insisting that the kidnappings were an internal issue that "could only be resolved in Quebec, by Québécois."¹⁰⁷ On October 15th, eight thousand Canadian troops entered Montreal and, the following day, Prime Minister Trudeau invoked the War Measures Act.¹⁰⁸ The act authorized the government to conduct searches and seizures without warrants, to arrest and detain individuals without charge for twenty-one days and to retroactively declare that the FLQ was an illegal organization.¹⁰⁹ The majority of Canadians supported Trudeau's decision to invoke the War Measures Act, but the act has subsequently been criticized for allowing the state to violate civil liberties.¹¹⁰ On October 17, news emerged that Pierre Laporte had been killed. Later, on December 3rd, approximately one thousand police and soldiers surrounded an apartment in Montreal North where Cross was being held and successfully negotiated his release by promising FLQ Liberation cell members safe passage to Cuba.¹¹¹ The army left Montreal on January 4, 1971, and the government repealed the War Measures Act in April of that year.

¹⁰⁴ Mills, *The Empire Within*, 179.

¹⁰⁵ Crelinsten, "Power and Meaning", 429.

¹⁰⁶ Mills, *The Empire Within*, 179.

¹⁰⁷ Crelinsten, "Power and Meaning", 436.

¹⁰⁸ Mills, *The Empire Within*, 181.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 181.

¹¹⁰ Bothwell, *Canada and Quebec*, 132.

¹¹¹ Mills, *The Empire Within*, 184.

This tumultuous recent past was reflected in COJO's plan for the Olympic torch relay. The Olympic flame was transferred from Athens to Ottawa via an electronic signal on July 15th 1976.¹¹² COJO initially considered lighting the flame at the tip of Gaspé and re-tracing Jacques Cartier's travels but reconsidered this plan. The torch relay of the 1968 Mexico City Olympics, which retraced Christopher Columbus' steps, "only served to reanimate long subdued ethno-cultural tensions" in Mexico¹¹³ and COJO did not want a similar situation to happen in Canada.¹¹⁴ When COJO planned the flame's path from Ottawa to Montreal, it made sure that the flame stayed in Ontario for the longest time possible before crossing over into Quebec. Daniel Latouche writes that the federal authorities' reaction to the idea of a Quebec-only torch relay "bordered on hysteria" because it brought up the memory of French President Charles De Gaulle's 1967 visit to Quebec, when he declared "vive le Québec libre." The President travelled across Quebec and, when he arrived in Montreal, delivered a speech declaring his support for the Quebec sovereignty movement.¹¹⁵

Kidd recounts that organizers of the arts and culture program of the Montreal Games "had to contend with the politics of culture."¹¹⁶ The Canada Council for the Arts agreed to sponsor a set of Olympic posters, which would be distributed to schools, sports, clubs and libraries in Canada and abroad, but insisted that they contain the heading "Canada" rather than "Montreal."¹¹⁷ The politics of culture also influenced Canadians' perception of the Games. Gay Kirpatrick, a Torontonian, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Globe and Mail* complaining about the dominance of French in the Games' opening ceremony:

¹¹² The spark from the flame travelled via satellite to Canada – a portion of the original energy from the Greek flame entered a signal suitable for satellite transmission, and that signal was reconverted into electric energy in Canada where it was used to ignite the Olympic flame in Canada. See: Bell Canada, "Telecommunications to relay Olympic Flame across the world," Box 1981-06-009\1629, File: Bell Canada, FCOJO, BANQ.; COJO, *Official Report*, 53.

¹¹³ Daniel Latouche, "Montreal 1976," in *Olympic Cities: City Agendas, Planning, and the World's Games, 1896-2016*, vol. 2, ed. John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold (London: Routledge, 2011), 252.

¹¹⁴ Latouche, "Montreal 1976", 252; Draft of Charles L. Harwood Speech, Box 1981-06-009\1629, FCOJO, BANQ.

¹¹⁵ Latouche, "Montreal 1976", 252.

¹¹⁶ Kidd, "The Culture Wars of Montreal Olympics", 157.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 157.

Pierre Trudeau's dream of a bilingual Canada is quite obviously going to be turned into a nightmare by the unilingual Québécois. I attended the opening ceremonies of Canada's Olympics on July 17...and was simply astonished to hear each initial announcement in French, followed by an English translation. And to add fuel to the fire, the large electronic signboards flashed each country's name during the walk-past, in French only.¹¹⁸

In response to Kirpatrick's letter, Peter Fletcher, writing from a suburb of Toronto, observed: "Surely Mr. Kirpatrick is aware of the fact that French is the official language of the Province of Quebec....with the opinion of many Canadians that these Games were Quebec's and not Canada's, it is surprising to see that with the opening ceremonies [sic] on Saturday the Olympics are suddenly 'ours'."¹¹⁹

During the Olympics, Canadians were most united during the high jump final when a Canadian, Greg Joy, competed against an American, Dwight Stones. Stones had previously offended Canadians by stating that he detested French Canadians because "they screwed up the whole Olympics."¹²⁰ This statement infuriated many Canadians and at the high jump final, they loudly booed Stones and enthusiastically cheered Joy. Joy won a silver medal, beating Stones who won the bronze medal.¹²¹ However, this small show of unity occurred on the second last day of the Games. Earlier, a spokesperson for COJO complained that Canadians were "getting out-cheered" and that the "Americans are wiping us out."¹²² Lawrence Martin observed in the *Globe and Mail* that hardly any

¹¹⁸ Gay Kirpatrick, "Letter to the Editor", *Globe and Mail*, July 21, 1976, 6.

¹¹⁹ Peter J. Fletcher, "Letter to the Editor", *Globe and Mail*, July 23, 1976, 7.

¹²⁰ United Press International, "U.S. Olympian shoots from the mouth: Stones tocks Canadian brass," *Globe and Mail*, July 29, 1976, 44.

¹²¹ Christie Blatchford, "The Crowd Cheers for Joy," *Global and Mail*, July 31, 1976, S40.

¹²² Lawrence Martin, "Canadians lag in another league, fans' cheering not medal calibre," *Globe and Mail*, July 22, 1976, 51.

Canadians at the Games brought flags to wave, lamenting that, although many souvenirs were sold at the Games, “Nobody came up with an idea for [selling] a flag.”¹²³

A “Voluntary Means of Public Participation:” The Olympic Lottery

COJO viewed the lottery as another way to privately fundraise for the Olympics, writing that the lottery “was conceived as a voluntary means of public participation” in the Games.¹²⁴ Indeed, the lottery was COJO’s most successful fundraising endeavour, ultimately raising \$235 million to fund the Games. The results of the lottery draws were broadcast live on national television, which drew high ratings. A Nielsen TV Index Measurement found that the televised Olympic lottery draw on September 28, 1975 attracted the largest number of CTV Television Network (CTV) viewers in that month and the third largest number of Télévision Associée (TVA) viewers.¹²⁵ (The average network audience for the show was 3,485,000 on CTV and 1,803,000 on TVA.)¹²⁶ However, there is no evidence that the lottery’s popularity was due to its association with the Montreal Games. Rather, it was the first national lottery scheme in Canada and it played an important role in integrating popular gambling practices into Canadian society and changing gambling from a criminal to a legal activity.¹²⁷

¹²³ Ibid; In addition to managing tensions between English and French Canadians, the federal government became embroiled in two international disputes related to the Montreal Games. Because the IOC considered Taiwan part of China, it insisted that Taiwanese athletes compete under the colours of the Republic of China. Trudeau publicly opposed the IOC’s position and the IOC eventually compromised and allowed Formosan delegates to compete for Taiwan but insisted that they use China’s flag and national anthem. The athletes found this compromise unsatisfactory and withdrew entirely from the Games. Moreover, twenty-two African nations boycotted the Montreal Olympics to protest the IOC’s decision to allow New Zealand to compete in the Games. New Zealand had established close sporting ties with South Africa and broke an international sporting boycott of apartheid South Africa when it sent its national rugby team, the All Blacks, to South Africa to compete: Donald Macintosh, and Donna Greenhorn, “Canadian Diplomacy and the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games,” *Journal of Sport History* 19, no. 1 (1992): 37.

¹²⁴ COJO, *Official Report*, 64.

¹²⁵ Special Analysis of September 28, 1975 Olympic Lottery Draw Telecast Prepared for Trilocan Inc., A.C. Nielsen Company of Canada Limited, Box 1981-06-009/ 1912, FCOJO, BANQ.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Colin S. Campbell, “Canadian Gambling Policies,” in *Casino state: legalized gambling in Canada* eds. Thomas R. Klassen and James F. Cosgrave (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 72.



Figure 7: Keychain of the Montreal Olympics lottery ticket for sale on eBay, www.ebay.com.

Beginning in the 1960s, Quebec politicians had pressured the federal government to legalize lotteries because the province needed money to fund the 1967 Montreal World's Fair and later the Montreal Olympics.¹²⁸ The federal government was sensitive to Quebec's wishes in the wake of the Quiet Revolution and the Quebec separatist movement; so in May 1969 the Liberals passed an omnibus bill, which legalized gambling along with socially controversial practices like divorce, abortion, and the use of contraception.¹²⁹ The omnibus bill gave federal and provincial governments the authority to manage and conduct "lottery schemes" and it allowed provinces to grant gambling licenses to charitable and religious organizations.¹³⁰

Through the Olympic lottery, COJO pioneered a practice that became increasingly popular in Canada after 1976: governments' use of gambling proceeds to supplement income from taxation. In 1985, the *Criminal Code of Canada* was amended to give provinces exclusive control over gambling.¹³¹ Campbell argues that provinces now

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 610.

¹²⁹ Campbell, "Canadian Gambling Policies," 613; Patricia Cormack, and James Cosgrave. *Desiring Canada: CBC, Contests, Hockey Violence, and Other Stately Pleasures* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 155.

¹³⁰ Colin S. Campbell, "Under the Halo of Good Causes" in *Gambling: Public Policies and the Social Sciences*, Eds William R. Eadington and Judy A. Cornelius (Reno: Institute for the Study of Gambling and Commercial Gaming, 1997), 610; many provinces interpreted the term "lottery schemes" to include games of chance, like roulette and blackjack, in addition to lotteries (608).

¹³¹ Colin S. Campbell, and Garry J. Smith, "Gambling in Canada - From Vice to Disease to Responsibility: A Negotiated History," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 20, no. 1 (2003): 129.

depend heavily on revenues from gambling: “the Canadian public’s expectations of government services – alongside a corresponding disdain for increased taxes – have made lotteries and other forms of gambling an attractive alternate form of government revenue.”¹³² According to Statistics Canada, in 2005, government-run gambling practices generated a net profit of \$7.1 billion.¹³³ Gambling constitutes 3.8% of provinces’ revenues.¹³⁴ To be clear, the Montreal Olympic lottery is not analogous to post-1985 gambling programs. While COJO relied on lotteries to raise money, provincial governments earn most of their money from electronic gambling machines like video lottery terminals (VLT) and casinos. This difference is significant because individuals who play lotteries and raffles have a lower chance of becoming addicted to gambling than those who gamble on VLTs and other electronic devices.¹³⁵

Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided detailed information about COJO’s self-financing program. I showed that Olympic organizers, politicians, marketers, and consumers were not isolated actors operating independently of each other. Rather, their combined efforts can blur the line dividing the commercial and national dimensions of the Olympics and help invest consumption practices with symbolic meanings linked to national pride and civic engagement. However, the political, economic and socio-cultural conditions were not in place at the time of the Montreal Olympics to facilitate such a co-operation. A neo-liberal economic model that privileged private over public contributions to social endeavors was not yet established and Canada was divided over French Canadians’ wish for more cultural and political autonomy.

¹³² Campbell, "Canadian Gambling Policies", 82.

¹³³ Ibid., 69.

¹³⁴ Asmier, qtd. in Campbell, “Canadian Gambling Policies”, 69; British Columbia relies on the least amount of money from gambling, 2.9% of its total revenue, while Manitoba relies on the highest, 5.5% of its total revenue.

¹³⁵ Campbell and Smith, "Gambling in Canada," 132.

Chapter 3

Haunted Beavers: The 1976 Montreal Olympics, French-Canadian Identity, and the Fur Trade

Official Olympic hostesses and guides who greeted visitors to the 1976 Montreal Olympics were trained to answer questions about the Olympics, Quebec, and Canada. As part of their preparation, they were given a handbook and quizzed on the material in it. One group of questions reveal that the Organizing Committee for the Montreal Olympic Games (COJO) emphasized Quebec's unique position within Canada. Hostesses and guides were asked: "If we consider Quebec in relation to the rest of Canada, one can observe that it has unique qualities, can you list one?"; "In what year was French proclaimed the official language in Quebec and by whom?;" and "Quebec is a region rich in arts, name a Québécois artist you know that is a top Canadian artist and describe their form of art."¹ The hostesses wore pins containing the Montreal Games' emblems on their lapels and Olympic commodities were all marked with the same emblem. This chapter examines the symbolism of the Games' emblem and related commodities, showing that, like the hostesses and guides handbook, the emblem emphasized the idea that French Canadian identity was distinct from English Canadian identity. In fact the emblem and, by extension, commodities bearing the emblem, represented Montreal's identity and helped convey the idea that the Olympics were Quebec's Games, rather than Canada's Games.

The Olympic handbook also contained information about the mascot of the Games, a beaver named Amik. It noted that the beaver "occupies a distinctive place in Canadian

¹ Centre D'Accueil, Manuel de base, 1-46, 1-47 Box 1981-06-009/1297, Fonds Comité organisateur des Jeux Olympiques de 1976: E46 (FCOJO). Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec (BANQ); The handbook was written in French and I translated the questions to English. The original French reads: "Si l'on considère le Québec comparativement au reste du Canada, on remarque certaines particularités, pourriez-vous en spécifier une?"; "En quelle année le Français, fut-il proclamé langue officielle du Québec et par qui?"; "Le Québec est une province très polifique dans le domaine des arts. Nommez un(e) artiste québécois(e) connu(e) au delà des frontières canadiennes et mentionnez quel est son mode d'expression?"

history” and that the mascot’s name means beaver in the Algonquin language.² Amik was turned into numerous commodities, including stuffed animals and key chains. Thus, the mascot symbolized ideas about collective national identity, such as the importance of the fur trade to the Canadian economy in the 17th and 18th centuries, rather than focusing exclusively on French Canadian identity. However, because most commodities of the mascot contained the Montreal Olympics’ emblem, the idea that the mascot represented a shared Canadian identity was contradicted by the emblem’s emphasis on the distinctiveness of Québécois culture in relation to the rest of Canada. Thus, the mascot commodities symbolized irreconcilable ideas about Canada and highlighted, rather than resolved, conflicts between English- and French- Canadians.

The mascot commodities, along with two Olympic coins that showed a canoeist and lacrosse players, represented a third less obvious idea about national identity: historically, Settler Canadians have relied on, and at times appropriated, Indigenous peoples’ knowledge and cultures to further their nation-building enterprise. Knowledge of historical facts, such as the indispensable role that Indigenous peoples played in facilitating the fur trade, the history of European assimilation in Canada, and Settler Canadians’ adaptation of Indigenous games like bagatway or tewaarathon to create a unified Settler Canadian identity, haunted mascot and coin commodities. By haunting, I mean that these ideas were not explicitly articulated or associated with the commodities; equally importantly, however, the ideas were inextricably linked to the commodities. I rely on Avery Gordon and Jacques Derrida’s conceptualization of haunting to buttress my analysis of representations of Indigenous peoples in the Games. Rather than simply identifying how Indigenous peoples were stereotyped or excluded from the Games, I use haunting theory to show how knowledge about Indigenous peoples’ cultures, that were

² Ibid., 2-44. The original French reads: “Le castor, mascotte des Jeux olympiques 1976, occupe une place toute particulière dans l’histoire du Canada”; “La mascotte a été baptisée ‘Amik,’ mot algonquin qui signifie ‘castor’”. When translating “amik” into English/French, it is unclear if COJO understood the difference between Algonquin and Algonquian. The official report of the Montreal Games included two separate sections on the meaning of the word “amik”. On page 49, it notes that amik means beaver in Algonquian while on page 354, it notes that amik comes from the Algonquin word for beaver. The distinction between Algonquin and Algonquian is significant: Algonquin is an Indigenous language that belongs to the Algonquian language family.

formally excluded from official narratives, were not completely erased. Rather, the absence of this information was a presence itself: a “seething absence.”³ Put another way, haunting theory draws attention to the fact that important information about the nation’s history can be obscured, but not completely expunged from public memory.

My analysis of the symbolic significance of Olympic commodities contributes to existing literature on the relationship between commercialism and Canadian identity. This chapter complicates Catherine Carstairs’ argument that one reason why branded nationalism became prominent after 1980 is that events like the 1990 Oka-Mohawk Crisis, and the 1995 Quebec referendum fragmented Canadians’ sense of national identity.⁴ Some brands, like Roots, Tim Hortons, and Molson Canadian, capitalized on this fragmentation to fill a need within the nation and link ideas about national pride and unity to the consumption of everyday consumer goods like clothing, coffee and beer. Montreal Olympic organizers, however, were not able to capitalize on the fragmentation of national identity. Quite the opposite: commodities bearing the Montreal Games emblem and the mascot served as a reminder that Canadians were far from being united. Thus, these commodities are notable for their failure: unlike commodities like Roots clothing and Molson Canadian beer, the commodities of the emblem were unpopular and not embraced by consumers. Moreover, in contrast to commodities linked to the Calgary and Vancouver Olympics, the commodities of Amik, the Montreal Olympics mascot, did not help resolve a crisis in the meaning of Canadian identity. Rather, they reflected the existence of this crisis by symbolizing the reality that, although they had a shared relationship to the land, French and English Canadians had more cultural differences than similarities.

³ Avery Gordon. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1997), 21.

⁴ Catherine Carstairs, "Roots Nationalism: Branding English Canada Cool in the 1980s and 1990s," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 39, no. 77 (2006): 248.

As noted in Chapter One, most scholarship on the relationship between Canadian identity and commercialism focuses on the link between branding and national identity.⁵ A central focus in this literature is how Canadian companies like Roots, Molson Canadian, and Tim Hortons have successfully aligned their brand meanings with national identity and pride. This focus on marketing and brand identity, I argue, overlooks the importance of the symbolic meaning of commodities. In contrast, my analysis of Montreal Olympic commodities demonstrates how rich insights into the relationship between Canadian identity and commercialism are revealed when attention is paid to the design of commodities. The Olympic mascot commodities and canoe and lacrosse coins illustrate how recent and historical injustices facing Indigenous peoples haunt consumer objects. In other words, the symbolism of these commodities influences the ways in which Settlers remember the past. Thus, by applying the concept of ghostly hauntings to the meanings of Montreal Olympic commodities, I highlight ideas that were obscured but not completely invisible in the Montreal Games.

Applying haunting theory to Montreal Olympic commodities also illustrates how these goods are not distinct from the cultural elements of the Olympics, such as the opening and closing ceremonies. Like these cultural events, Olympic commodities represent selective ideas about Indigenous peoples' cultural and historical contribution to the nation. In so doing, they avoid addressing the ghosts that haunt the history of Indigenous-Settler relations in Canada. Moreover, considered in this light, the political implications of the Kahanawake Mohawk's decision to stage an alternative cultural Olympiad by

⁵ See: Mary Louise Adams, "The Game of whose Lives? Gender, Race and Entitlement in Canada's 'National' Game," in *Artificial Ice: Hockey, Culture and Commerce*, ed. by David Whitson and Richard Gruneau. (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2006). 71-84; Donica Belisle, *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011); Carstairs, "Roots Nationalism", 235-255; Patricia Cormack, and James Cosgrave. *Desiring Canada: CBC, Contests, Hockey Violence, and Other Stately Pleasures* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013); Paula Hastings, "Branding Canada: Consumer Culture and the Development of Popular Nationalism in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Canadas of the Mind: The Making and Unmaking of Canadian nationalisms in the twentieth Century*, ed. Norman Hillmer and Adam Chapnick (Montreal: Press, McGill-Queen's University, 2007), 134-158; Gregory Millard, Sarah Riegel, and John Wright, "Here's where we get Canadian: English-Canadian nationalism and popular culture," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 1 (2002): 11-34; Ira Wagman, "Wheat, Barley, Hops, Citizenship: Molson's 'I Am [Canadian]' Campaign," *The Velvet Light Trap - A Critical Journal of Film and Television* Fall (2002): 77-89.

inviting visitors to their reserve, located just outside of Montreal, becomes clear. Residents of Kahnawake sought to take control over representations of their culture, largely by selling locally made crafts not haunted by unacknowledged truths about Indigenous - Settler relations.

“Living Together Is Not Easy:” French Canadian Identity

Richard Gareau wrote a memo in 1973 arguing that legal protection of COJO’s licensable rights would allow it to “take advantage of the tremendous prestige associated with the 1976 Olympic Games in order to realize the self-financing of the same.”⁶ One of COJO’s copyrighted images, the Games’ emblem, appeared on Olympic commodities, including coins, stamps, letter openers, necklaces, coloured fans, candle holders, clothing patches, glassware, ashtrays, thermoses, license plates, key rings, and cufflinks. However, the emblem did not connote prestige or help COJO raise substantial amounts of money. The emblem and, by extension, commodities bearing the emblem, represented Montreal’s identity and helped to convey the idea that the Olympics were Quebec’s Games, rather than Canada’s Games. Georges Huel, COJO’s Director General of Graphics and Design, created the emblem, which extended the top of the Olympic rings to form an “M,” representing Montreal. The extended rings also represented the Olympic podium.⁷ The emblem design explicitly emphasized Montreal rather than Canada: “This emblem,” noted the Official Report of the Games, “evoked the universal brotherhood of the Olympic ideal, the triumph of the winners, the spirit of fair play in their struggles, and the

⁶ Draft letter from Richard Gareau, Box 1981-06-009\2441, File: Revenu Liste de licenciés officiels, FCOJO, BANQ; These rights were protected through law in July 1975, when the Canadian Parliament passed the Act to Amend the Olympic (1976) Act, legislation that protected COJO’s trademarks and copyrights; Although the importance of copyrighting Olympic-related symbols seems self evident now, the idea of controlling the use of the Olympic-related licensable rights was relatively new in 1973 (see: Robert Barney, Scott Wenn, and Scott Martyn, *Selling the Five Rings: The International Olympic committee and the Rise of Olympic Commercialism* (Utah: University of Utah Press, 2002), 154).

⁷ Le graphisme et le design des Jeux, l’image visual des jeux, l’image de marquee des jeux, Box 1981-06-009/ 1879, File: Graphisme single du COJO, FCOJO, BANQ.

elevation of Montréal to the rank of Olympic City.”⁸ Apart from sharing the colours of the Canadian flag (red and white), the emblem did not connote national identity.



Figure 8: Souvenirs of the Montreal Olympics, COJO, *Official Report*, 60.



Figure 9: Souvenirs of the Montreal Olympics, COJO, *Official Report*, 353.

⁸ Comité d'Organisation des Jeux Olympique (COJO), *The Official Report of the XXIst Olympiad Montréal 1976*. (Ottawa: Comité d'Organisation des Jeux Olympique, 1978), 314.

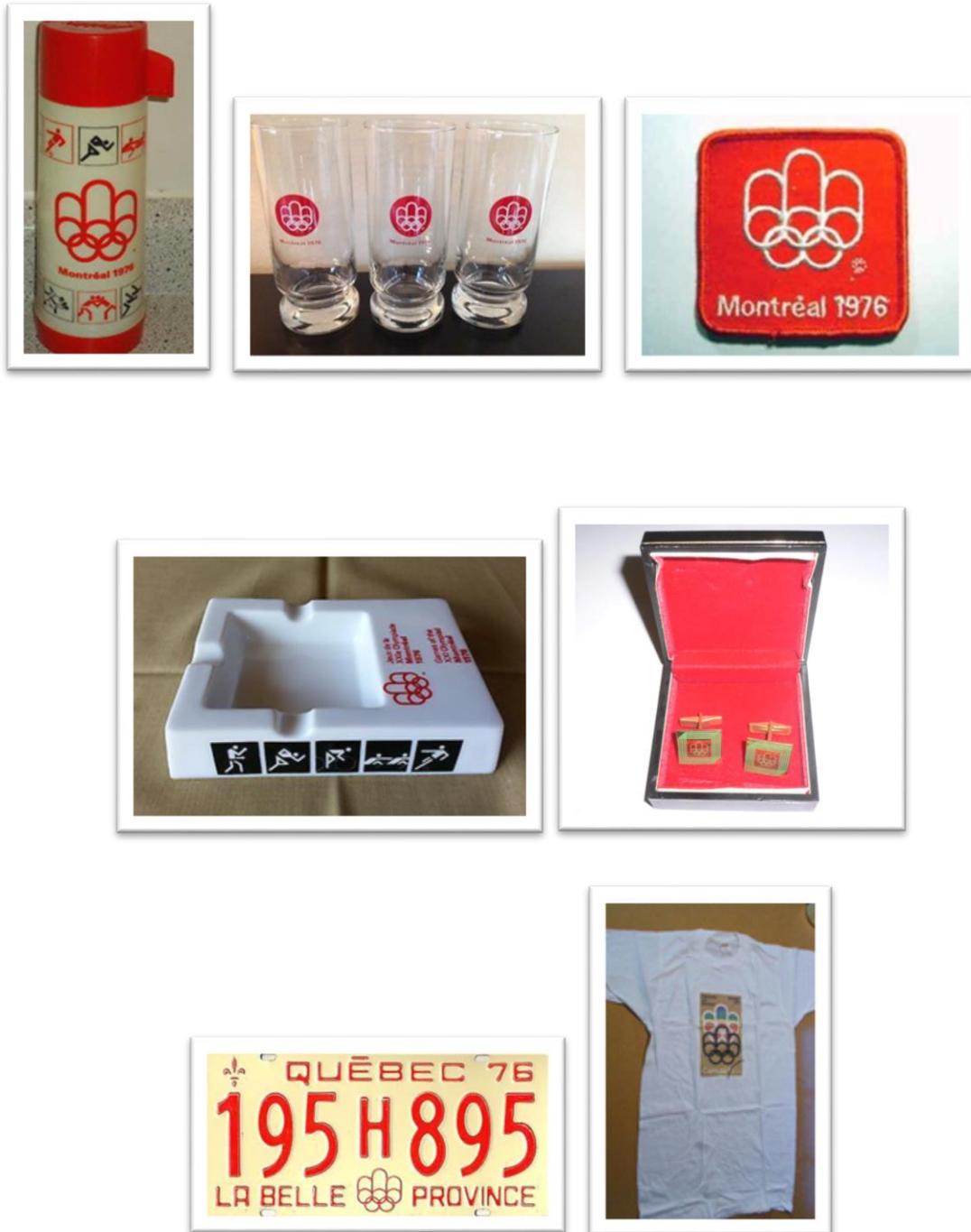


Figure 10: Souvenirs of the Montreal Olympics for sale on eBay, www.ebay.com.

The fact that the emblem reflected the cultural and linguistic distinctiveness of French Canada was particularly noticeable in the design of the stamps and coins; the “M” in the emblem was juxtaposed against the word “Canada” that appeared on all national stamps and coins. In addition, the design of these coins and stamps were reproduced on numerous commodities. Canada Post produced Olympic stamps in precious metal as collectable artwork, along with images of the opening ceremony, Olympic flame, and medal ceremony. Its souvenir collection included companion stamp albums containing 21 Olympic stamps, an Olympic stamp souvenir case with twelve stamps mounted on the lid, and a collection of colour posters of the stamps. The Royal Canadian Mint produced coin albums, coin cabinets, coin jewellery, lucite coins, and a combined philatelic/numismatic collection.⁹ One coin in particular, part of Series One, reinforced the emblem’s emphasis on the “elevation of Montréal to the rank of Olympic City” by depicting the city’s skyline.¹⁰

The primacy of French-Canadian identity in the Montreal Olympics was highlighted most dramatically by two clothing patches sold during the Games. One patch reproduced the Montreal Games’ emblem and the Quebec flag, which is white with four blue squares, each with a fleur de lis in the centre. The other patch reproduced a red flag with the Games’ emblem on it and the Quebec flag. These commodities aligned the Olympic emblem with prominent symbols of Québécois nationalism.

⁹ Ibid., 68.

¹⁰ Ibid., 314.

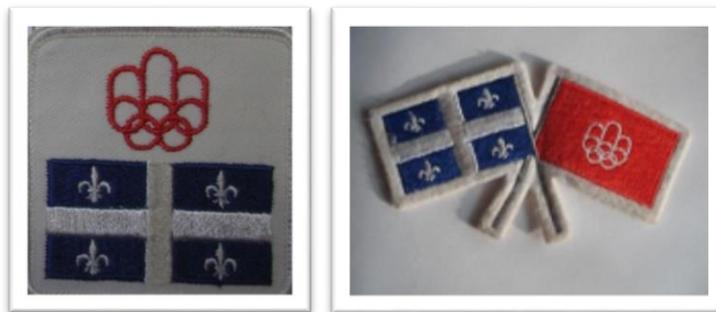


Figure 11: Clothing patches from the Montreal Olympics, for sale on eBay, www.ebay.com.

The symbolism of Québécois nationalism, reflected through the Olympic emblem, contrasted with the idea promoted by Queen Elizabeth II, Prime Minister Trudeau, and COJO that English and French Canadians can co-exist harmoniously. The Queen and Trudeau emphasized this idea in the speeches they delivered at a banquet dinner in July 1976 during the Games. The Queen praised Montrealers, saying:

The constant inter-action of two proud peoples living together in the shadow of Mont Royal has made this city the site of one of the most challenging, difficult, yet hopeful endeavours in human progress that the world has seen. Montreal is a living act of faith in the ideal which Canada represents to the world.¹¹

Trudeau acknowledged that “living together is not easy and is not without its moments of friction” but asserted that “Canada will continue to set an example for the whole world of unity in diversity and harmony in plurality.”¹²

During the opening ceremony of the Games, two teenagers, Sandra Henderson, an anglophone, and Stéphane Préfontaine, a francophone, entered the stadium jointly carrying the Olympic Flame. The image of English and French Canadians sharing this honour conveyed the ideal of peaceful co-existence of French and English Canadians.

¹¹ N.a, "Entente Cordiale foundation of Canada's personality," *Globe and Mail*, July 26, 1976, 7.

¹² Ibid.

Writing in the *Globe and Mail*, James Christie observed: “The two languages together – as they *might* exist in Canada – were a major part of the afternoon’s call for unity.”¹³ Journalist Christie Blatchford similarly wrote that the two torch bearers represented “the most poignant message of the Olympics – that the people of the world, with a little caution and sensitivity, *can* learn to be tolerant of each other.”¹⁴ In contrast to these sentiments, many of the Games’ commodities represented the fact that, for the time being, Canadians were not a unified group.

“Emblematic of Canada:” The Olympic Mascot

The official mascot of the Montreal Games symbolized a shared feature of French and English Canadian identity, the country’s settler colonial history and the early fur trade in Canada. The mascot was a black beaver named Amik, which according to the official report, is “a word meaning beaver in the Algonquin language, the most widespread among the Amerindians of Canada.”¹⁵ Huel designed the mascot wearing a red sash with the Games’ emblem.¹⁶ In contrast to the emblem’s emphasis on municipal and regional identity, COJO representatives explicitly linked the beaver to Canadian identity and history. On September 26, 1974, COJO held a press conference to announce that the beaver would be the official mascot of the Games, even bringing a live one to the event.¹⁷ Roger Rousseau fed the animal apple pieces and described the beaver as “emblematic of Canada.”¹⁸ As the official emblem of Canada, the beaver is on the front of the Canadian nickel, and a beaver carved out of limestone sits atop an entrance to the Canadian Parliament buildings. In the late 19th century, many companies incorporated images of

¹³ James Christie, “Standing Ovation for Canadian athletes: Hope and harmony theme emphasized at Games opening,” *Globe and Mail*, July 19, 1975, S1, italics added.

¹⁴ Christie Blatchford, Daily Column, *Globe and Mail*, July 19, 1976, S1, italics added.

¹⁵ COJO, *Official Report*, 354; as I discuss later in this chapter, this statement about the Algonquin language is not completely accurate.

¹⁶ A few commodities of the mascot contained a rainbow coloured sash, representing the colour scheme of the Montreal Olympics. These commodities, lacking the Games’ logo, do not symbolize competing ideas about regional/national identity.

¹⁷ Note de Service, Object: Official Launching of COJO Mascot, Box 1981-06-009\2441, File: Mascotte, FCOJO, BANQ; n.a., “This Will be One Busy Beaver,” *Globe and Mail*, Sept. 26, 1974, 44.

¹⁸ Press Release: “Beaver Chosen as Montréal Games’ Mascot”, Sept. 25, 1974, Box 1981-06-009\2441, File: Mascotte, FCOJO, BANQ.

beavers into their logos, including the Canadian National Railway, Canadian Illustrated News, Sleeman's Ale, Beaver Brand Chewing Tobacco and Crompton's Corsets.¹⁹ More recently, the logo for the clothing company Roots features a beaver. In a famous nationalist ad by Molson in 2000, "Joe Canadian" describes the beaver as "a truly proud and noble animal."²⁰

Even before COJO chose a beaver as the Games' mascot, the organization focused on the commercial potential of a mascot. Gareau wrote in 1973: "it goes without saying that we could profit enormously from a mascot that could be easily adapted to all sorts of merchandises (comic strips, general publications, toys, puzzles, jewellery, scarves, ties, hats, etc.)"²¹ Similarly, Huel wrote in 1974: "We believe that the goal of creating a mascot is to give an opportunity to official licensees to produce souvenirs of it."²² Many commodities bearing Amik's image were sold during the Games: Gaby Pleau Inc. produced the mascot in leather and fur. Joca Inc. produced beaver puzzles and beaver banks (change holders similar to piggy banks) and Mighty Star Ltd. produced a plush beaver.²³ Other Amik commodities included iron-on clothing patches, key chains, pins, and noise makers. Moreover, official Olympic supporters, donors who gave between \$5,000 and \$25,000 received a gold, silver or bronze beaver depending on the amount.²⁴

¹⁹ Margot Francis. *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 34.

²⁰ "I Am Canadian." Molson Canadian advertisement. *YouTube*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BRI-A3vakVg>

²¹ Note de Service from Richard Gareau to Georges Huel, Subject: Mascotte, Nov. 21, 1973, Box: 1981-06-009\2441, File: Mascotte, FCOJO, BANQ; The original memo is in French and the quotation is my translation. The original French reads: "Sure le côté commercial, il va sans dire que nous pouvons profiter énormément d'une mascotte qui peut s'adapter facilement à toutes sortes de marchandises (bandes dessinées, publications générales, jouets, casse-tête, bijoux, foulards, cravats, chapeaux, etc.)"

²² Note de Service from Georges Huel to Raymond Beauchemin, Subject: nom de la mascotte, Dec. 9, 1974, Box 1981-06-009\2441, File: Mascotte, FCOJO, BANQ; The original memo is in French and the quotation is my translation. The original French reads: "Nous croyons que le but premier de la création d'une mascotte est de donner l'occasion à des licenciés officiels de produire des souvenirs de celle-ci."

²³ List of official licensees for the 1976 Games, Nov. 13, 1975, Box 1981-06-009\1968, FCOJO, BANQ.

²⁴ COJO, *Official Report*, 62; there were 3 levels of Olympic support – official promoters, supporters and sponsors. Official sponsors received gold, silver or bronze torches and official promoters received gold, silver or bronze plaques. In total, official sponsors donated \$536, 000 to COJO (official promoters gave \$144,000 and official sponsors gave \$3.5 million).

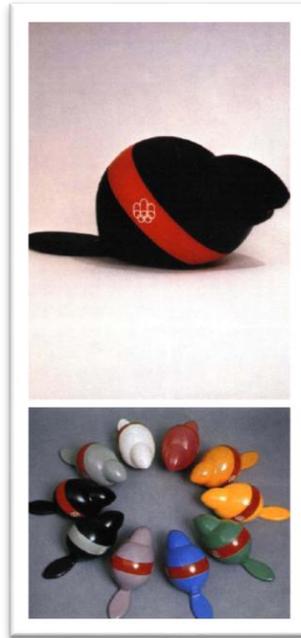


Figure 12: Amik commodities, COJO, *Official Report*, 354.



Figure 13: Amik commodities for sale on eBay, www.ebay.com.

The graphic design of Amik was not particularly distinctive. Huel did not include much detail in his design. In fact, he did not initially give Amik eyes or teeth, leading journalist James Christie to observe wryly: “only recently has it come to anyone’s attention that poor Amik was born with neither eyes nor the characteristic teeth. Needless to say, a blind, toothless mascot does not reflect a flattering image of COJO.”²⁵ Amik eventually received eyes but remained toothless. Although Huel’s design did not create a symbolic association between the beaver and the fur trade, this association was already established in Canada. Margot Francis writes: “The beaver was the first article of trade upon which European trade and exploration was based, and as such, it became a crucial medium through which early Europeans articulated an imagined relationship with commercial culture.”²⁶ Two companies, the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC), founded in 1670, and the North West Company (NWC), founded in 1783, were central to the fur trade in Canada.²⁷ King Charles II of England created the HBC through a royal charter, which gave it the authority to trade, make treaties, and defend the territory of Rupertsland.²⁸ In 1783, independent Canadian fur traders founded the NWC, which competed with the HBC until 1824, when it was absorbed into the HBC.²⁹ When Canada was established in 1867, the beaver became a symbol of national identity and its ties to the HBC and NWC meant that it was already associated with trade and commerce.³⁰

The guidebook COJO gave to Olympic hostesses and guides explicitly linked the symbolism of Amik to the fur trade and, by extension, the nation’s history. It noted that the beaver “played an important role in the development of our country, demonstrating the extent to which the Canadian economy was originally based on the fur trade.”³¹ Using

²⁵ James Christie, “Plug on Quebec cars: Plates to carry Olympic logo,” *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 2, 1975, 60.

²⁶ Francis, *Creative Subversions*, 31.

²⁷ Francis, *Creative Subversions*, 32, Peter C. Newman, *Company of Adventurers: How the Hudson's Bay Empire Determined the Destiny of a Continent* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2005), 243.

²⁸ Wesley R. Herber, “Aboriginal People and the Fur Trade,” in *Hidden in Plain Sight: Contributions of Aboriginal Peoples to Canadian Identity and Culture*, vol. 2, ed. Cora J. Voyageur, David R. Newhouse and Dan Beavon (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 18-19.

²⁹ Newman, *Company of Adventurer*, 243, 429.

³⁰ Francis, *Creative Subversions*, 33.

³¹ Centre D’Accueil, Manuel de base, 2-9, Box 1981-06-009/1297, FCOJO, BANQ; the handbook was written in French and the quotation is my translation. The original French reads: The original reads: “Le

almost identical language to the handbook, the official report of the Montreal Olympics reads:

Several reasons justified the choice of the beaver [as mascot]. Recognized for its patience and hard work, this animal has occupied an important place in the economic development of Canada from the time when the fur trade was the major activity in North America. It has been honored as the national symbol of Canadians and appears on coins and stamps.³²

Moreover, Rousseau explicitly associated the beaver mascot with the fur trade: “Any Canadian realizes that it was the beaver which opened up this country, which led several large European companies to open up Canada and led to the settlement of our ancestors here.”³³

The mascot and related commodities thus symbolized two different ideas about Canada. On one hand, by bearing the Games’ emblem, the mascot symbolized the regional dimension of the Montreal Games and emphasized French-Canadian identity over a unified national identity. On the other hand, because COJO members associated the mascot with the history of the fur trade and European settlement in Canada, the mascot symbolized Settler Canadians’ shared national identity and history. These competing ideas sat uneasily, next to one another. The unresolved nature of the mascot’s symbolism is significant in light of Anne McClintock’s theory of fetishism. According to McClintock, fetish objects represent “a crisis in social meaning as the embodiment of an impossible irresolution.”³⁴ McClintock’s definition of fetish helps explain how objects

castor, mascotte des Jeux olympiques 1976, occupe une place toute particulière dans l’histoire du Canada. Cet animal, renommé pour son caractère industriel et sa patience, a joué un rôle important dans le développement de notre pays, dans la mesure où l’économie canadienne reposait à l’origine sur le commerce des fourrures.”

³² COJO, *Official Report*, 354.

³³ Press Release: “Beaver Chosen as Montréal Games’ Mascot”, Sept. 25, Box 1981-06-009\2441, File: Mascotte, FCOJO, BANQ.

³⁴ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995),184.

have the capacity to hold together competing ideas, making it possible for irreconcilable ideas to co-exist without collapsing under the weight of this contradiction. I argue in future chapters that commodities from the Calgary and Vancouver Olympics were fetish objects, according to McClintock's understanding of the term. However, the Montreal mascot and related commodities were not McClintock-esque fetishes because the competing ideas about national identity that they represented were very obvious. As opposed to the objects sold during the Calgary and Vancouver Games, which overtly represented some information and obscured other facts, the Montreal commodities drew attention to contradictions in meanings of national identity, exposing them for all to see. Symbolically, the mascot collapsed under the weight of the contradictions it held.

To end an analysis of the mascot's symbolism with a discussion of competing ideas of French- and English-Canadian identity would be incomplete. The mascot represented a third idea about national identity that was less obvious but not invisible. The mascot's name, Amik, symbolized the fact that the fur traders who helped to establish Canada as a modern-day nation were early Canadian Settlers. Of course, the French and English explorers who first arrived in Canada did not happen upon land empty of inhabitants; it was already populated by Indigenous groups. In fact, the official report openly acknowledges this fact by noting: Amik "means beaver in Algonquian, the basic language spoken by the tribes who greeted the first Settlers in the country."³⁵

The official report's interpretation about the meaning of "amik" is not entirely accurate. Algonquian is not a language, but a language family, as Bill Jancequicz explains: "The analysis of Algonquian languages proposes a 'parent' language from which the various Algonquian languages and dialects are descended. Linguists refer to this parent language as Proto-Algonquian."³⁶ Moreover, it is unclear whether the authors of the Games' official report were aware of this distinction, as they appear to use the terms Algonquin and Algonquian interchangeably. Another section of the report, about Montreal's Olympic image, noted that amik is "a word meaning beaver in the *Algonquin* language,

³⁵ COJO, *Official Report*, 49.

³⁶ Bill Jancequicz, "Related-Language Translation: Naskapi and East Cree," in *Born in the Blood: On Native American Translation*, ed. Brian Swann (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), n13, 136.

the most widespread among the Amerindians of Canada.”³⁷ Yet even this statement is inaccurate, as the most widely spoken Indigenous languages in Canada are Cree dialects.³⁸

Perhaps even more troubling than the inconsistencies and inaccuracies in the official report about the word “amik” is the fact that when Rousseau discussed the significance of the beaver to Canadian history he did not acknowledge the presence of Indigenous peoples in Canada prior to European settlement or their essential contributions to the fur trade. As noted earlier, Rousseau stated that “Any Canadian realizes that it was the beaver which opened up this country, which led several large European companies to open up Canada and led to the settlement of our ancestors here.”³⁹ It is unclear if Rousseau was referring to French-Canadian ancestors or all Canadian ancestors. In either case, he excluded Indigenous peoples’ presence, and their corresponding involvement in the fur trade, from his account of early European settlement in Canada. However, the mascot’s name made two facts difficult to ignore. First, early European Settlers did not happen upon an empty land when they first arrived in Canada but, rather, encountered Indigenous peoples who have a rightful claim to the land. In other words, the mascot’s name illustrated the inaccuracy of the *terra nullius* (“empty lands”) myth. Second, Indigenous peoples’ contributions to the fur trade were essential to its success.

The history of Canada’s involvement in the fur trade dates back to the 17th century. At that time, there was a high demand in Europe for Canadian beaver pelts, which were

³⁷ Ibid., 354, italics added.

³⁸ Canada, Statistics Canada, Stéphanie Langlois and Annie Turner, "Aboriginal Languages and Selected Vitality Indicators in 2011" (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2014). http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/98-314-x/98-314-x2011003_3-eng.cfm; Canada, Statistics Canada, “Aboriginal Languages in Canada” (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2014). http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/98-314-x/98-314-x2011003_3-eng.cfm; As Langlois and Stéphanie make clear, numerous Cree dialects exist. They write: “Cree languages include the following categories: Cree not otherwise specified (which refers to those who reported 'Cree'), Swampy Cree, Plains Cree, Woods Cree, and a category labelled 'Cree not included elsewhere' (which includes Moose Cree, Northern East Cree and Southern East Cree”.

³⁹ Press Release: “Beaver Chosen as Montréal Games’ Mascot”, Sept. 25, 1974. Box 1981-06-009\2441, File: Mascotte, FCOJO, BANQ.

turned into the felt that milliners used to make fashionable broad-brimmed hats.⁴⁰ European fur traders depended on Indigenous peoples' labour to obtain and process beaver pelts. Traders coveted the pelts that many Indigenous peoples wore as clothing because, after about eighteen months of wear, the beavers' long hairs fell off, leaving only soft fur.⁴¹ J.R. Miller writes: "A trade in the beaver pelts that the furriers craved in the seventeenth century Europe was simply impossible without the cooperation of the Indigenous North Americans. Europeans who came in search of prime furs needed the native population's knowledge, skills, and cooperation."⁴² The 1996 *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (RCAP) similarly notes: "Although some European traders obtained Aboriginal clothing, canoes, snowshoes and other items for themselves, the most sought after goods were beaver pelts."⁴³ Moreover, Sylvia Van Kirk documents the gendered dimension of the fur trade, noting that many European fur traders married Indigenous women in order to benefit from their knowledge of local food sources and clothing production.⁴⁴

The relationship between French fur traders and the Innu and Wendat illustrates the interdependence of European traders and Indigenous peoples. Beginning in the early 17th century, the traders established close ties to the Innu nation, Algonquian speakers who lived north of the St. Lawrence and east of the Saguenay River. Many Innu trapped beavers for French traders and acted as middlemen between the traders and other trappers.⁴⁵ Moreover, Samuel de Champlain established close ties with the Wendat Nation, Iroquoian speakers living in the area between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe.

⁴⁰ J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 32; Francis, *Creative Subversions*, 31.

⁴¹ Canada, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), *Highlights from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: People to People, Nation to Nation*, (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014597/1100100014637>

⁴² Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 33.

⁴³ RCAP, *Highlights from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, 102.

⁴⁴ Sylvia van Kirk, "From 'Marrying-in' to 'Marrying Out': Changing patterns of Aboriginal/Non-Aboriginal Marriage in Colonial Canada," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 23 no. 3 (2002): 1-11.

⁴⁵ RCAP, *Highlights from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, 102.

Many Wendat exchanged beaver pelts for iron knives, awls, axes, brass kettles, and glass beads.⁴⁶

By trading with Europeans, Indigenous peoples gained access to valuable goods, but they were also introduced to deadly new diseases including small pox.⁴⁷ By the 1630s, these diseases had caused a dramatic decline in the Innu population and were beginning to impact the Wendat.⁴⁸ An estimated one third to half of the entire Wendat population had died from smallpox by 1640.⁴⁹ Moreover, sustained efforts by European missionaries to convert Indigenous peoples to Christianity posed a serious threat to their traditional cultures. Missionaries tried to convert the Innu to Christianity and pressured them to start farming, build European-style dwellings, and abandon their so-called “uncivilized ways.”⁵⁰ Moreover, by prohibiting Wendat converts from participating in their community’s traditional rituals, missionaries separated converts from non-converts and disrupted the community’s cohesiveness.⁵¹

“Ghost(ed)” Objects: Haunting and the Olympic Mascot

The fact that Indigenous peoples were central players in the fur trade in Canada haunted Rousseau’s statement that the beaver opened up the country. I use the term “haunted” deliberately, in accordance with Avery Gordon’s conceptualization of haunting as a “seething absence,”⁵² one that can be perceived and felt.⁵³ Rousseau’s failure to acknowledge Indigenous peoples’ presence in Canada and their contribution to the fur trade was present in its absence, ignored but not erased. The mascot was also haunted by the federal government’s historical efforts to assimilate Indigenous peoples into Settler society and the role that the Indian Residential School system played in this process. As the 2015 report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Canada (TRC) notes, “It

⁴⁶ Ibid., 103.

⁴⁷ Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 48; Herber, “Aboriginal People and the Fur Trade”, 26.

⁴⁸ RCAP, *Highlights from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, 103

⁴⁹ Herber, “Aboriginal People and the Fur Trade”, 26.

⁵⁰ *Highlights from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, 103.

⁵¹ Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 53.

⁵² Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 17.

⁵³ Ibid.

was in keeping with this intent to assimilate Aboriginal peoples and, in the process, to eliminate its government-to-government relationship with First Nations that the federal government dramatically increased its involvement in residential schooling in the 1880s.”⁵⁴ Jointly run by the federal government and Christian churches, the architects of residential schools promoted the now discredited idea that Indigenous children were “savages” who needed to be “civilized.” For example, in 1883, Canada’s Public Works Minister, Hector Langevin, discussed residential schools in the House of Commons, arguing: “if you wish to educate these [Indigenous] children you must separate them from their parents during the time they are being educated. If you leave them in the family they may know how to read and write, but they still remain savages.”⁵⁵ In fact, the TRC report described Canada’s historical policy towards Indigenous peoples as cultural genocide, defining the term as “the destruction of those structures and practices that allow the group to continue as a group.”⁵⁶

One feature of cultural genocide, according to the TRC, is the banning of a group’s language or languages. The fact that the mascot of the Montreal Games was given an Algonquin name (Amik) made the history of residential schooling in Canada, and its emphasis on language, impossible to completely disavow. The government’s intention to sever the bond between Indigenous children and their families through residential schools was clear from the beginning and one way it achieved this goal was by mandating that students only speak English or French.⁵⁷ The Department of Indian Affairs’ “Program of Studies for Indian Schools,” issued in 1896, stated: “Every effort must be made to induce pupils to speak English and to teach them to understand it; unless they do, the whole work of the teacher is likely to be wasted.”⁵⁸ The RCAP report uses strong language to describe the effect of this emphasis on English and French: “the entire residential school

⁵⁴ Canada, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. (Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015), 58. <http://www.trc.ca>

⁵⁵ Langevin, quoted in TRC, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 61.

⁵⁶ TRC, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁵⁸ Indian Affairs “Programme of Studies for Indian Schools” of 1893, qtd in TRC, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 83.

project was balanced on the proposition that the gate to assimilation was unlocked only by the progressive destruction of Aboriginal languages. With that growing silence would come the dying whisper of Aboriginal cultures.”⁵⁹

Students were harshly punished for speaking their native languages. For example, residential school survivor Raphael Ironstand recalled that teachers would discipline students for speaking Cree by shaving their heads, a practice that made them feel ashamed: “Even though they wore scarves and toques to hide their heads, the tears were streaming down their faces. They were so embarrassed, they kept their heads bowed and eyes looking at the floor.”⁶⁰ Another student, Mary Carpenter, “was beaten, forced to go hungry, stand in a corridor on one leg and walk in the snow with no shoes as punishment for speaking Inuvialuktum.”⁶¹ Pierrette Benjamin, who attended the La Tuque school, was forced to eat soap after she was caught speaking her native language.⁶² Agnes Mills, who attended the All Saints residential school in Saskatchewan, told the TRC that losing her language deeply affected her identity and relationship with her family: “one of things that residential school did for me, I really regret, is that it made me ashamed of who I was.”⁶³ She added: “the worst thing I ever did was I was ashamed of my mother, that honourable woman, because she couldn’t speak English. She never went to school, and they told us that, when we used to go home to her on Saturdays, and they told us that we couldn’t talk Gwinch’in to her, and she couldn’t, like couldn’t communicate.”⁶⁴

The conditions in residential schools were appalling and many students died while attending these schools. The TRC, which established a National Residential School Student Death Register in order to uncover the exact number of deaths, recorded 3,201

⁵⁹ RCAP, *Highlights from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, 317.

⁶⁰ Raphael Ironstand, qtd in TRC, *Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and Residential Schools: They Came for the Children* (Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012), 39.
http://www.myrobust.com/websites/trcinstitution/File/2039_T&R_eng_web%5B1%5D.pdf

⁶¹ RCAP, *Highlights from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, 355.

⁶² TRC *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 85.

⁶³ Agnes Mills, qtd in TRC, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 201.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

reported deaths of residential school students.⁶⁵ The commission points out that the death rates for Indigenous children enrolled in residential schools were much higher than those for the general Canadian population. Tuberculosis cases in these schools, which peaked in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, were responsible for many of these deaths.⁶⁶ Residential school students were badly fed and were required to perform onerous tasks to keep the schools running, including farming, cooking, and cleaning. Moreover, they experienced cruel physical punishments and rarely received encouragement or affection. Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of residential schools was the sexual and physical abuse experienced by many students.⁶⁷ Most residential schools were closed by the 1980s, but a few remained open until the mid-1990s.

The trauma of residential schools left an inter-generational impact on Indigenous communities. The TRC report, which discusses this impact, is worth quoting at length:

The legacy of the [residential] schools remains. One can see the impact of a system that disrupts families in the high number of Aboriginal children who have been removed by their families by child-welfare agencies. An education system that degraded Aboriginal culture and subjected students to humiliating disciplines must bear a portion of responsibility for the current gap between the educational success of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians... The over-incarceration and over-victimization of Aboriginal people also have links to a system that subjected Aboriginal children to punitive discipline and exposed them to physical and sexual abuse.⁶⁸

In 2008 Prime Minister Stephen Harper publicly apologized for residential schools in Canada. He declared: “The government now recognizes that the consequences of the Indian Residential Schools policy were profoundly negative and that this policy has had a

⁶⁵ TRC, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 93.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 93-4.

⁶⁷ For a detailed account of the conditions in residential schools, see: TRC, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*.

⁶⁸ TRC, *Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and Residential Schools*, 77-78.

lasting and damaging impact on Aboriginal culture, heritage and language.”⁶⁹ It is important to recognize, however, that the federal government did not ultimately succeed in assimilating Indigenous peoples into Settler society. The TRC report tells readers: “Although Aboriginal peoples and cultures have been badly damaged, they continue to exist. Aboriginal people have refused to surrender their identity.”⁷⁰

Amik was, to borrow a word from Sharon Rosenberg, Amber Dean, and Kara Granzow, a “ghost(ed)” object. Rosenberg et al. argue that a photograph linked to Alberta’s 2005 Centenary Celebrations was a “ghost(ed) image.”⁷¹ The picture, included in a handbook about the centenary celebrations ostensibly showed a single Indigenous settlement. The authors discovered that it was actually a composite of four or five photographs. Their description of the image applies equally to Amik. A “ghost(ed)” object, the mascot was “a representation of a repressed yet haunting presence repeatedly disavowed” by COJO’s narratives about the past.⁷² Characterizing Amik commodities as haunted illustrates that certain consumer goods are animated by unacknowledged truths involving the federal government’s colonial policy toward Indigenous peoples.⁷³

Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham make the important point that residential schools are not a “discrete historical problem of educational malpractice” but, rather, “one devastating prong of an overarching and multifaceted system of colonial oppression that persists in the present.”⁷⁴ The 1969 “Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy” (commonly referred to as the White Paper) illustrates that federal

⁶⁹ Canada, Statement of Apology (Ottawa, 2008). <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100015644/1100100015649>; I discuss his apology in more detail in Chapter Seven.

⁷⁰ TRC, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 6.

⁷¹ Sharon Rosenberg, Amber Dean, and Kara Granzow, “Centennial hauntings: Reckoning with the 2005 celebration of Alberta’s history,” *Memory Studies* 3, no. 4 (2010): 404.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 404.

⁷³ See: Francis, *Creative Subversions*, Marlene Goldman, and Joanne Saul, “Talking with ghosts: haunting in Canadian cultural production,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2006): 645-655; Sharon Rosenberg, Amber Dean, and Kara Granzow, “Centennial hauntings: Reckoning with the 2005 celebration of Alberta’s history,” *Memory Studies* 3, no. 4 (2010): 395-412; Warren Cariou, “Haunted Prairie: Aboriginal ‘Ghosts’ and the Spectres of Settlement,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2006): 727-234.

⁷⁴ Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham, “Colonial Reckoning, National Reconciliation?: Aboriginal Peoples and the Culture of Redress in Canada,” *English Studies in Canada* 35 no. 1 (2009): 2.

government policies aimed at assimilating indigenous peoples into settler society were proposed well into the mid-1900s. Thus, in addition to being haunted by the colonial policies that led to the establishment of residential schools in Canada, the mascot was haunted by a more recent, if equally troubling, proposed federal policy. The White Paper argued that the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and the Indian Act should be abolished because Indigenous peoples' rights were protected by federal multicultural policies.⁷⁵ Indigenous groups, most notably the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA) and the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB), objected strongly to this proposal, asserting that, as the country's first inhabitants, they had unique status in Canada.⁷⁶ Harold Cardinal, the president of the IAA, described the White paper as "a thinly disguised programme of extermination through assimilation."⁷⁷

In 1969, the IAA secured permission and funding from the federal government to study the White Paper and offer a formal response. The NIB revised and adopted the IAA's report, which was called *Citizens Plus*. Laurie Meijer Drees describes the report as "a blistering attack by Indian leaders on Ottawa's lack of respect for, and interest in, Indian peoples in Canada."⁷⁸ The report successfully prevented the government from instituting the White Paper's recommendations and positioned treaty rights "as foundational to Indian peoples' participation in Canadian society."⁷⁹ The NIB made policy recommendations about issues such as on-reserve educational programs and the economic development of Indigenous communities.⁸⁰

In 1920, the Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs Duncan Campbell Scott told a parliamentary committee that the government's objective was to "continue until there is

⁷⁵ Christine O'Bonsawin, "Indigenous Peoples and Canadian-Hosted Olympic Games", in *Aboriginal Peoples & Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Challenges*, eds. Janice Forsyth and Audrey Giles (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 56.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁷⁷ Cardinal, qtd in Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 230-231.

⁷⁸ Laurie Maier Drees, "White Paper/Red Paper: Aboriginal Contributions to Canadian Politics and Government," in *Hidden in Plain Sight: Contributions of Aboriginal Peoples to Canadian Identity and Culture*, vol. 2, eds. Cora J. Voyageur, David R. Newhouse and Dan Beavon (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 285.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 288.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 288.

not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic.”⁸¹ As noted in the TRC report: “These goals were reiterated in 1969 in the federal government’s *Statement on Indian Policy*...which sought to end Indian status and terminate the Treaties that the federal government had negotiated with First Nations.”⁸² Even though the government never implemented the White Paper’s recommendations, it had a lasting impact on Indigenous-Settler relations. Christine O’Bonsawin argues that this impact was still felt in 1976 when Montreal hosted the Olympics.⁸³ I take this argument even further, arguing that the mascot was haunted by the unacknowledged but present fact that, in 1976, efforts to assimilate Indigenous peoples were not relegated to a distant past but were relatively recent.

“We Now Claim Their Field Games:” Haunting and Olympic Coins

The design of most of the Montreal Olympic coins was unrelated to national identity or history. Rather, they depicted symbols of the ancient Olympic Games, sporting activities, or geography. In contrast to the other coins, Series Three of COJO’s commemorative coin program depicted the early Canadian sports of lacrosse, canoeing, rowing, and cycling. The lacrosse and canoe coins showed muscular men wearing little clothing with a stereotypical signifier of indigeneity, feathers in their hair. Like Amik, these two coins were ghost(ed) objects marked by disavowed truths. While Amik was haunted by the unacknowledged contributions of Indigenous peoples to the fur trade, the canoe coin was haunted by the unacknowledged contributions Indigenous peoples made to European Settlers’ exploration in Canada. Miller writes: “without the Indian, the canoe, maize, and other products of the Indigenous society, none of the great exploratory trips [taken by Europeans] would have got much further than Lachine.”⁸⁴

⁸¹ Duncan Campbell Scott, qtd in TRC, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 2.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 2-3.

⁸³ O’Bonsawin, “Indigenous peoples and Canadian-hosted Olympic Games,” 37.

⁸⁴ Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heaven.*, 42.



Figure 14: Montreal Olympic coins, COJO, *Official Report*, 69-70.

The lacrosse coin was haunted by the history of Settlers' appropriation of Indigenous peoples' cultures in Canada. Specifically, Settler Canadians adapted Indigenous sporting practices to create lacrosse as Canada's national sport. Many Iroquoian-speaking Indigenous nations, including the Mohawk, Cayuga, and Onondaga Nations, played ball games similar to modern-day lacrosse. Some Indigenous nations called the game *baggataway* while others called it *tewaarathon*. Lacrosse was a French word for any game played by Indigenous peoples using a curved stick.⁸⁵ These ball games had practical and symbolic purposes: they helped groups prepare for military battle, engage in diplomatic exchanges, and build social coherence and religious continuity.⁸⁶ In the 1830s, Settlers from Montreal began playing a version of the game against Mohawks living in the nearby Caughnawaga which they later called lacrosse.

The Montreal Lacrosse Club was formed in 1856 and two lacrosse games were staged for the Prince of Wales during his visit to Montreal in 1860. The first game was held between Indigenous teams, while the second pitted an Indigenous team against a Settler Canadian one.⁸⁷ Following Confederation in 1867, William Beers, an Anglophone living in Montreal, successfully campaigned for lacrosse to be named Canada's national game,

⁸⁵ Donald M. Fisher, *Lacrosse: A History of the Game* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 25; Gillian Poulter, "Snowshoeing and Lacrosse: Canada's Nineteenth-Century 'National Games'," in *Ethnicity, Sport, Identity: Struggles for Status*, ed. Andrew Ritchie (London: Routledge, 2004), 24.

⁸⁶ Fisher, *Lacrosse*, 13.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

believing that the sport could help Settlers establish a unique national identity. He wrote a pamphlet of rules and instructions on lacrosse, contributed articles about the game to newspapers, and even published a book on the sport in 1869.⁸⁸

Between 1867 and 1883, Canada sent three separate groups of lacrosse players to the British Isles.⁸⁹ Gillian Poulter writes that the Indigenous teams participating in these exhibition games “were present as colourful, nostalgic reminders of the pre-historic existence of Indigenous peoples in Canada, an essential part of its myth of origin.”⁹⁰ In other words, the Indigenous athletes helped Settlers promote the problematic idea that Canada was built upon, but ultimately supplanted, Indigenous peoples’ cultures and ways of life. Indeed, Beers eliminated many aspects of the game that linked it to Indigenous cultures. Indigenous versions of baggataway/tewaarathon did not have standardized playing fields and the number of players on teams and the duration of games varied.⁹¹ Poulter notes that, by developing and publishing lacrosse rules, Beers “not only provided the necessary elements of discipline and fair play, but also brought the game under colonial control, and affirmed the importance of punctuality, standardization and private property.”⁹²

Beers explicitly linked his efforts to develop lacrosse as Canada’s national game to Settlers appropriation of Indigenous peoples’ land. He said: “just as we claim as Canadian the rivers and lakes and land once owned exclusively by Indians, so we now claim their field games as the national field game of our dominion.”⁹³ Moreover, he viewed the Settlers version of the game as more “civilized” than that of Indigenous peoples’ versions; he observed: “The white game differs from the red, in being restricted

⁸⁸ Michael A. Robidoux, “Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport: A Historical Interpretation of Lacrosse and Hockey,” *Journal of American Folklore* 115, no. 456 (2002): 215; Poulter, “Snowshoeing and Lacrosse”: 215, 244.

⁸⁹ Fisher, *Lacrosse*, 30.

⁹⁰ Poulter, “Snowshoeing and Lacrosse”, 246.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 245.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 245.

⁹³ William Beers, qtd. in Robidoux, “Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport”, 215.

by that mark of civilization and respect, the fence.”⁹⁴ The number of Settler Canadians who began playing lacrosse was initially very small and they frequently played against Indigenous teams. However, when the popularity of lacrosse grew, Indigenous participation waned. In 1880, the National Lacrosse Association mandated that all lacrosse players had to be amateurs. By the late 1800s, debates about the increasing professionalism of lacrosse caused major divisions between players and coaches. These divisions, in addition to the fact that few young people were taking up the sport, led to the decline of lacrosse and subsequent rise of hockey as Canada’s most popular sport.⁹⁵

The cultural and ceremonial elements of the Montreal Olympics were also haunted, this time by the palpable absence of meaningful Indigenous participation in the Games. Gordon’s haunting theory draws attention to the fact that ideas, knowledge and people do not fully disappear, even if they are excluded from representational and commemorative practices. Paradoxically, the existence of suppressed ideas, knowledge, and people becomes evident through the practices that exclude them. The absence of meaningful Indigenous participation in the Olympics was seen especially in the closing ceremony of the Montreal Olympics. During the ceremony, 75 Indigenous persons dressed in colourful outfits entered the stage to the sound of “a symphonic suite performed on traditional instruments augmented by Amerindian folk instruments such as tom-toms, rattles, and small bells.”⁹⁶ They moved in an arrowhead formation and then escorted Olympic athletes to the stage.⁹⁷ Significantly, non-Indigenous members of the Fédération de Danse du Québec accompanied the Indigenous dancers in the closing ceremony, wearing costumes and make-up to blend in with them.⁹⁸ COJO reported that all the “Indian tribes of Canada” were represented in the closing ceremony and it provided the media with an

⁹⁴ William Beers, qtd in Poulter, “Snowshoeing and Lacrosse”, 245.

⁹⁵ Poulter, “Snowshoeing and Lacrosse”, 252.

⁹⁶ COJO. *Official Report*, 306.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 306.

⁹⁸ Janice Forsyth, and Kevin Wamsley, "Symbols without substance: Aboriginal peoples and the illusion of Olympic ceremonies," in *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games*, eds. Kevin Young and Kevin Wamsley (Oxford: Elsevier Press, 2005), 234.

official closing ceremony program guide, which contained the same information.⁹⁹ However, this information was incorrect: not all Indigenous nations were represented in the ceremony. In fact, only nine First Nations, all from Quebec, participated: the Abenaki, Algonquin, Atikamekw, Cree, Huron, Mi'gmaq, Mohawk, Montagnais, and Naskapi.¹⁰⁰ The non-Indigenous dancers in the closing ceremony enacted a haunting: they physically represented what was not present, namely, Indigenous dancers from across Canada. The lack of meaningful Indigenous participation in the Games was also reflected in COJO's rejection of the proposal by the Indians of Quebec Association to showcase their cultures through an Indian Days Celebration.¹⁰¹ Despite rejecting this proposal, COJO approved an exhibit showcasing Inuit art. The Inuit Art collection, displayed in the International Centre of the Olympic Village, featured 39 sculptures and 2 tapestries created by Inuit artists.¹⁰²

Chief Poking Fire: Resistance

After COJO rejected the Indians of Quebec Association's proposal, the Mohawk of Kahnawake staged their own Indian Days Celebration, inviting Olympic visitors to learn about Mohawk culture in their reserve, located across the St. Lawrence river from Montreal.¹⁰³ This event challenged the problematic representations and exclusions of Indigenous peoples' history and cultures in the Montreal Olympics. Forsyth writes: "While the Olympics organizers drew on their own, white understanding of 'the Indian' to sell a particular version of Canada and the Olympic Games, the Mohawk of

⁹⁹ Closing Ceremony of the Games of the XXI Olympiad Montreal 1976. Fonds de la Comité D'Organisateur Des Jeux de la XXIe Olympiade Montreal 1976 (FCOJO) (E46). Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BANQ). Box: 1981-06-009\944; O'Bonsawin, "Indigenous peoples and Canadian-hosted Olympic Games," 38.

¹⁰⁰ O'Bonsawin, "Indigenous peoples and Canadian-hosted Olympic Games," 38.

¹⁰¹ Janice Forsyth, "Tee-pees and Tomahawks: Aboriginal Cultural Representation at the 1976 Olympic Games," in *The Global Nexus Engaged: Sixth International Symposium for Olympic Research*, eds. Robert Barney, Kevin Wamsley and Scott Martyn, (London: Centre for Olympic Studies, 2002), 71.

¹⁰² Exposition des territoires du nord-ouest, Box 1981-06-009, FCOJO, BANQ.

¹⁰³ Forsyth, "Tee-Pees and Tomahawks", 72.

Kahnawake constructed their own symbols to show the richness and diversity of Aboriginal lives in Canada.”¹⁰⁴

The Kahnawake sold locally-made crafts including necklaces, medallions, bracelets, and watchbands in order to raise funds for the construction of a new wing of the local hospital.¹⁰⁵ Unlike Amik, the canoe and lacrosse coins and related commodities, these objects were not haunted by disavowed truths about Indigenous peoples’ culture and history. These objects illustrate that consumer goods are not always, or inherently, haunted by unacknowledged ideas about the past and served as a tangible representation of the failure of assimilative practices in Canada, as they represented the continuation of their distinct culture. However, some members of the community were concerned that visitors would not buy these products but instead the spoof products sold by a member of the community who went by the satirical name of “Chief Poking Fire.” He offered visitors snake oil made in Pakistan, t-shirts made in India, and rubber arrowheads made in Japan.¹⁰⁶ As Forsyth writes, these commodities, and the debates within the Mohawk community that they inspired, highlight “the varied and complex ways Kahnawake residents understood themselves as twentieth century Indians.”¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately, community members were disappointed when far fewer than the expected 125, 000 people visited their reserve.¹⁰⁸ Despite these low numbers, the Kahnawake’s Indian Days Celebration and the issues they raised about the representation of Indigenous cultures in contemporary Canada pioneered a practice that became more widespread in the Calgary and Vancouver Olympics, namely, using the Games as a platform to confront crucial questions about and issues related to Indigenous peoples’ interests and rights.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the symbolic meanings of Montreal Olympic commodities are inextricably tied to the cultural and political dimensions of the Games.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 72.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 72.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 73.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 73.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 73.

The commodities sold during the Montreal Olympics did not reflect the hopeful ideas that COJO, the Queen, and Pierre Trudeau articulated about the potential for French and English Canadians to co-exist harmoniously. They also did not symbolize positive ideas about Canadian identity. Rather, they drew attention to pre-existing conflicts between English- and French-Canadians and were haunted by traumatic events in Canada's past related to Indigenous -Settler relations in Canada. Moreover, the closing ceremony of the Montreal Olympics was haunted by the fact that Indigenous peoples were not given the opportunity to participate in a meaningful way in the cultural elements of the Games. Thus, I demonstrated that the representational practices which occur in the commercial, cultural, and ceremonial elements of the Olympics should not be treated as distinct elements of the Olympics that exist independent of one another. In the case of the Montreal Olympics, these aspects of the Olympics were, collectively, haunted by disavowed information about historical and contemporary relations between Settler Canadians and Indigenous peoples.

Chapter 4

“Our Unique Western Heritage is Interesting to People:” City, Region, and Corporate Branding in the 1988 Calgary Olympics

In 1980, one year before leading Calgary’s bid for the 1988 Winter Olympics, Frank King attended an International Olympic Committee (IOC) meeting in Moscow. As a gift, he presented IOC members with containers filled with samples of Alberta tar sands. King, who was the chair of the Calgary Olympic Development Association (CODA) and the vice-president of the petroleum company Turbo Resources, wrote in his memoir: “I will never forget the look of total surprise on [IOC Director] Madame Berlioux’s face when these fresh-faced oilmen from Calgary presented her with a sample of Alberta tar sands as we departed. This was literally a tacky gift.”¹ In addition to the samples of tar sands, King gave away cowboy hats and, as he described it, “an Indian tomahawk.”² When, in 1981, CODA members travelled to Baden-Baden to present Calgary’s bid for the 1988 Games, they wore “dignified Western attire”: blue sports jackets with a western cut, grey pants, white shirts, and navy striped ties.³ They were joined by two uniformed Canadian Mounted Police officers (Mounties), the Chief of the Kainai (Blood) First Nation Lambert Fox and his wife, Yvette. According to King, “when Chief Fox and his wife danced to the beat of Native tomtoms, people crowded into our area, leaving the other bid displays virtually empty.”⁴ Calgary won the bid after Cortina d’Ampezzo, Italy was eliminated in the first round and Falun, Sweden lost in the second round.⁵

King wrote that the bid team “learned that our unique Western heritage is interesting to people from other parts of the world.”⁶ His statement is perhaps misleading, as he

¹ Frank W. King, *It's How You Play the Game: The Inside Story of the Calgary Olympics* (Calgary: Script: the writers' group, 1991), 57.

² *Ibid.*, 75.

³ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

anticipated and cultivated this interest by strategically using material goods and cultural performances to create a favourable image of Alberta. In this chapter, I argue that King and his colleagues ran the bid and, subsequently, the Calgary Olympics, the same way they would run a business. In keeping with market fundamentalism, Olympic organizers commodified regional identity and engaged in city/region branding by treating Calgary and, more broadly, Western Canada as commodifiable resources. City/region branding treats geographical locations “as ‘products’ to be marketed, through tourism development and branding activities.”⁷ Understood in this way, the gifts that King gave to IOC members represented Alberta’s material wealth and cultural value. Moreover, they symbolized the drive of Olympic organizers to convert regional identity into a profit-generating resource.

The practice of linking city, region or nation branding campaigns with the Olympics is well documented, but scholars do not consider how these campaigns overlap with corporate sponsorship of the Games.⁸ I argue that three factors made possible the intersection of city, region, and corporate branding in the Calgary Olympics: the rise of neo-liberalism and market fundamentalism in the 1980s; the increasing commercialism of the Olympic movement; and the strong relationship between Alberta and the federal government. Collectively, city/region and corporate branding practices depicted Calgary and Western Canadian cultures as rooted in, but not constrained by, the region’s pioneer history. They also positioned the petroleum industry as central to Alberta’s modern prosperity and growth. Commodities of the Calgary Olympics, like cowboy hats, plush toys of the Games’ mascots, and lapel pins with corporate logos, contributed to these branding practices by showcasing prominent symbols of Alberta’s cultural identity and

⁷ Li Zhang and Simon Ziaobin Zhao, “City Branding and the Olympic effect: A case study of Beijing,” *Cities*, 26 (2009): 246.

⁸ See: Graham Brown, Laurence Chalip, Leo Jago and Trevor Mules, “Developing Brand Australia: examining the role of events,” in *Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition*, second edition, eds. Nigel Morgan, Annette Pritchard and Roger Pride (Oxford: Elsevier, Butterworth-Heinemann, 2004), 163-186; Roy Panagiotopoulou, ‘Hosting the Olympic Games: From promoting the nation to nation-branding,’ in *Sport and the Transformation of Modern Europe: States, Media and Markets 1950-2010*, eds. Alan Tomlinson, Christopher Young and Richard Holt (New York: Routledge, 2012), 150-170; Zhang and Zhao, ‘City Branding and the Olympic effect,’ 245-254.

economic prosperity. Furthermore, Calgary Olympic Education Kits exposed Canadian children and youth to these ideas and worked alongside commercial and cultural practices to construct a coherent narrative about local and regional identity.

However, opposition to the Calgary Olympics by the Lubicon Cree undermined the coherence of these region and corporate branding messages and, correspondingly, the symbolism of Olympic commodities. An Indigenous community located in northern Alberta, the Lubicon's anti-Olympic campaign exposed the human cost of oil extraction practices in Alberta, undermining the image of Western Canada as a friendly and welcoming place. Moreover, their actions called into question the connection between Canadian identity and the land, a connection that was central to the meaning of Olympic commodities. Understood in this context, Olympic commodities were fetish objects that, in Anne McClintock's words, represented an "impossible irresolution"⁹ related to land, belonging and identity in Canada. This chapter explores how commercial practices shape narratives about who has the right to own, and profit from, an area's natural and cultural resources. What was at stake extended far beyond profits. The survival of the Lubicon Cree as a distinct cultural group depended on the answer to the question: who has jurisdiction over the petroleum found in Northern Alberta and, correspondingly, the land?

"Survival-of-the-Fittest:" Organizing and Financing the Games

The Calgary Olympics occurred during the rise of neo-liberalism. David Harvey identifies what he calls "the first experiment with neoliberal state formation" as occurring in Chile in 1973, when Augusto Pinochet ousted the democratically elected Salvador Allende in a coup.¹⁰ Pinochet invited a group of American economists influenced by Milton Friedman, a prominent economist and proponent of neo-liberalism, to help the Chilean government re-structure its economy. Chile took out loans from the International

⁹ Anne McClintock. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*. (New York: Routledge, 1995), 184.

¹⁰ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 7.

Monetary Fund and brought its economy in line with neo-liberal policies.¹¹ Around the same time, many countries began experiencing “stagflation”: economic growth declined, unemployment rates rose and inflation increased. Governments began implementing neo-liberal policies in response to this economic crisis.¹²

In May 1979, Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative Party won the federal election in Britain with a mandate to reform the country’s struggling economy. That October, Paul Volcker, Chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank, began reforming American monetary policy by abandoning the Keynesian principles that underpinned the New Deal. Ronald Reagan, who was elected President in the U.S. the following year, embraced Volcker’s neo-liberal economic policies. As Harvey writes, “the dramatic consolidation of neoliberalism as a new economic orthodoxy regulating public policy at the state level in the advanced capitalist world occurred in the United States and Britain in 1979.”¹³

In Canada, Brian Mulroney, who served as Prime Minister from 1984 to 1993, was sympathetic to Thatcher and Reagan’s conservative agenda. He sought to shift the country away from social welfare and towards neo-liberalism.¹⁴ During his first mandate, Mulroney cut back on inter-governmental fiscal transfers, partially de-indexed tax credits, and reduced both family allowances and old age security benefits.¹⁵ However, he was bound by his election promise to maintain the “sacred trust” of universal income benefits for families with children and seniors, restricting his ability to impose broad-based changes to the nation’s economy.¹⁶ After Mulroney was re-elected in November 1988, he introduced more neo-liberal policies in Canada and restructured key elements of Canada’s social security system. For example, his government restricted Canadians’ eligibility for family income and old age benefits and stopped directly financing

¹¹ Ibid., 7.

¹² Ibid., 12.

¹³ Ibid., 21.

¹⁴ Michael Prince and James Rice, *Governing through Shifting Social-Policy Regimes: Brian Mulroney and Canada's Welfare State* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 166.

¹⁵ Ibid., 168.

¹⁶ Ibid., 168.

unemployment insurance.¹⁷ Thus, the 1988 Calgary Olympics occurred at a time when Canada was becoming more oriented towards neo-liberalism.

As the head of CODA and, later, Chairman of OCO'88,¹⁸ Frank King ran the Calgary Olympics as a business venture and favoured minimal government involvement in the Games. At a February 1979 press conference, King said:

Sports and businesses have to be combined if the Games are going to be successful. I believe the people of Calgary want the Games but there will be tremendous resistance to any additional tax burdens. For that reason the Games will be organized by people with a business background combined with a love of sport.¹⁹

King's early relationship with the Canadian Olympic Association (COA) reflects his market-oriented approach to organizing the Games. Calgary needed to secure the COA's endorsement in order to submit an Olympic bid to the IOC, but the COA was considering endorsing Vancouver instead Calgary. In his book, King described COA members as "customers" whose trust he had to earn.²⁰ Moreover, King compared the Calgary Games to the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, which were financed entirely through private funds and commercialized to an unprecedented degree.²¹ King wrote: "Los Angeles and Calgary had Games controlled by business people using a survival-of-the-fittest management style. In our case, that style was adopted during the early bid years."²²

The board of directors for OCO'88 included businesspeople like King, IOC and COA members, and representatives from the federal, provincial and municipal governments.

¹⁷ Ibid. 169.

¹⁸ OCO'88 stands for: Olympiques Calgary Olympics '88

¹⁹ King, *It's How You Play the Game*, 18.

²⁰ Ibid., 26.

²¹ Alan Tomlinson, "The Commercialisation of the Olympics: Cities, Corporations, and the Olympic Commodity," in *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games*, ed. Kevin Young and Kevin Wamsley (Boston: Elsevier Jai, 2005), 184-5.

²² King, *It's How You Play the Game*, 185.

King celebrated the highly commercial nature of the 1988 Calgary Olympics, arguing that:

In a free-enterprise economy like Canada's, the government isn't needed to act as a laundry service for revenues that are used for sport. Businesses that want to support sport and the Olympic aims can do so efficiently...the alternative is to fund Games by increasing taxation, which affects everyone, including those who don't want their money spent on sport.²³

Although this view is consistent with a neo-liberal economic model that supports the privatization of public services and events, it is not entirely accurate. The federal and provincial governments gave a total of \$52 million to OCO'88, its third largest source of revenue.²⁴ Moreover, the federal government contributed an additional \$200 million from the sales of Olympic coins and stamps, along with contributions from the provinces taken from their lottery proceeds.²⁵

The way King and his colleagues managed TV rights negotiations exemplifies this drive to run the Olympics as a profit-driven endeavour. After consulting with experts, they took steps to make the Olympics more attractive to broadcasters.²⁶ For example, OCO'88 re-scheduled the dates of the Calgary Games to coincide with American broadcaster sweeps (the yearly calculation of network ratings, which influence the value of a network's advertising rates).²⁷ As King described: "For the first time the Winter Games were being packaged as a *marketable product*. We developed clear specifications for what we were

²³ King, *It's How You Play the Game*.

²⁴ XV Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee (OCO'88), *XV Olympic Winter Games: Official Report*, (Calgary: Calgary Olympic Development Association, 1988), 81; The federal government contributed \$49 million and the provincial government contributed \$3 million.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 81. The federal government could not establish a national lottery like the Montreal Games' lottery because, in 1985, it had given provinces the exclusive right to run lotteries and other gambling projects. However, King writes that Otto Jelinek, Minister for Fitness and Amateur Sport, "was a convincing sports promoter who needed \$100 million in provincial lottery aid. Somehow he pulled it off and got all the provinces to help fund the Calgary Games" (King, *It's How You Play the Game*, 175).

²⁶ King, *It's How You Play the Game*, 124-126.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 126.

offering. We added every possible feature so that the networks would bid higher than ever before.”²⁸ A pin with the words “Calgary ‘88” and the Olympic rings, spelling out the letters ABC (the eventual winner of the American broadcast rights to the Games), symbolized OCO’88’s marketization of the Games. In fact, an article in the *Globe and Mail* described ABC pins as the “hot items” for pin traders.²⁹ When Dave Bellingham tried to initiate a trade for an ABC pin, he was told by Trevor Pelachuk that it would take “an arm and a leg and a pint of blood, plus your first born child” to get it.³⁰



Figure 15: Calgary Olympics pin available on eBay, www.ebay.com.



Figure 16: ABC sign, OCO’88, *Official Report*, 86.

²⁸ Ibid., 128, italics added.

²⁹ Cathryn Motherwell, “Bustling trade in Olympic pins pricks interest of avid collectors,” *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 13, 1988, A.1

³⁰ Trevor Pelachuk qtd in Cathryn Motherwell, “Bustling trade in Olympic pins pricks interest of avid collectors,” Feb. 13, 1988, A1.

The IOC, OCO'88, and a sports marketing firm, Trans World International ran the American TV rights negotiations. Barney et al. argue that these negotiations marked the first time that the IOC and a local organizing committee cooperated as equal partners.³¹ The joint team led the negotiations in rounds and networks had to submit their bids confidentially, so they never knew if they had been outbid by their competition. The team raised the minimum price that networks could bid on the rights in every round, until ABC ultimately won the rights by agreeing to pay \$326 million. This was the highest amount any network had ever paid for broadcast rights to the Olympic Games. In fact, for ABC, it proved too high since the network would later lose \$40 million broadcasting the Games.³²

In addition to co-operating with OCO'88 to negotiate broadcast rights, the IOC had recently implemented The Olympic Partner (TOP) Program in 1988. TOP gave companies Olympic marketing rights, category exclusivity, and permission to use licensed Olympic symbols and logos.³³ At an IOC meeting in Lisbon in 1985, IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch underscored the importance of TOP, saying that "it was extremely dangerous for the IOC and NOCs [National Olympic Committees] to be reliant on television money alone."³⁴ Twenty-one companies, including Canada Safeway Limited, General Motors of Canada, Labatt's, and the Royal Bank of Canada, each gave a minimum donation of \$2 million to become official Olympic sponsors.³⁵ TOP proved attractive to companies because of its exclusivity: only one company within each particular industry category could have this official Olympic sponsor designation. However, OCO'88 members had deep ties to the petroleum industry and they did not want to restrict companies within that industry from sponsoring the Games. As an alternative, they permitted a group of 40 petroleum companies to sponsor, collectively,

³¹ Robert Barney, Scott Wenn, and Scott Martyn. *Selling the Five Rings: The International Olympic committee and the Rise of Olympic Commercialism* (Utah: University of Utah Press, 2002), 207.

³² King, *It's How You Play the Game*, 140, Barney et al. *Selling the Five Rings*, 207.

³³ OCO'88, *XV Olympic Winter Games*, 327.

³⁴ Meeting of IOC Marketing Group, October 19, 1985, Box 6, File: TOP, The Olympic Program, 1985-1987, Marketing, Series I: OCO'88 Marketing Group, Corporate Relations, Administrative Files. XV Olympic Winter Games Inventories (XVWGI), City of Calgary Archives (CCA).

³⁵ OCO'88, *XV Olympic Winter Games*, 657.

the Olympics for \$4.8 million. Known as Team Petroleum '88, it “served to unite the petroleum community behind the Games.”³⁶ In addition, some oil companies supported specific Olympic events. Petro Canada sponsored and organized the Torch Relay. Shell Canada sponsored the Glenbow Museum’s Olympic exhibit *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada’s First People*. Texaco sponsored the musical *Porgy and Bess* (which was part of the Olympic art festival show).³⁷



Figure 17: Team Petroleum symbol, OCO'88, *Official Report*, 650.

“Marketing for Success”: Olympic Education Resource Kits

Members of OCO'88's Youth and Education Department created Olympic Education Resource Kits, “designed to increase the awareness of young people about the aims and ideals of the Olympic Movement and about the XV Olympic Winter Games.”³⁸

Education resource kits were available for elementary (grades 1-6), junior high (grades 7-9) and senior high (grades 10-12) school students.³⁹ OCO'88 distributed these kits to

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 329.

³⁷ OCO'88, *XV Olympic Winter Games*, 648-657; King, *It's How You Play the Game*, 253.

³⁸ OCO'88, *XV Olympic Winter Games*, 251.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 251.

schools in Alberta and they proved so popular that the federal government paid for the nationwide printing and distribution of the elementary school education kit.⁴⁰

The goal of the Youth Committee was to create “opportunities for young people from all walks of life, in Calgary, Alberta, across Canada and internationally (where possible) to experience the magic and the spirit of the XV Olympic Winter Games.”⁴¹ The kits did more than spread the Olympic spirit and promote Olympic sponsors. They also exposed Canadian youth to market fundamentalist values, including the marketization of public goods and services. For example, the elementary school resource kit included a statement from OCO’88’s General Manager of Corporate Relations, David Shanks, who wrote: “These Games will cost a lot of money to be the best-ever Winter Olympics. Many companies can help us by providing money, goods and services as our official partners. It is a good partnership because the Olympics are very special and being involved helps companies promote their business.”⁴²

One activity in the junior high education kit encouraged students to consider how Olympic broadcasts are, in King’s words, “packaged as a marketable product.”⁴³ In fact, the activity was likely based on the fact that ABC had paid \$326 million for the Games’ broadcast rights. Students were asked to imagine themselves as “the president of XYZ Television Network. Your network has just spent \$300 million for the right to broadcast an Olympic Games. List the requests you intend to make of the Organizing Committee so that your network gets maximum benefit from your investment.”⁴⁴ Another activity educated students on the importance of copyrighting original work. After creating their own personal symbols, students were asked to consider the following scenario: “A

⁴⁰ Ibid., 35.

⁴¹ Youth Culture Committee, Summary for Sponsors, Box 33, File: Sponsor/Sponsorship, 1985-1987. Communications I, Series XV, XVWGI, CCA.

⁴² Elementary Resource Kit, ed. Deanna Binder (Calgary: XVOWGOC, 1985), Educational Resources, Come Together: The Olympics and You, Box 43, "Come Together: The Olympics and You./Rassemblez-vous a Calgary, 1988, Communications I, Group X: PR Division, Youth and Education, XVWGI, CCA.

⁴³ King, *It's How You Play the Game*, 128.

⁴⁴ Junior High Resource Kit (7-9), ed. Deanna Binder (Calgary: XVOWGOC, 1985), Educational Resources, Come Together: The Olympics and You, Box 43, "Come Together: The Olympics and You./Rassemblez-vous a Calgary, 1988, Communications I, Group X: PR Division, Youth and Education, XVWGI, CCA.

student walks into the classroom wearing your symbol. Describe your feelings and what you would say to that person. How would you decide who gets to keep it?” The next question was: “Why would the Olympic Movement copyright its symbols?”⁴⁵ Notably, this activity coincided with the recent introduction of the TOP Program, a program that increased the value of copyrighted Olympic symbols.

The information in the senior high school resource kit about the commercial aspects of the Olympics was more nuanced than the information in the elementary and junior high school kits. For example, one activity asked senior high school students to debate the question: “Do the Olympic Games justify the money and effort spent to stage them and produce athletes to compete in them?” The kit encouraged students to consider both sides of the debate, including the statement: “Athletes become pawns in a game of corporate and political Olympic one-upmanship.”⁴⁶ However, another section, called “Marketing For Success,” unabashedly celebrated the commercialism of the Calgary Olympics. Teachers were encouraged to discuss “specific examples of a good marketing strategy” with their students, such as “Calgary’s bid for the 1998 Olympic Games and OCO’88’s ongoing sales strategy.”⁴⁷ This activity taught students about the market fundamentalist practices that underpinned OCO’88’s operations and introduced them to region branding, a commercial practice I discuss in the proceeding section.

Adding to “the Prosperity of its People:” City and Region Branding

City and region branding practices treat geographic locations like commodities whose meanings can be shaped by marketing and promotional campaigns.⁴⁸ They became linked

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Senior High Resource Kit (10-12), ed. Deanna Binder (Calgary: XVOWGOC, 1985), Educational Resources, Come Together: The Olympics and You, Box 43, “Come Together: The Olympics and You./Rassemblez-vous a Calgary, 1988, Communications I, Group X: PR Division, Youth and Education, XVWGI, CCA.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ See: Simon Anholt, *Competitive identity: The new brand management for nations, cities and regions*. (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007); Melissa Aronczyk, ““Living the Brand’: Nationality, Globality and the Identity Strategies of Nation Branding Consultants,” *International Journal of Communication* 2

to international sporting events in Canada as early as 1954, when Vancouver hosted the British Empire and Commonwealth (BEC) Games. For example, Canadian cities and corporations sponsored full page ads in the Vancouver BEC Games' joint Souvenir Book/Program of Events, highlighting the strength of Western Canada's economy. A message articulated in these ads was that the region's natural resources and industries greatly contributed to the country's economic strength. Significantly, Canadian industries, alongside municipal and provincial governments, promoted this message. Sponsored pages contained images of wheat fields in Saskatchewan, skyscrapers in Edmonton and Calgary, an oil refinery tower in Alberta, and an electricity generating station in British Columbia.⁴⁹ A number of pages in this program advertised Western Canada's thriving oil and gas industry. In February 1947, Imperial Oil discovered oil in Leduc, Alberta, an area 13 miles southeast of Edmonton.⁵⁰ Although petroleum and its derivatives had already been discovered in Western Canada, the Leduc discovery made an easily accessible source of carbon-based fuel available to Canadians for the first time.⁵¹ Imperial Oil's sponsored page in the Victoria BEC Games' book characterized its discovery of oil at Leduc as "Canada's most important oil discovery."⁵² The company told readers that Canada produced almost half of its oil requirements and roughly half of

(2008): 41-65; Michalis Kavaratzis, "From city marketing to city branding: towards a theoretical framework for developing city brands," *Place Branding* 1, no.1 (2004): 58-73.

⁴⁹ *Official Souvenir Book and Programme of Events of the 1954 Vancouver British Empire and Commonwealth Games*. Vancouver: British Empire and Commonwealth Games, Canada (1954) Society, 1954, Publications, British Empire and Commonwealth Games Vancouver Committee Fonds, AM172, City of Vancouver Archives: 50, 34, 46, 75, 36.

⁵⁰ Donald Creighton, *The Forked Road: Canada 1939-1957* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 119.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 120; Later that year (1947), a large oil field was found in Redwater. In 1949, four more oil reservoirs were discovered in Alberta, at Joseph Lake, Golden Spike, Settler and Excelsior, and Alberta's oil production started to exceed market demand (Creighton, *The Forked Road*, 82). Alberta's oil sands, located along the Athabasca River, also hold lucrative petroleum deposits, a fact that was known by the early 1900s. However, the technology and commercial infrastructure required to separate oil from the sand was slow to develop and the tar sands only emerged as a lucrative resource in the 1990s (Paul Chastko, *Developing Alberta's oil sands: from Karl Clark to Kyoto* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), 197).

⁵² *Official Souvenir Book and Programme of Events of the 1954 Vancouver British Empire and Commonwealth Games* (Vancouver: British empire and commonwealth Games Society, 1954), 31, Publications, British Empire and Commonwealth Games Vancouver Committee Fonds: AM172, City of Vancouver Archives.

the British Commonwealth's total oil production.⁵³ Edmonton presented itself as the “centre of Canada's vast multi-million dollar oil, gas and petrochemical development”⁵⁴ while Calgary's page noted that the city's energy industry “adds to the prosperity of its people.”⁵⁵

Michael Dawson uses the example of the 1954 BEC Games to argue that “many of the aims pursued by cities hosting sporting mega-events over the past 30 years were also pursued by cities eager to host the Commonwealth Games as early as the 1950s.”⁵⁶ For example, Vancouverites hoped that hosting the Games would boost their city's reputation. Additionally, organizers of Vancouver's bid predicted that the event would put the city on the map (they did not specify whether this was a national or international map).⁵⁷ An article in the *Vancouver Sun* noted that the Games offered the city “a tangible opportunity to show ‘Eastern’ Canadians what Vancouver could do.”⁵⁸ However, the 1954 BEC Games boosted more than the city's reputation. Taken collectively, the sponsored pages in the souvenir book/program of events helped to improve Western Canada's reputation by advertising the region's economic growth and social development. Moreover, the pages helped convey the message that Western Canada's natural resources significantly contributed to Canada's economic strength. The nation's economy had grown significantly following the Second World War. During the war, Canadians found themselves unable to rely on Britain or the US for economic support. As Donald Creighton writes, the “leaders of the Canadian economy were compelled to cultivate the virtues of self-reliance, initiative, and daring more than they had ever done in the past.”⁵⁹ The government supported industrial production by granting large contracts and capital cost allowances (tax benefits) to national and international

⁵³ Ibid., 31.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 34.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 46.

⁵⁶ Michael Dawson, “Acting Global, Thinking Local: ‘Liquid Imperialism’ and the Multiple Meanings of the 1954 British Empire & Commonwealth Games,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no. 1 (2006): 791.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 793.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 793.

⁵⁹ Creighton, *The Forked Road*, 118.

companies.⁶⁰ After the war, these changes had lasting effects on the economy. For example, American direct investment in Canadian petroleum and natural gas resources rose from \$141 million in 1945 to \$635 million in 1951.⁶¹

Cagliari or Calgary?: Branding Western Canada

The mayor of Cagliari, Italy received several messages from well-wishers who, confusing his city with Calgary, congratulated him for winning the 1988 Winter Olympics bid.⁶² This mix-up reveals that Calgary was not a globally recognized city in 1981 when it won the bid to host the Olympics. However, the Games helped the city remedy this situation. In fact, in their foreword to the Official Report of the Calgary Olympics, Frank King and Bill Pratt wrote that cities around the world want to host the Games because they “are a huge media event” that attracts a large audience and promotes “the host city in large population areas.”⁶³ Similarly, Calgary Mayor Ralph Klein remarked in 1988 that hosting the Olympics offered Calgarians a chance tell a global audience that Calgary is “a major player in North America.”⁶⁴ A section on the legacy of the Olympic Games in the senior school education kit described the “intangible spinoffs” from the Olympic Games, which included a “widened public exposure to sport and western Canada as a result of media coverage. The perceptions of Calgary and Western Canada will be altered significantly.”⁶⁵

Olympic organizers and municipal politicians used the Games to improve Calgary’s global image and to brand Western Canada as a place that honoured its frontier history, while not being stuck in the past. Kevin Wamsley and Michael Heine argue that

⁶⁰ Ibid., 118.

⁶¹ Ibid., 123.

⁶² King, *It’s How You Play the Game*, 105.

⁶³ OCO’88, *XV Olympic Winter Games*, 5.

⁶⁴ Ralph Klein, qtd in Kevin Wamsley and Michael Heine, “Tradition, Modernity, and the Construction of Civic Identity: The Calgary Olympics,” *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies*, V (1996): 84.

⁶⁵ Senior School Resource Kit (7-9), ed. Deanna Binder (Calgary: XVOWGOC, 1985), Educational Resources, Come Together: The Olympics and You, Box 43, “Come Together: The Olympics and You./Rassemblez-vous a Calgary, 1988, Communications I, Group X: PR Division, Youth and Education, XVWGI, CCA.

Calgary's Olympic bid highlighted both modern facilities in Calgary and "the images of Western hospitality projected as historical tradition."⁶⁶ CODA and OCO'88 members used white cowboy hats to symbolize the region's historical ties to ranching and farming. These hats underscored how OCO'88 members commodified local identity and culture. King made white cowboy hats a part of CODA's signature look, handing them out as gifts to IOC members.⁶⁷ During the opening ceremony of the Games, the Canadian Olympians marching in the Parade of Nations wore red and white coats with Western-style leather fringe and white cowboy hats.⁶⁸ Smithbilt Hats, a Calgary company said to have created the first white cowboy hat, was an official licensee of the Calgary Olympics.⁶⁹ It produced and sold white cowboy hats branded with the Calgary Olympic Games' emblem.



Figure 18: Smithbilt hat with the Calgary Olympics emblem available on eBay, www.ebay.com.

The fact that these hats connoted Western Canadian culture and identity was made explicit in OCO'88's description of the Games' mascots, two polar bears named Hidy and Howdy. Hidy donned a blue dress while Howdy wore a blue vest,. Both mascots sported red scarves around their necks which matched the red band on their white cowboy hats. The official report of the Calgary Games noted that the mascots' "colorful

⁶⁶ Wamsley and Heine, "Tradition, Modernity, and the Construction of Civic Identity," 83.

⁶⁷ King, *It's How You Play the Game*, 50.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 270.

⁶⁹ "About Us." *Spirit Works*. <http://www.authenticaboriginalproducts.ca/>; Official licensees, July 2, 1987, Box 21, File: Marketing Licenses, 1987, XVWGI, CCA.

costumes portrayed the Western hospitality of Calgary.”⁷⁰ Their names, chosen by public contest, also reflected “Calgary’s Western heritage.”⁷¹ An exercise in the junior school education kit highlighted the mascots’ Western attire by asking students: “What symbols did the artist include in her drawing of Hidy and Howdy?”⁷² Although Hidy and Howdy were meant to symbolize friendliness, OCO’88 member Van Wheeler, dressed as Hidy, accidentally hit IOC President Samaranch with the mascot’s protruding nose.⁷³



Figure 19: Hidy and Howdy, OCO’88, XV Olympic Winter Games, 57.

These mascots exemplify organizers’ attempts to appeal to and profit from regional and national identity, as seen in OCO’88’s general guidelines for choosing a mascot:

A mascot is selected by an Olympic Organizing Committee for two key purposes – promotion and marketing...The mascot is an integral part of any advertising or promotional activity. A mascot is also an invaluable marketing tool. For the 1988 Olympic Winter Games,

⁷⁰ OCO’88, *XV Olympic Winter Games*, 259.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 57

⁷² *Junior High Resource Kit (7-9)*, ed. Deanna Binder (Calgary: XVOWGOC, 1985), Educational Resources, *Come Together: The Olympics and You*, Box 43, "Come Together: The Olympics and You./Rassemblez-vous a Calgary, 1988, Communications I, Group X: PR Division, Youth and Education, XVWGI, CCA.

⁷³ King, *It’s How You Play the Game*, 248.

the sponsorship and licensing programs are essential to our financial operations.⁷⁴

Before deciding on the design of the mascots, OCO'88 asked experts from four major department stores in Canada to provide input. The group suggested that the mascot should be a bear.⁷⁵ OCO'88 members also identified desirable characteristics of a commercially appealing mascot. These included: wide appeal, especially with children, being non-political, unique, identifiable with winter and Canada, easy to reproduce in print, and the ability to be turned into souvenir merchandise.⁷⁶ Hasbro Canada produced plush toys of Hidy and Howdy and the mascots appeared on Olympic pins, license plates, and spoons.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ General guidelines for choosing a mascot, 1983, Box 1, File: Mascot, 1983-1984, Governing Boards and Executive Group, XII, Executive Group, President W. Pratt, Committee Liaison, Correspondence, Minutes and Reference Material, XVWGI, CCA.

⁷⁵ December 16 1983, Press Release: "OCO'88 Official Mascots Make Olympic History," Box 1, File: Mascot 1983-1984, Governing Boards and Executive Group XII, Executive Group, President W. Pratt, Committee Liaison, Correspondence, Minutes and Reference Material, XVWGI, CCA.

⁷⁶ General guidelines for choosing a mascot, 1983, Box 1, File: Mascot, 1983-1984, Governing Boards and Executive Group, XII, Executive Group, President W. Pratt, Committee Liaison, Correspondence, Minutes and Reference Material, XVWGI, CCA.

⁷⁷ Official licensees, July 1 1987, Box 21, File: Marketing Licenses, 1987, Communications I, Group X: PR Division, Youth and Education, XVWGI, CCA.



Figure 20: Hidy and Howdy commodities available on eBay, www.ebay.com.

Some 9,000 volunteers with the Calgary Olympics were also trained to convey Western Canadian friendliness. The *Volunteer Training Manual* noted that “Calgary is famous for its hospitality and true western warmth.” It instructed volunteers to “smile and be friendly” while on duty.⁷⁸ They were also told to be “well groomed and aware of overall appearance” and “have a genuine interest in people from diverse cultures.”⁷⁹ This training, I argue, taught Calgarians how to “live the brand.” Aronczyk uses this term to describe “a concerted and comprehensive strategy by national citizens of all strata of society to assimilate and communicate” a nation branding message.⁸⁰ Thus, the

⁷⁸ *Volunteer Training Manual*, qtd in “Tradition, Modernity, and the Construction of Civic Identity,” 86.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁸⁰ Aronczyk, “Living the brand”, 54.

information in the *Volunteer Training Manual* helped construct the brand image of Western Canada that Olympic volunteers were expected to embody.

Olympic organizers represented Western Canada as a place that was rooted in tradition, but not stuck in the past. For example, the information book produced by International Sports and Leisure Marketing to attract Olympic corporate sponsors described Calgary as a “centre for traditional grain and livestock production” that recently “added a vast petrochemical industry to that ‘rodeo’ heritage.”⁸¹ Similarly, the *Volunteer Training Manual* depicted Calgary’s corporate and ranching cultures as complementary:

Calgary is a Western city, unique in Canada. It was founded by rugged pioneers who valued the warmth and friendliness of humans meeting in the wide and vast expanses of the west. Our city grew, fuelled by industries that thrived on risk and vitality. Today we are a modern city, culturally rich, technologically fruitful, and future oriented. But in our best tradition we still retain the qualities that distinguished the pioneers.⁸²

This idea was also represented visually through a hot air balloon festival that coincided with the Calgary Games. Kodak sponsored the festival, which included balloons in the shape of propane tanks, gasoline pumps, and cowboys.⁸³ Likewise, an ad for the Calgary Tourist and Convention Bureau showed a man in a cowboy hat extending his hand to the viewer, as if to shake that person’s hand. He was surrounded by images of mountains, skiers, grazing cows, and horses pulling a cart. The same man appeared in another frame of the poster, also extending his hand to the viewer. This time, he was dressed in a suit and stood next to a woman wearing a fur coat. OCO’88’s Youth Committee included this ad in a section of the senior school education kit, called “Selling Calgary.” Students were asked to identify the audience for this poster and draw a parallel between the way

⁸¹ ISL Marketing – TOP, An opportunity for worldwide sponsorship of the Olympic movement, Communications III, XXIII: Communications Group, Artificial Series, Printed Material, Ephemera and Cultural Historic Items, XVWGI, CCA.

⁸² *Volunteer Training Manual*, qtd in “Tradition, Modernity, and the Construction of Civic Identity,” 86.

⁸³ King, *It’s How You Play the Game*, 249.

Calgary sells itself and the way OCO'88 sells the Olympic Games.⁸⁴ Thus, the Calgary Tourist and Convention Bureau used the ad to brand Calgary while the Olympic Youth Committee used it to teach Canadian students that cities and Olympic Games are just like any other commodity whose meaning can be shaped through branding practices.

The *Volunteer Training Manual* also advised that, “in spite of its reputation,” Calgary was not “a cowboy town.”⁸⁵ For Wamsley and Heine, this point underscores the fact that OCO'88 instructed volunteers to represent Calgary as a modern and advanced city.⁸⁶ David Whitson supports this interpretation, noting: “Burdened, in some ways, by the city’s history as a ‘cowboy town’, civic and provincial leaders (like [Alberta Premier Peter] Lougheed) saw the Olympics as a perfect stage on which to demonstrate that Calgary was a vibrant and forward-looking metropolis, and not stuck in its agricultural past.”⁸⁷ OCO'88 certainly depicted Calgary as modern and business-friendly, but Whitson’s argument that the city was burdened by its history as a frontier town is unsubstantiated. OCO'88 did not hide Calgary’s identity as a “cowboy town.” Rather, it asserted that the city’s more recent petroleum wealth complemented its traditional cowboy identity.

Championed in the *Volunteer Training Manual* was the view that Calgary was no longer just a cowboy town; it had also become a vibrant oil and gas town. This emphasis on Calgary’s energy economy added value to that industry’s sponsorship of the 1988 Olympics. As well, through Team Petroleum, the oil and gas industry reinforced the brand association between Calgary and oil and gas wealth established by OCO'88. John Fisher, Senior Vice President and General Manager of the Canadian Western Natural Gas Company, affirmed how the industry benefitted from sponsoring the Olympics along with Calgary when he said: “The flame on the Calgary Tower and flames at the venue sites

⁸⁴ Senior High Resource Kit (10-12), ed. Deanna Binder (Calgary: XVOWGOC, 1985), Educational Resources, Come Together: The Olympics and You, Box 43, "Come Together: The Olympics and You./Rassemblez-vous a Calgary, 1988, Communications I, Group X: PR Division, Youth and Education, XVWGI, CCA.

⁸⁵ *Volunteer Training Manual*, qtd in “Tradition, Modernity, and the Construction of Civic Identity,” 86.

⁸⁶ Wamsley and Heine, “Tradition, Modernity, and the Construction of Civic Identity,” 86.

⁸⁷ David Whitson. “Olympic Hosting in Canada: Promotional Ambitions, Political Changes,” *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies*, 14 (2005): 39.

will do Calgary proud before the eyes of the world. As well as being a showcase for Calgary and the Olympics, the flame will remind everyone of the central role of the energy industry in Alberta's development."⁸⁸

“Let the Eastern Bastards Freeze in the Dark:” Provincial-Federal Relations

The region branding practices of the Calgary Olympics, in conjunction with the energy industry's sponsorship of the Games, helped shape public perceptions of Alberta's relationship with the federal government. They also highlighted the fact that, although Ottawa had tried to retain control over the province's petroleum resources in the past, Alberta now maintained jurisdiction over these resources. Significantly, Olympic commodities reflected the fact that Alberta was the country's centre of petroleum production and that its relationship with the federal government was no longer antagonistic. Most significantly, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had dismantled the controversial *National Energy Policy*. When Peter Lougheed was elected Premier of Alberta in 1971, he argued that the province, not Ottawa, had jurisdiction over the region's natural resources. Lougheed resisted Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's efforts to regulate the petroleum industry and energy companies based in Alberta became caught in the middle of this conflict. Paul Chastko argues that “with the possible exception of Trudeau's struggle to patriate Canada's constitution, no issue received more attention, or was waged as ruthlessly, as the energy battles between Edmonton and Ottawa.”⁸⁹

On the night he was elected premier, Lougheed told his wife Jeanne that he was determined to “take control of our [Alberta's] own resources.”⁹⁰ David Wood writes that, once oil was discovered in Alberta, many Albertans realized that “they had something the rest of the family [Canada] wanted...‘Now,’ felt Albertans, ‘you need

⁸⁸ Canadian Western Natural Gas Company News Release, May 26 1987, Box 2, File: Canadian Western Natural Gas, Communications Group I, Sub-Series II, Vice President Jared Joynt, Correspondence and Reference Material, 1984-1988, XVWGI, CCA.

⁸⁹ Chastko, *Developing Alberta's oil sands*, 144.

⁹⁰ Peter Lougheed, qtd in David Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1985), 140.

something we have, we control, and damn it, you're going to acknowledge, at the least, that we're an important part of Canada.' It would be hard to exaggerate the intensity and extent of this largely unspoken feeling."⁹¹ As Premier, Lougheed depicted the relationship between Alberta and other Canadian provinces in adversarial terms, arguing in 1973: "We have to try to protect Alberta's public interest – not from the public interest of Canada as a whole – but from central and eastern Canadian domination of the West."⁹²

The first serious disagreement between Lougheed and Trudeau occurred in September 1973 when Trudeau asserted control over the price of Canadian oil in response to rising global oil prices.⁹³ He froze the price of domestic petroleum products, reduced the depletion allowance companies could claim by 8%, and, most troubling to Lougheed, announced an export tax of 40¢ per barrel of oil.⁹⁴ In a speech to the Canadian Club in Calgary on September 14 1973, Lougheed said that the tax:

appears to be the most discriminatory action taken by a federal government against a particular province in the entire history of Confederation. The natural resources of the provinces are owned by the provinces under the terms of Confederation. The action taken by Ottawa strikes at the very roots of confederation.⁹⁵

On October 4 1973, Lougheed responded to the export tax by announcing plans to eliminate the cap the province had previously placed on the amount of money oil companies must pay the province for the right to extract oil from the land (known as royalties).⁹⁶

Shortly after Lougheed's announcement, in November 1973, the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), placed an embargo on oil supplies in response to

⁹¹ Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, 146.

⁹² Peter Lougheed, qtd in Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, 147.

⁹³ Chastko, *Developing Alberta's oil sands*, 148.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁹⁵ Peter Lougheed, qtd in Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy* 147.

⁹⁶ Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, 148.

the Yom Kippur War, shutting out countries (including Canada) that had pro-Israeli foreign policies.⁹⁷ In response to the embargo, Trudeau developed a new energy policy aiming to increase Canada's oil self-sufficiency. John Erik Fossum argues that this policy reflected Ottawa's belief that Canada's oil was a strategic, rather than ordinary, commodity.⁹⁸ Trudeau announced plans to create a national oil company, Petro Canada, construct a pipeline to Montreal, and decrease exports of crude oil to the United States by 10%.⁹⁹

In March 1974, Alberta announced that it would increase the amount of money petroleum companies had to pay the province in royalties.¹⁰⁰ That November, the Liberals announced that petroleum companies could no longer consider these provincial royalties a business expense and would therefore have to start paying more federal taxes.¹⁰¹ Wood argues that this policy "put a barrier between the citizens of Alberta and their primary industry."¹⁰² Lougheed called it "probably the biggest ripoff of any province that's ever occurred in Confederation's history."¹⁰³ The biggest conflict between Trudeau and Lougheed came in October 1980 when the Liberals released their federal budget. The budget focused heavily on Canada's energy policy and introduced the *National Energy Policy* (NEP), which signalled Ottawa's intention to increase its control over the country's petroleum resources. The NEP introduced new taxes on the petrochemical industry, including a Petroleum and Gas Revenue Tax, which took the form of a wellhead tax on petroleum products.¹⁰⁴ Lougheed reacted to the policy by saying: "I think what's happened is that the Ottawa government has, without negotiation, without agreement, simply walked into our home and occupied the living room."¹⁰⁵

⁹⁷ Chastko, *Developing Alberta's oil sands*, 147.

⁹⁸ John Erik Fossum, *Oil, the State, and Federalism: The Rise and Demise of Petro-Canada as a Statist Impulse* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 32.

⁹⁹ Chastko, *Developing Alberta's oil sands*, 152, Fossum, *Oil, the State, and Federalism*, 33.

¹⁰⁰ Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, 154.

¹⁰¹ Chastko, *Developing Alberta's oil sands*, 147.

¹⁰² Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, 154.

¹⁰³ Peter Lougheed, qtd in Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, 155.

¹⁰⁴ Chastko, *Developing Alberta's oil sands*, 181.

¹⁰⁵ Peter Lougheed, qtd in Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, 185.

Chastko argues that the NEP “inaugurated a new era in federal-provincial relations and made a comprehensive energy policy that aimed a dagger right at the heart of the oil industry.”¹⁰⁶ After the federal policy was announced, the TSE oil and gas index dropped more than eight hundred points and stock owners sold so many shares of Canadian petroleum companies that the TSE temporarily suspended trading on these stocks.¹⁰⁷ The Canadian Petroleum Association (CPA) claimed that the NEP caused drilling activity in Canada to decline by 22% and led to the loss of fifteen thousand jobs.¹⁰⁸ Some Albertans who opposed the NEP brandished bumper stickers with the phrase: “Let the Eastern Bastards Freeze in the Dark!”¹⁰⁹ In response to the NEP, Lougheed “turned down the taps” and reduced crude oil production by 15%, or about 180,000 barrels a day.¹¹⁰

Relations between Edmonton and Ottawa improved in 1984 when Brian Mulroney’s Progressive Conservative Party came to power. In his first term as Prime Minister, Mulroney dismantled the NEP in a series of accords reached with oil producing provinces, in effect decreasing federal involvement in the industry.¹¹¹ Even before Petro Canada was privatized in 1991, Mulroney directed it to operate like any other private sector oil company, rather than as an instrument of public policy (which was Trudeau’s approach to Petro Canada).¹¹²

The fact that the Calgary Olympics occurred at a time when relations between the Alberta and federal government were improving helps, in part, to explain why the symbols of regional and national identity complemented rather than clashed with one another. The most prominent example of these complementary symbols was the Calgary Games’ emblem. Designed entirely in red, it featured five interlocking “c”s that combined to create a snowflake and maple leaf. The official report described the symbolism of the emblem in their words: “The small C’s were designed to represent

¹⁰⁶ Chastko, *Developing Alberta’s oil sands*, 82-183.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 184.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 194.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 184.

¹¹⁰ Chastko, *Developing Alberta’s oil sands*, 186. Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, 175,

¹¹¹ Fossum, *Oil, the State, and Federalism*, 199.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 199.

Calgary and the large C's to represent Canada. The five interlocking C's represented the theme 'Coming Together in Calgary,' the stylized Maple Leaf represented Canada and the snowflake design represented the Olympic Winter Games."¹¹³ The official report noted that the snowflake emblem, when used in conjunction with the five ring Olympic emblem, "became the cornerstone of marketing and communications programs."¹¹⁴



Figure 21: Calgary Olympics emblem, OCO'88, *XV Olympic Winter Games*, 5.



Figure 22: Calgary Olympics emblem pins available on eBay, www.ebay.com

¹¹³ OCO'88, *XV Olympic Winter Games*, 53.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

I discussed earlier in this chapter that Hidy and Howdy represented Western Canadian hospitality, but that these mascots were also “chosen as uniquely Canadian representatives of the Organizing Committee.”¹¹⁵ COA member Bruce Kidd wrote a report for OCO’88 arguing that the committee could attract Canadians’ interest and involvement in the Calgary Games by drawing on the theme of “winter.” He wrote: “Canada, and the Canadians, are defined by their winter. Its joys – and its terrors – are shared by the native peoples, the two founding peoples, and inhabitants in every province, territory and region.”¹¹⁶ Because polar bears thrive in northern Canada, they helped promote this message. Furthermore, by using the Calgary Games to increase Canadians’ participation in winter sports, OCO’88 could “reinforce national unity by focusing on activities common to all peoples and regions and which culturally distinguish Canadians from Americans.”¹¹⁷

Pins containing the Games’ emblem alongside prominent symbols of Western Canadian identity were available for sale. The easy co-existence of symbols of regional and national identity of these commodities contrasts with the Montreal Games’ commodities, where symbols of local and national identity drew attention to pre-existing conflicts between French and English Canadians. For example, a pin in the shape of a white cowboy hat branded with the Calgary Games’ emblem was for sale. Other pins for sale contained symbols of national and regional identity alongside corporate brands, like Coca-Cola and Team Petroleum’88’s logos. These logos did not eclipse the symbols of regional and national identity, but instead complemented one another.

¹¹⁵ *Ibi.*, 259.

¹¹⁶ Bruce Kidd, National Involvement in the 1988 Winter Olympic Games, Box 31, Youth Games Committee, 1985-1988, Communications I, Group X: PR Division, Youth and Education, XVWGI, CCA.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*



Figure 23: Calgary Olympics pins available on eBay, www.ebay.com.

“Forget Not My World:” The Lubicon Cree’s Anti-Olympic Campaign

Thus far, I have shown how the regional and corporate branding practices in the Calgary Olympics mutually informed and reinforced one another. The alignment of these messages takes on greater significance when considered in relation to the Lubicon Cree’s boycott of the Games. An Indigenous community living in northwestern Alberta, the Lubicon used the Games to draw attention to the devastating impact oil extraction practices were having on their community. By highlighting this fact, the Lubicon made it difficult to ignore the human cost of the commoditization of the land by the province and petroleum companies. Thus, the political dimensions of region and corporate branding in the Calgary Olympics takes on a different meaning when contextualized within the Lubicon’s anti-Olympic campaign. Specifically, these practices helped the province and

energy companies to promote their interests over Lubicon interests. This argument illustrates that Melissa Aronczyk's claim that nation branding affects the "moral basis of national citizenship"¹¹⁸ also applies to region branding. She argues that these branding campaigns come "at the cost of recognizing internal differentiation, resistance or conflict."¹¹⁹ Indeed, the Calgary Games celebrated Western Canada's oil wealth and sidelined the Lubicon's opposition to oil and gas drilling. These practices downplayed but did not silence the Lubicon's concerns, illustrating that Olympic commodities did not perfectly represent region and corporate branding messages. Rather, they were fetish objects that symbolized conflicting ideas about the meaning of Alberta's land and the resources contained within it.

In 1986, the Chief of the Lubicon Cree, Bernard Ominayak, called for an international boycott of the Games. "The Calgary Olympic Games are being organized by basically the same interests that are committing genocide against the Lubicon Lake Indian people," he announced in a news release.¹²⁰ Companies had been extracting oil in Lubicon territory since the 1950s, but these practices had accelerated in the late 1970s. By 1984, more than 400 oil and gas wells existed within a fifteen mile radius of Little Buffalo, the main Lubicon town; more than 100 oil and gas companies operated in the area.¹²¹ These practices impeded the Lubicon community's ability to hunt and trap animals, which were its primary sources of food and income. Company bulldozers pushed snow and debris into piles that blocked animal trails and buried traps and snares. The Lubicon accused oil workers of intentionally destroying trapping lines. The environmental damage of oil and gas extraction caused wildlife population numbers to decline dramatically.¹²² In the winter of 1979-1980, the average Lubicon family earned more than \$5,000 from trapping. A year later, earnings dropped to \$4,000. By the winter of 1983-84, earnings

¹¹⁸ Aronczyk, "Living the Brand," 43.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹²⁰ Bernard Ominayak qtd in John Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd., 1991), 142.

¹²¹ Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, 76.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 76.

had sunk to \$400 and more than 90% of Lubicon people were on social assistance compared to 10% in 1978.¹²³

The Mohawk anthropologist Dawn Martin-Hill conducted interviews with members of the Lubicon community which revealed the extent to which their cultural identity and material livelihood were tied to the land. “We survived off this land for many years, and everything that we do surrounds the land. For example, through our prayers and the ceremonies that we have, everything is tied back to the land,”¹²⁴ said Bernard Ominayak. “Our ways are disappearing fast.... once we lose that connection with the earth and the animals, this land around us, whatever we have survived off of for these many years, it’s weakening us.” The first suicide in memory in Little Buffalo occurred in 1985 when a father of six, who could no longer hunt and trap, fell into a depression and took his own life.¹²⁵ Six months before Calgary hosted the Olympics, the Lubicon community experienced an outbreak of tuberculosis. A total of 27 people had active tuberculosis and 107 were infected and at risk of developing symptoms. John Goddard argues that the tuberculosis outbreak reflected the declining socio-economic conditions in the community caused by oil company activity in the region: “Tuberculosis is a lung disease that usually spreads through coughing and thrives among people whose physical resistance is low from substandard living conditions, poor diet and stress.”¹²⁶

A museum exhibit affiliated with the Calgary Olympics, *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada’s First People*, became the focal point for the Lubicon’s anti-Olympic campaign. The flagship cultural event of the Games, this exhibit at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary showcased artifacts from Indigenous cultures that had been taken from Canada and were exhibited in museums around the world. A 1986 press release from Glenbow Museum described the exhibit as having:

¹²³ Report by Kenneth Boddin, qtd in Goddard *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, 77.

¹²⁴ Bernard Ominayak, qtd in Dawn Martin-Hill, *The Lubicon Lake Nation: Indigenous Knowledge and Power* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 90.

¹²⁵ Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, 132.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 154.

an estimated 500 of the rarest and most revealing artifacts of early Canadian Indian and Inuit culture. What is surprising is that almost all of these works of art and artifacts will be borrowed from more than forty institutions and private collectors in twenty-one countries. Few are in Canadian collections. They left Canada from the 17th to 19th centuries as souvenirs or gifts from native peoples to explorers, traders, missionaries, and colonial officials.¹²⁷

Shell Canada paid \$1.1 million to become the exclusive sponsor of the exhibit. The Glenbow Museum also had deep ties to the petroleum industry. Eric Harvie, a Calgary-based millionaire who earned his fortune in the oil industry, founded the museum. Executives from Gulf Oil, Rozsa Petroleum, British Petroleum Canada and Wellore Resources sat on the museum's Board of Governors.¹²⁸ Fred Lennarson, a close advisor to Ominayak, wrote that the irony of *The Spirit Sings* exhibit was obvious: "A display of North American Indian artifacts to attract people to the Winter Olympics is being organized by interests who are still actively seeking to destroy Indian people: namely, the Alberta Government and its oil-company allies."¹²⁹

The original title of the exhibit, *Forget Not My World*, was a strong, if unintentional, reminder of the struggles the Lubicon were facing. Their opposition to the exhibit challenged the veracity of Shell Canada President Jack M. MacLeod's statement that the exhibit "will give us all a chance to expand our understanding of Canadian native heritage, and will add an exciting dimension to the Olympic Arts Festival...Shell's participation in this project is consistent with our commitment to Canada."¹³⁰ Glenbow Museum Director Duncan Cameron was initially reluctant to change the name of the

¹²⁷ Press Release: "Flagship of '88 Olympics Arts Festival Launched by Glenbow Today", April 15, 1986, Box 22, File: Glenbow Museum, 1985-1987, Governing Board and Executive Group XII. Executive Group, President W. Pratt, Committee Liaison, Correspondence, Minutes and Reference Material: 1983-1988, XVWGI, CCA.

¹²⁸ Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, 143.

¹²⁹ Fred Lennarson, qtd in Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, 143.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

exhibit; but in 1986, he met with the exhibit's curators, who argued that the title "would be offensive to native people" because it gave the appearance that they no longer existed in Canada.¹³¹ The committee urged Cameron "in the strongest possible terms" to change the title.¹³² He ultimately agreed to ask OCO'88 and Shell Canada to approve a new title as long as it was one Cameron felt "would be marketable."¹³³ Cameron's emphasis on marketability contradicts a statement by Julia Harrison, one of the curators of *The Spirit Sings*, about Shell's sponsorship of the exhibit. In an article in *Anthropology Today* defending the exhibit, she wrote:

In this era of declining government support, cultural institutions (including universities) have no option but to seek outside support for projects they undertake. This does not mean that corporate sponsors play editorial roles in the theme and focus of the projects they fund. Nor is there any evidence that the public confuses corporate support for a museum's support for corporate policy.¹³⁴

Harrison further wrote that the campaign had attracted a great deal of media attention that depicted the federal and provincial governments, the energy industry, Glenbow Museum and the Olympics in a negative light.¹³⁵ In 1986, Ominayak travelled to Europe to request that museums withhold artifacts requested for *The Spirit Sings* exhibit. Many curators agreed to his request, but the exact number of museums which refused to lend material to the Glenbow Museum is disputed (Cameron claimed 12 museums boycotted the exhibit but Lennarson said there were 23).¹³⁶ James Smith, Curator of the Museum of the American Indian, was the first curator to express support for the exhibition boycott,

¹³¹ Scientific Committee Meetings, May 30, 31, and June 1 1986, Box 22, File: Glenbow Museum, 1985-1987, Governing Board and Executive Group, XII. Executive Group, President W. Pratt, Committee Liaison, Correspondence, Minutes and Reference Material, 1983-1988, XVWGI, CCA.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Julia Harrison, "The Spirit Sings' and the Future of Anthropology," *Anthropology Today*, 4, no. 6 (1988): 8.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 6.

¹³⁶ Goddard, *The Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, 157.

noting: “To cover up injustices with an art exhibit I think is inadequate.”¹³⁷ Felix Valk, of the Museum voor Volkenkunde in Rotterdam, articulating a similar criticism, observing that *The Spirit Sings* risked being seen “as a kind of cover-up, a nice facade hiding the real world of today’s native peoples.”¹³⁸

Considered in light of the Lubicon’s opposition to the Olympics, the commodities sold during the Olympics such as cowboy hats, stuffed animals, and pins, contained ambivalent meanings. These commodities were, I argue, fetish objects embodying an “impossible irresolution.”¹³⁹ As discussed in Chapter One, McClintock argues that fetishes are “the displacement onto an object (or person) of contradictions that the individual cannot resolve at a personal level.”¹⁴⁰ Olympic commodities represented competing ideas about land and resource ownership in Alberta. On one hand, they symbolized the wealth of the region’s petroleum reserves, largely under the province’s jurisdiction. On the other hand, they symbolized the threat petroleum extraction in northern Alberta posed to the Lubicon’s cultural and physical survival.

Conclusion

This chapter has contextualized the Calgary Olympics within the following historical developments: the emergence of neo-liberalism in the 1980s, the increasing commercialization of the Olympic movement, the end of energy politics between Edmonton and Ottawa, and the rise of oil extraction practices in northern Alberta. Ultimately, this chapter has highlighted the extent to which region and corporate branding campaigns shaped the meaning and significance of natural and cultural resources. Cultural identity was treated as a resource that is subject to market forces while material goods symbolized contradictory ideas about regional identity and belonging.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 147.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 147.

¹³⁹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 184.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 184.

Chapter 5

Haunted Spirits: the 1988 Calgary Olympics and the Contractualization of Citizenship

In the lead up to the 1988 Calgary Winter Games, the official sponsor and organizer of the Olympic torch relay, Petro Canada, released an ad showing Canadians waiting on a snow-covered sidewalk to watch the Olympic torch relay pass through their city. The narrator observed: “There’s something special happening in Canada, in big cities and small towns all across this country of ours.”¹ As the crowd of people grew, the narrator continued: “People are getting ready to share in the experience of a lifetime. As the Olympic torch is passed from hand to hand on its glorious 18, 000 kilometre route to Calgary for the Olympic Winter Games, don’t miss the opportunity to be part of this. Because this is ours, and it’s ours to share.”² When a smiling blonde woman holding the torch came into view, a man in the audience who was wearing a stylish coat over a suit became teary-eyed. He was initially reluctant to leave his house to join the group that had gathered along the relay route, but once he saw the torch, his eyes filled with tears. The man shared a meaningful look with a person in a plaid flannel shirt and the pair was clearly moved by the emotional intensity of the event. The message of the ad was clear: the torch relay unites all Canadians, regardless of age, class or gender. As the ad ended, a song with the following lyrics played: “Share the spirit, share the glory, share the moment in this never ending story, come together heart to heart, everybody has a part, share the flame Canada, share the flame, share the flame.”³

Protestors opposing Petro Canada’s sponsorship of the torch relay lined the route in every province except Prince Edward Island, promoting ideas that contrasted sharply with those in the ad. Protestors held up signs that changed Petro Canada’s slogan from “share the

¹ “Share the Flame.” Petro Canada advertisement. *YouTube*.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zOANK1wdJyk>

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

flame” to “share the blame.”⁴ They did this to highlight the plight of the Lubicon Cree, an Indigenous group in northern Alberta whose unresolved land claim was discussed briefly in Chapter Four. Many Canadians criticized the activists for dampening the joy of the torch relay and, in Calgary, Olympic supporters threw snowballs at protestors. This confrontation highlights the fact that the torch relay united some Canadians while excluding others.

I begin this chapter by analyzing prominent narratives about the spirit of the Calgary Games. Olympic organizers and sponsors used the phrase “Olympic spirit” to describe how the values of the Olympic movement were represented in the Calgary Olympics. Additionally, they used the phrase “Canadian spirit” to describe how Canadians’ activities during the Games reflected national values. Representations of the Olympic torch relay brought these two ideas together and, for many Canadians, the torch symbolized the Olympic and Canadian spirits. However, anti-Olympic protestors rejected these narratives and argued that the reality of the Lubicon Cree’s unresolved land claim contradicted the positive traits associated with the torch relay and the Calgary Olympics more generally. I rely on Margaret Somers’ theory of the contractualization of citizenship to examine the significance of these competing narratives. Somers argues that, under market fundamentalism, only individuals who contribute to the nation in economically profitable ways receive full rights as citizens.⁵ The spirit of the Olympics was linked to the contractualization of citizens because Canadians could share in the spirit by making them more profitable. Thus, the Olympic/Canadian spirit was created, in part, by individuals who were in the process of fulfilling their contractual obligations as citizens.

Arguments that the actions of anti-Olympic protestors ran counter to the spirit of the Games helped establish a division between those who did and did not increase the profitability of the Games. By excluding the protestors’ message from official representations of the Olympics, Olympic organizers and sponsors hid the fact that the

⁴ See, for example, a picture in the *Globe and Mail* on January 15 1988, A4; Rudy Platiel, “Native leaders see glimmer of hope on self-rule,” *Globe and Mail*, Dec. 29, 1987, 3.

⁵ Margaret Somers, *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to have Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Lubicon did not have the same rights as other people in Canada. This argument draws on Somers' claim that individuals who do not fulfil their contractual obligations as citizens lack the "right to have rights"⁶. In the language of Avery Gordon and Jacques Derrida, the Lubicon's rightlessness haunted the Canadian and Olympic spirits, creating *spirited* Canadian/Olympic spirits. Commodities that symbolized the Olympic/Canadian spirit, like replica Olympic torches, were fetish objects. In keeping with Anne McClintock's understanding of fetish as an embodiment of an unresolved contradiction, I argue that Olympic objects embodied a contradiction about the meaning of citizenship in Canada. Specifically, they represented and repudiated the idea that Canadians were united through a shared sense of national pride and civic duty. Openly acknowledging this contradiction would have created an uncanny experience because, as Sigmund Freud argues, the uncanny emerges when something that was meant to be hidden becomes visible.⁷

This chapter contributes to existing scholarship on the political implications of the commercial dimensions of the Calgary Olympics by focusing on the relationship between commercialism and citizenship rights in Canada. Kevin Wamsley and Michael Heine argue that when individuals criticized anti-Olympic protestors they relied on the idea that the Olympics are not political.⁸ Oil companies' sponsorship of the Games, Wamsley and Heine contend, was inherently political.⁹ However, Wamsley and Heine do not examine the political implications of these sponsorship practices. I show that, when citizenship becomes contractualized, support for corporate sponsored events and the consumption of material goods become ways to earn citizenship rights. Importantly, the individuals who have been denied these rights are not completely invisible and consumer goods are haunted by the social exclusion of rightless citizens.

⁶ Ibid; as I discuss later in this chapter, the term "the right of have rights" originated with Hannah Arendt.

⁷ Sigmund Freud. *The Uncanny*, trans. David McLintock (London: Penguin Books, 1953), 132.

⁸ Kevin Wamsley, and Mike Heine, "'Don't mess with the relay - it's bad medicine': Aboriginal culture and the 1988 Winter Olympics," in *Olympic Perspectives: Third International Symposium for Olympic Research*, ed. Robert Barney (London: Centre for Olympic Studies, 1996), 176.

⁹ Ibid., 176.

“Catch the Spirit:” Canadian Spirits in the Games

Olympic organizers and sponsors used the word spirit to discuss two distinct, but interrelated, ideas. First, they used it to describe how the Calgary Games represented the values of the Olympic movement. The authors of an education kit for high school students defined Olympism as “an overall philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Olympism sets out to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational values of good examples and a respect for universal fundamental ethical principles.”¹⁰ They further noted: “the *spirit and excitement of Olympism*, as represented by the celebration in Calgary of the 1988 Olympic Winter Games, will remain as memories.”¹¹ James C. Corkery, President and Master of the Royal Canadian Mint, said that the slogan for coins commemorating the Calgary Olympics, “The Pursuit of Excellence,” encapsulated Olympic ideals by capturing “both the exceptional realism of the Olympic coins and the essence of the *Olympic spirit*.”¹²

According to OCO’88, the Olympic torch relay spread the Olympic spirit. The relay began on November 17, 1987, 88 days prior to the opening ceremony. The torch travelled across Canada, coming within a two hour drive of 90% of the Canadian population.¹³ The official report of the Games stated that the Olympic flame spread the Games’ message to 800 villages, towns and cities.”¹⁴ James Davidson shared this sentiment in December 1987, describing in the *Globe and Mail* how the torch relay brought the Olympic spirit to eastern Canada. He wrote: “Maritimers have responded to its [the torch’s] mystique,

¹⁰ Senior High Resource Kit (10-12), ed. Deanna Binder (Calgary: XVOWGOC, 1985), Educational Resources, Come Together: The Olympics and You, Box 43, “Come Together: The Olympics and You./Rassemblez-vous a Calgary, 1988. Communications I, Group X: PR Division, Youth and Education. XV Olympic Winter Games Inventories (XVWGI), City of Calgary Archives (CCA).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, italics added.

¹² Olympic Coin Program Media Release, September 16, 1985, Box 5, File: Royal Canadian Mint, the Pursuit of Excellence, Olympic Coin Program [1985], Communications III, XXIII: Communications Group, Artificial Series, Printed Material, Ephemera and Cultural Historic Items, XVWGI, CCA, italics added.

¹³ XV Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee (OCO’88), *XV Olympic Winter Games: Official Report*, (Calgary: Calgary Olympic Development Association, 1988), 243.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 243, italics added.

braving the month's bluster in impressive numbers to feel the storied *Olympic spirit* as it visits their village or town or city."¹⁵ According to some reports, the flame had "magical" qualities. OCO'88 Chairman Frank King wrote: "The Olympic flame had a *magical* effect on people of all ages. All along the roadside people reached out seeking to touch the handle of the torch, as if to receive some form of spiritual nourishment. It was like a blessing."¹⁶ Davidson also described the flame as magical: "On the back roads of New Brunswick, people are responding to the *magic* of the flame."¹⁷

In *Share the Flame*, the official retrospective book of the Olympic torch relay, Calgary resident Michael Farber wrote that torch bearers internalized the Olympic spirit. He observed: all of the torch bearers "had their own kilometer of Canada and six or seven proud minutes when the Olympic flame and the *Olympic spirit* rested with them."¹⁸ Similar to Farber, the official report described Canadians embodying the Olympic spirit: "like the huge flame burning atop the landmark Calgary Tower, the *Olympic spirit* burned brightly in the hearts of people everywhere."¹⁹ King, whose memoir about the Games is filled with metaphors about the Olympic spirit, compared the spirit to a flame that Canadians could catch and spread, writing: "The Olympic spirit chooses sport as its model, but it really applies to all of life. When you *catch the spirit*, you know you've got it. And once you've got it, others catch it from you. It's contagious."²⁰

Canadians experienced the Olympic spirit by participating in and supporting the torch relay. Alan Hobson, author of *Share the Flame*, wrote that the residents of Airdrie, Alberta "showed the *Olympic spirit*" by hosting relay staff in their homes. Staff usually stayed in hotels, but their hotel reservations in Airdrie fell through at the last minute.²¹ According to King, Canadians made the Olympic Spirit come alive in Canada: "The

¹⁵ James Davidson, "Canada's Torch Song," *Globe and Mail*, December 5 1987, E1, italics added.

¹⁶ Frank W. King, *It's How You Play the Game: The Inside Story of the Calgary Olympics* (Calgary: Script: the writers' group, 1991), 233, italics added.

¹⁷ Davidson, "Canada's Torch Song", italics added.

¹⁸ Michael Farber, qtd in Alan Hobson, *Share the flame: the official retrospective book of the Olympic torch relay* (Vancouver: Murray/Love Productions, 1998), 212, italics added.

¹⁹ OCO'88, *XV Olympic Winter Games*, 13.

²⁰ King, *It's How You Play the Game*, 3, italics added.

²¹ Hobson, *Catch the Flame*, 202.

Calgary Olympic Winter Games will be remembered for the *spirit* of the people, a true reflection of *Olympic spirit*. There were many who participated, and there were no losers. That *spirit* is still alive and well and living in Calgary, looking for a chance to show itself again”²² In fact, King argued that the level of support that Canadians showed for the Olympics enhanced the existing Olympic spirit. He wrote: “The people of Calgary, Alberta, and Canada felt excited, proud, and grateful for the opportunity they received to host the ‘best-ever’ Olympic Winter Games. The *spirit* of Calgary will become part of the new Olympic spirit and the next Games will benefit from that.”²³

King and other OCO’88 members also used the word spirit to describe how Canadians reflected local and national (rather than Olympic) values through their support of the Games. Upon learning that Glenbow Museum Director Duncan Cameron had secured a sponsor for the *Spirit Sings* exhibit in 1986, King wrote him an appreciative letter: “Your tireless energy and positive attitude over the past 39 months of developing this project is exemplary of the *Calgary community spirit* in helping make the XV Olympic Winter Games the success they are going to be.”²⁴ David Ting, an Ottawa resident, sent a letter to OCO’88 praising the community spirit that Calgarians demonstrated during the Games:

I, for one, was deeply touched by the *spirit of Calgary* – the western hospitality, volunteerism, and the way they welcomed the world. The pictures of ubiquitous volunteers, the cheers at Saddledome and the enthusiastic crowds at Olympic Plaza which was like Times Square on New Year’s Eve, form a kaleidoscope that revolves before me.²⁵

²² King, *It’s How You Play the Game*, 258, italics added.

²³ *Ibid.*, 327.

²⁴ Letter to Duncan Cameron, Director of Glenbow Museum, from Frank King, Feb. 17, 1986, Box 22, File: Glenbow Museum, 1985-1987, Governing Board and Executive Group, XII, Executive Group, President W. Pratt, Committee Liaison, Correspondence, minutes and Reference Material 1983-1988, XVWGI, CCA.

²⁵ David Ting, qtd in King, *It’s How You Play the Game*, 326, italics added.

In a section entitled “After the Games the Spirit Lives On,” the senior high school education kit noted that the dedication to volunteer work by Calgarians during the Olympics will have a lasting impact on the city: “the policy of OCO’88, to make these Games the ‘Volunteer Games’ will contribute to a growing *spirit of volunteerism* in the city.”²⁶

Petro Canada representatives described the Olympic torch relay as a conduit for the expression of Olympic and Canadian spirits. The joint statement that Petro Canada executives W.H. Hopper and E.M. Lakusta provided in *Share the Flame* reflects this perspective: “The Olympic torch symbolizes the Games’ objectives: peace, friendship and sportsmanship.”²⁷ Moreover, the Canadians who participated in the relay demonstrated distinctly Canadian traits, like dedication and persistence: “For those who struggled against the bitter wind, whether you carried the torch in your hands or in your hearts, you have been part of a journey that showed that the *Canadian spirit* is as eternal as the Olympic flame.”²⁸ Similarly, Hobson wrote: “On its journey across the country, the torch had ignited the *Canadian spirit*, and on that Saturday in February [when the torch arrived in Calgary], it was joined with that of the Olympics.”²⁹ The narrator of a Petro Canada ad that aired after the completion of the torch relay told viewers: “For eighty eight days the Olympic torch relay brought us together in a celebration of *the Canadian spirit*.”³⁰

“Won’t you feel it?” The Contractualization of Citizenship

The lyrics of the official song of the Calgary Games, “Can’t You Feel It,” written by David Foster and Tommy Banks implored Canadians to feel the spirit of the Games. The

²⁶ Senior High Resource Kit (10-12), ed. Deanna Binder (Calgary: XVOWGOC, 1985), Educational Resources, Come Together: The Olympics and You, Box 43, “Come Together: The Olympics and You./Rassemblez-vous a Calgary, 1988, Communications I, Group X: PR Division, Youth and Education, XVWGI, CCA, italics added.

²⁷ W.H. Hopper and E.M. Lakusta, qtd in Hobson, *Share the Flame*, 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

²⁹ Hobson, *Catch the Flame*, 214.

³⁰ “Olympic Torch Relay Launch,” Petro-Canada advertisement, *YouTube*.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BqzO9zhfWDQ>

song went: “Can’t you feel it? The spirit surrounds you!/Don’t you feel it? And now that it’s found in you/ Won’t you feel it? The feeling’s everywhere/Can’t you feel it here?”³¹ The lyrics of this song are significant because Canadians, I argue, had to make material contributions to the Games in order to “feel” the spirit. Making these contributions, in turn, helped Canadians earn the privilege of citizenship. This argument relies on Somers’ concept of the contractualization of citizenship. She argues that the relationship between the state and citizens under market fundamentalism has been reorganized and “the right of recognition, inclusion, and membership in both political and civil society”³² has become a privilege that citizens must earn by contributing to the nation in economically profitable ways. Drawing on Hannah Arendt’s work on the right to have rights (discussed in greater detail later in this chapter), Somers asserts that citizens cannot exercise their citizenship rights (i.e. right to vote, right to free speech) without first being guaranteed a basic right: the right of recognition, inclusion and membership into society.³³ The ways in which Canadians “felt” the spirit provide salient examples of how individuals earn citizenship rights. To be clear, I am not arguing that participation in the Games was the only in which Canadians earned such rights; they must be consistently and continuously earned.

One way Canadians added value to the Calgary Olympics was by volunteering for the Games, and the unpaid labour they invested in the Games allowed OCO’88 to save money on employees’ salaries. OCO’88 relied primarily on volunteers: a total of 11, 680 volunteers, comprising 97% of the organizations’ total “workforce.” Paid staff members co-ordinated various projects and managed the Games’ budget.³⁴ By contrast, approximately 10% of the Montreal Olympics’ workforce were volunteers.³⁵ An article in

³¹ Script of the opening ceremonies, Box 1, File: Opening/Closing, Communications II, Sub-series XVI, Communications Group, Culture Division, Ceremonies Department, General Files, 1981-1988, XVWGI, CCA; a recording of the song is available on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rf0-ltRXAC4>.

³² *Ibid.*, 25.

³³ *Ibid.* 57.

³⁴ King, *It’s How You Play the Game*, 197.

³⁵ Comité d’Organisation des Jeux Olympique. *The Official Report of the XXIst Olympiad Montréal 1976*. (Ottawa: Comité d’Organisation des Jeux Olympique, 1978), 545; out of a total of 23, 925 people working for the Montreal Olympics, 2, 398 were volunteers.

the *Globe and Mail* drew attention to the unpaid labour of Olympic volunteers, noting with amazement that, in Calgary, “20, 000 people will work for nothing to host the world for 16 days.”³⁶ The demands that OCO’88 placed on Olympic volunteers were similar to those that employers place on employees. Volunteers were required to commit to a minimum of 120 hours during the Games and had to attend training sessions for at least one year.³⁷ If performers in the opening and closing ceremonies missed a practice session, they were let go. Additionally, OCO’88 member Brian Murphy resigned when the executive board refused his request for funds to pay senior volunteers a salary of \$50, 000 a year.³⁸

Many volunteers added value to companies’ sponsorship of the Calgary Olympics by strengthening the affiliation between their brands and the Olympics. For example, 140 volunteer high school students performed the roles of Games’ mascots Hidy and Howdy in public appearances.³⁹ The mascots made frequent appearances at corporate functions hosted by such Olympic sponsors as Petro Canada, Kodak, General Motors, Royal Bank and Coca-Cola.⁴⁰ Organizers bought numerous Hidy and Howdy costumes, which allowed the mascots to attend multiple functions at the same time.⁴¹ In the fourteen months leading up to the Olympics, Hidy and Howdy made 2, 800 appearances.⁴² In the book *Share the Flame*, Hobson celebrated the “commitment to the public and to the Olympics” displayed by the student volunteers.⁴³ Another Olympic sponsor, Labatt’s, wrote favourably about the Canadians who participated in its Olympic Parent’s Program. Labatt’s provided free plane fare and Olympic tickets to parents of Canadian Olympians and locals hosted these parents in Calgary. More than one thousand Calgarians offered to

³⁶ N.a., “And now the...turns to: CALGARY,” *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 5, 1988, 12.

³⁷ OCO’88, *Official Report*, 441; King, *It’s How You Play the Game*, 198.

³⁸ King, *It’s How You Play the Game*, 198.

³⁹ OCO’88, *XV Olympic Winter Games*, 259.

⁴⁰ Hidy and Howdy Corporate Appearances, Box 10, File: Mascots, Hidy & Howdy, 1987-1988, Marketing Section I: OCO’88 Marketing Group, Corporate Relations, Administrative Files, XVWGI, CCA.

⁴¹ King, *It’s How You Play the Game*, 247.

⁴² OCO’88, *XV Olympic Winter Games*, 259.

⁴³ Hobson, *Share the Flame*, 100.

be hosts, though only three hundred houses were needed.⁴⁴ The Labatt's Olympic Parents Program application form told parents that, by participating in the program, they would get the "opportunity to sample true western-style hospitality," because Calgarians were "generously opening their homes to parents of Canada's Olympic Winter Team members."⁴⁵ Using language that was very similar to Petro Canada's "Share the Flame!" mantra, Labatt's representatives encouraged Olympian parents to "Share The Pride!" by participating in the program.⁴⁶

The involvement of Canadians in the Olympic torch relay exemplified how Canadians enhanced the value of an Olympic sponsors' brands. The torch relay aligned the Petro Canada brand with national identity and contributed to branded nationalism, a type of Canadian nationalism linked to consumption and branding, rather than cultural or economic factors.⁴⁷ During the torch relay, the Petro Canada brand became integrated into the way that Canadians experienced and expressed national pride, resulting in "Petro Canada nationalism." Petro Canada executive Ed Lakusta expressed this idea when he said: "We're a Canadian company, and Canadians expect us to do things which enrich our national life. The enthusiasm the Relay has generated in communities across the country is simply amazing. We're proud to be associated with an event that is creating memories that will last a lifetime for so many Canadians."⁴⁸ Petro Canada conducted consumer research prior to the start of the relay that found that 79% of Canadians were aware that Petro Canada was its sponsor.⁴⁹

Canadians' participation in the torch relay helped make it a nationally significant and emotionally resonant event. Canadians sent seven million entries to the nationwide lottery

⁴⁴ King, *It's How You Play the Game*, 251.

⁴⁵ Labatt's, Olympic Parents Program Application form, Box 23, Folder: Labatt's, 1986-1987, Communications Group, Series XV, Box 23, Folder: Labatt's, 1986-1987, XVWGI, CCA.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Catherine Carstairs, "Roots Nationalism: Branding English Canada Cool in the 1980s and 1990s," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 39, no. 77 (2006): 235-255.

⁴⁸ The Olympic Torch Relay Media Guide, Box 4, File: Petro Canada, 1987, Communications Group, XIII, XVWGI, CCA.

⁴⁹ Letter from Jim Hunter to Jerry Joynt, subject: Positive position of OCO on O.T.R. [Olympic Torch Relay], Aug. 27, 1987, Box 2, File: Petro Canada, 1986-1987, Communications Group I, Sub-Series II, Vice President Jared Joynt, Correspondence and Reference Material 1984-1988, XVWGI, CCA.

used to select torch bearers. (Many people submitted multiple entries).⁵⁰ Canadians' response to the torch relay was, in King's words, "overwhelming. Thousands of people had stood in the bitter cold for hours just to get a chance to see the flame, to hold it, to take a little bit of it away with them."⁵¹ He conceptualized this response in material terms, saying: "You can't invent ways to bring people together like this [torch] relay. *You can't buy the pride it has unleashed*. It gives all Canadians a chance to participate in some way."⁵² Shawna Richer later wrote that "the 1988 Calgary Olympics set a new standard for a Winter Games."⁵³ According to King, Canadians along the route spontaneously sang *O Canada*,⁵⁴ as Richer also noted: "Spontaneous roadside cheers, tears and outbursts of the national anthem, even on the darkest, most frigid nights, were routine occurrences [along the torch relay route]."⁵⁵ Hobson described Canadians running out of their houses to shout "We love you Canada" as the torch relay passed through their area and standing in public spaces singing the national anthem "with newly glowing hearts."⁵⁶

While there is no evidence suggesting that the national pride Canadians expressed was insincere, Petro Canada told Canadians what to expect and how to act during the torch relay. For example, a Petro Canada ad that showed Canadians coming together to watch the torch pass through their community anticipated the national unity and pride the event would inspire in these spectators. The narrator described the relay as an "experience of a lifetime" and advised viewers: "Don't miss the opportunity to be part of this."⁵⁷ Another ad told viewers: "When the Olympic torch is proudly carried through your community,

⁵⁰ OCO'88, *XV Olympic Winter Games*, 241; In addition to the Canadians selected through the lottery, three hundred individuals who had made outstanding contributions to the nation were selected as torch bearers.

⁵¹ King, *It's How You Play the Game*, 3.

⁵² King, qtd in *Catch the Flame*, 9, italics added.

⁵³ Shawna Richer, "Now and then how great was '88?" *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 30, 2009, O12.

⁵⁴ King, *It's How You Play the Game*, 3, italics added.

⁵⁵ Richer, "Now and then how great was '88?"

⁵⁶ Hobson, *Share the Flame*, 14.

⁵⁷ "Share the Flame." Petro Canada advertisement. *YouTube*.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zOANKlwdJyk>

it's an experience you won't want to miss."⁵⁸ Some torch bearers and spectators even sang the lyrics of the jingle, "Share the Flame," that played during these ads while a young woman, Elsa Hon, from Fort McMurray held a home-made sign with the words, "Share the Flame Canada."⁵⁹ Donalda Garner, who lived in Regina, raised the money to travel to Quebec, where she had been selected to run as a torch bearer, by selling seven goats. While in Quebec, Garner and her parents stayed at the home of Pierre Fafard, another torch bearer. Hobson wrote that the Garners and Fafard "forged bonds that will endure long after the flame has reached its destination. For Garner it epitomized the true meaning of 'share the flame.'"⁶⁰

In addition to volunteering for the Games and supporting the torch relay, Canadians could fulfill their metaphorical contracts as citizens by purchasing Olympic goods and supporting Petro Canada's cause-related marketing campaign. A portion of the profits from sales of commemorative torch relay glassware and Olympic coins helped fund Canadian athletes. Petro Canada and OCO'88 fetishized these products by suggesting that when Canadians bought Olympic glassware they received a material good (the object) but also something immaterial: the chance to support Canadian athletes and create the legacy of the Games in Canada. The narrator in an ad about the Torch Relay Legacy Fund told viewers:

Every time you bought an Olympic torch relay glass, you contributed to this awards program, which allow our promising athletes and coaches to continue their education and training. The Petro Canada Olympic Torch Relay Legacy Fund: the pride we shared leaves a promise for the future.⁶¹

⁵⁸ "Share the Flame (version #2)." Petro Canada advertisement. *YouTube*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T6kcgZMKGVg>

⁵⁹ Hobson, *Share the Flame*, 207.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 163-164.

⁶¹ "Olympic Torch Relay Legacy Fund." Petro-Canada advertisement. *YouTube*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TcO-rda-qj0>

The final scene of the ad showed the torch relay emblem, a torch with a maple leaf emerging from its flame, and the slogan: “Olympic Torch Relay Legacy Fund: Sustaining the Olympic Spirit.”⁶² Similarly, the senior high education kit told students that buying Olympic commodities contributed to the legacy of the Olympics: “As an integral part of the Torch Relay, a legacy for amateur sport organizations will be provided through the sale of limited-edition products licensed by OCO’88’s Marketing Department.”⁶³ By purchasing the glassware, Canadians were fulfilling their contractual obligations as citizens by showing support for the torch relay. However, they were also fulfilling this obligation by contributing money to a nationally significant endeavour: the training of future Canadian Olympians.

Otto Jelinek, the Federal Minister of State, Fitness and Amateur Sport and Multiculturalism, said in 1986 that Canadians who purchased Olympic coins supported Olympic athletes in symbolic and material ways: “Every time a Canadian buys an Olympic coin, they are making a positive statement of support for Canada’s Olympic athletes and ideals. With three percent of the face value of each coin going to the Canadian Olympic Association, the purchase is also making a positive financial statement of support” for Canadian athletes.⁶⁴ At the launch of the Olympic coin series in September 1985, King said: OCO’88 is confident that Canadians will “embrace this vehicle for supporting the Games.”⁶⁵ Thus, the coin program is an example of a cause-related marketing (CRM) campaign. However, unlike other CRM-related purchases, buying Petro Canada mugs helped Canadians earn citizenship rights.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³ Senior High Resource Kit (10-12), ed. Deanna Binder (Calgary: XVOWGOC, 1985), Educational Resources, Come Together: The Olympics and You, Box 43, "Come Together: The Olympics and You./Rassemblez-vous a Calgary, 1988, Communications I, Group X: PR Division, Youth and Education. XVWGI, CCA.

⁶⁴ Remarks by Otto Jelinek, Federal Minister of State, Fitness and amateur sport and multiculturalism on the unveiling of the coins, Sept. 16, 1985, Box 5, File: Royal Canadian Mint, The Pursuit of Excellence, Olympic Coin Program, Group: Communications III, Sub-Group: XXIII Communications Group, Artificial Series, Printed Material, Ephemera and Cultural Historic Items.

⁶⁵ Remarks by Frank King, Chairman of OCO, at the Launch of the Mint’s 1988 Olympic coin series, Sept. 16, 1985, Box 5, File: Royal Canadian Mint, The Pursuit of Excellence, Olympic Coin Program, Group: Communications III, Subgroup: XXIII: Communications Group, Artificial Series, Printed Material, Ephemera and Cultural Historic Items, XVWGI, CCA, italics added.

“Share the Blame:” Anti-Olympic Protests

The Lubicon and their allies rejected the dominant narrative of OCO’88 and Petro Canada about the Canadian and Olympic spirits. The torch relay was a focal point for the Lubicon’s anti-Olympic campaign because Petro Canada was actively drilling for oil in Lubicon territory in the 1980s. Chief Bernard Ominayak asked Canadians to protest along the torch relay route and people in every province except Prince Edward Island obliged him.⁶⁶ The Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with Native Peoples published a flyer rejecting the idea that the Olympic torch symbolized values like friendship, harmony, and national unity. The authors re-interpreted Petro Canada’s jingle “Share the Flame,” writing that share the flame does not “mean watching while forest fire incinerates the animals, birds, fish and plant life of the land.” The flyer continued: “Everybody has a part - What part can Natives have when their artifacts and culture from the past are being exploited by the very forces who are annihilating that way of life – today?”⁶⁷ A number of protestors lining the torch relay held up signs that changed Petro Canada’s slogan “Share the Flame” to “Share the Blame.”⁶⁸ Matthew Coon-Come, Grand Chief of the Quebec Cree, articulated this sentiment at a protest: “I say if we share the flame, we should share the blame, and we should share the shame.”⁶⁹ A protestor in Fredericton held up a sign that read: “Don’t share the nightmare of the genocide of Indians.”⁷⁰ A couple from Red Deer, Alberta, wrote a letter to the *Globe and Mail*, criticizing the federal and provincial governments’ treatment of the Lubicon: “it is our shame that we

⁶⁶ John Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd, 1991), 156.

⁶⁷ Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with Native Peoples, “Support the Lubicon – Defend Native Rights,” Box 4, Folder: “Natives, 1985-1987, Communications Group, Series II, XVWGI, CCA, underline in original.

⁶⁸ See, for example, a picture in the *Globe and Mail* on January 15, 1988, A4; Rudy Platiel, “Native leaders see glimmer of hope on self-rule,” *Globe and Mail*, Dec. 29, 1987: 3.

⁶⁹ Matthew Coon-Come, qtd in Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, 158.

⁷⁰ Davidson, “Canada’s Torch Song”.

care more for the grand Olympic show glorifying the *human spirit* than we do for real suffering human beings.”⁷¹

City officials in Calgary prohibited Lubicon supporters from handing out leaflets on Stephen Avenue Mall, where Olympic supporters gathered each night of the Games. The Calgary Civil Liberties Association (CCLA) criticized the city’s action and journalist Michael Valpy noted: “The CCLA suggested aloud to anyone wanting to listen that freedom of expression was thought not to be compatible in Calgary with the *Olympic spirit*.”⁷² In Toronto in December 1987, police forced more than one hundred protestors who had gathered in Nathan Phillips Square prior to the flame’s arrival, to disperse. The protestors left the square and gathered at a nearby intersection, but police made them leave that area too, because they were blocking pedestrian crosswalks.⁷³ John Duncanson conveyed the protestors’ perspective: they “said they feel the *spirit of the Olympics* is being doused by the ugly reality of what the oil companies and governments are doing to the Lubicon Cree.”⁷⁴

Wamsley and Heine argue that OCO’88 developed a “Native participation plan” in order to divert attention away from the Lubicon’s anti-Olympic campaign: “The program was structured to channel Native involvement into less controversial areas, and it was explicitly designed to counter the international publicity generated by the boycott of *The Spirit Sings*.”⁷⁵ In 1985, OCO’88 partnered with the federal government to establish a “Natives and the Olympics Committee,” which was led by Sykes F. Powderface, an Indigenous activist and the official representative of Treaty 7 Nations.⁷⁶ The committee organized a cultural exhibition, a Pow Wow, a fashion show and a National Youth

⁷¹ Ted Williamson and Beverly Williamson, “Letter: Hard life for Indians,” *Globe and Mail*, Dec. 10, 1987, A6, italics added.

⁷² Michael Valpy, “Bits and pieces from Alberta,” *Globe and Mail*, March 2, 1988: A8, italics added.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, italics added.

⁷⁵ Wamsley and Heine, “Don’t Mess With the Relay”, 175.

⁷⁶ Treaty 7 consists primarily of Blackfoot territories in southern Alberta: Christine, O’Bonsawin, “Indigenous Peoples and Canadian-Hosted Olympic Games”, in *Aboriginal Peoples & Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Challenges*, Eds: Janice Forsyth and Audrey Giles (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013): 41.

Conference in connection with the Calgary Olympics.⁷⁷ During the opening ceremony of the Games, a 10-story Teepee surrounded the Olympic Cauldron and David Tlen sang the national anthem in Cree.⁷⁸



Figure 24: Calgary Olympics opening ceremony, OCO'88, *Official Report*, 14.

In addition to diverting attention from the anti-Olympic boycott, the inclusion of Indigenous peoples in the Calgary Games enhanced its spirit. In fact, organizers planned to involve Indigenous peoples in the Games years before Ominayak called for an anti-Olympic boycott. In 1982, OCO'88 members concluded that the cultural events associated with the Games offered them a “way to bring our native people and ethnic groups into the ‘spirit’ of the Games.”⁷⁹ Olympic supporters dismissed anti-Olympic

⁷⁷ Letter to Mr. Joynt and Ms. Jackson-Dover from W.A. Calder, Director, Social Policy coordination, constitutional affairs and social policy coordination, Alberta Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs, Oct. 13, 1985, Box 25, File: NativeeAd Hoc Committee 1985-1986, Communications II, XV, Communications Group, Culture Division, XVWGI, CCA; Letter distributed to 3M's European journalist group by Sykes F. Powderface, Coordinator, Native Liaison, Sept. 21, 1987, Box 4, File: Natives, 1985-1987, Communications Group I, Sub-Series II, Vice President Jared Joynt, Correspondence and Reference Material, XVWGI, CCA.

⁷⁸ OCO'88, *XV Olympic Winter Games*, 272; a choir subsequently sang the national anthem in English and French.

⁷⁹ Memo “Notes from a meeting between the XVOWGOC (OCO'88) and the Devonian Foundation,” Wednesday, Sept. 1, 1982, Box 18, File: The Glenbow Museum, Devonian Group, 1982, Communications

protestors because their actions were inconsistent with the spirit of the Games and did not add value to the Games. A 1988 article by Kevin Cox praised the celebration of the Olympic spirit during the Games.⁸⁰ He argued that a ceremony in the Olympic Plaza where OCO'88 thanked 3,500 oil industry workers who volunteered for the Games brought the Olympic spirit to life. Amid this atmosphere, "The threat of the Lubicon Indian band disrupting the Games to publicize their land claims is generally scoffed at."⁸¹ Like Cox, King compared anti-Olympic activists unfavourably with Canadians who embraced the Olympic spirit, writing: "the negative placards of Lubicon supporters along the torch relay route seemed out of place and ineffective...Under the glow from the ubiquitous Olympic-torch candles, people hugged and shook hands in friendship. There was no room for defiance or confrontation here, and the protesters' message was overwhelmed."⁸²

"Man With No Land:" The Right to Have Rights

Gordon argues that there is a double haunting in Toni Morrison's book *Beloved* because Beloved the ghost, who haunts her family, is haunted by traumatic experiences and memories.⁸³ Similarly, the Olympic and Canadian spirits were haunted by accounts of the Lubicon's plight which anti-Olympic protestors sought to publicize, becoming *spirited* spirits. In 1899 and 1900, federal government representatives travelled to northern Alberta to negotiate a treaty, Treaty 8, with Indigenous peoples living in the area. Representatives tried to make contact with all the Indigenous groups living on the land covered by the treaty, but they did not penetrate the wilderness far enough to reach the Lubicons.⁸⁴ In August 1933, the Lubicons petitioned the federal government to establish

Group II, Series XIX: Communications Group, Culture Division, Olympic Arts Festival Visual Arts, Correspondence and Reference Material – 1979-1988, XVWGI, CCA.

⁸⁰ Kevin Cox, "The Frenzy Begins," *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 6, 1988, A15.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² King, *It's How You Play the Game*, 235.

⁸³ Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 194.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 7-14.

a reserve for them and Ottawa approved the request in 1939. However, the outbreak of World War II preoccupied the government's attention and the reserve was never formally created. In 1942, Malcolm McCrimmon, a senior accountant at Indian Affairs, changed the criteria used to decide Indigenous peoples' eligibility for treaty status. This change reduced the number of official Lubicon members so dramatically that, one year later, McCrimmon concluded: "the number of Indians remaining on the membership list at Lubicon Lake would hardly warrant the establishment of a Reserve."⁸⁵ However, the Lubicon disagree with the government's eligibility requirements and asserted that, in Ominayak's words, "To be a Lubicon member, a person must be of Aboriginal ancestry linked by historic and family ties to the traditional Lubicon area."⁸⁶ The fact that the federal government did not recognize that individuals with kinship ties to the Lubicon were part of the Lubicon community exemplifies the fact that many Lubicon were excluded from their political and social community. Moreover, by not establishing a reserve for the Lubicon, the federal government made it difficult for the Lubicon to preserve this community.

The Lubicon were also excluded from mainstream Canadian society, a fact that became clear in 1977, when the Alberta government passed a bill changing the wording of the Alberta Land Titles Act to prohibit caveats on unpatented Crown land.⁸⁷ At that time, the Lubicon were members of the Isolated Communities Board, a group that had filed a legal caveat asserting their ownership over land in northern Alberta. By changing the Alberta Land Titles Act midway through the Isolated Community Board's legal proceedings, the Alberta legislature placed the Lubicon outside the protection of the law. In January 1981, the province changed the official status of Little Buffalo from "unorganized Indian settlement" to "provincial hamlet," transforming it into a legally occupied provincial

⁸⁵ Malcolm McCrimmon, qtd in Goddard, *The Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, 26.

⁸⁶ Ominayak, qtd in Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, 185

⁸⁷ A caveat is a document that notifies a person (or persons) that someone other than the landowner has interest in a parcel of land. See: City of Edmonton website: http://www.edmonton.ca/city_government/urban_planning_and_design/caveat-discharge-request.aspx.

municipality.⁸⁸ Subsequently, officials began describing the Lubicons as trespassers and squatters on Crown land.

A 1982 legal case that the Lubicon mounted against companies drilling for oil in their area also demonstrated that the Lubicon's interests were not protected by the law. In fact, this case exemplifies the contractualization of citizenship in Canada because the judge, Gregory Forsyth, privileged the financial interests of oil companies over the social interests of the Lubicon. The Lubicon's lawyer, James O'Reilly, asked the court to order an injunction prohibiting companies from extracting oil from Lubicon territory until the Lubicon's land claim was settled.⁸⁹ Justice Forsyth did not accept O'Reilly's argument that the Lubicon's way of life was being destroyed by the oil company's activities.⁹⁰ Furthermore, he concluded that preventing companies from drilling for oil in Northern Alberta would weaken their position in the oil industry. He wrote: "I am more than satisfied that the respondents [oil companies] would suffer large and significant damages if injunctive relief in any of the forms sought by the applicants were granted. Additionally, the respondents would suffer a loss of competitive positions in the industry vis a vis the position of other companies not parties to this action."⁹¹ Perhaps the clearest example of the judge's adherence to the logic that underpins the contractualization of citizenship is reflected in his argument that, if the Lubicon's land claim was

⁸⁸ Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, 79-80; this move occurred in a few stages. First, senior government officials designated Fleuri L'Hirondelle provincial advisory councillor. L'Hirondelle farmed the area where the Lubicon wanted their reserve established, and saw his interests as contrary to the Lubicon's interests. L'Hirondelle applied to the government for a Land Tenure Program to be applied in Little Buffalo and was approved in 1980. L'Hirondelle ran snap elections for membership to a local land-tenure committee. Few people voted in the election and L'Hirondelle was elected councillor and chairman of a committee that included his son and close friends. This committee devised a street and residential plan that divide Little Buffalo into 2 acre lots and their plan was approved in January 1981. Municipal Affairs Minister Martin Moore signed ministerial order 651-81, which changed the status of Little Buffalo to "provincial hamlet."

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁹⁰ *Ominayak v. Norcen Energy Resources Lt.*, Alberta Court of Queen's Bench., 1983.
<http://www.canlii.org/en/>.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

unsuccessful, they would not be able to compensate oil companies for their financial losses.⁹²

The federal government re-visited the possibility of establishing a Lubicon reserve in 1983 when Indian Affairs Minister John Munro urged Alberta Native Affairs Minister Milton Pahl to establish a reserve and a wildlife conservation regime on Lubicon territory. He made this suggestion after Prime Minister Trudeau received a letter from Anwar Barker, the head of the Global Assembly of the World Council of Churches. Barker wrote that “The situation of the [Lubicon] Band and Band members is thus desperate...Those who try to pursue a different lifestyle will both deny their heritage and break their traditional bonds with the land, an essential legal requirement of their Aboriginal claim.”⁹³ When Pahl did not accept Munro’s recommendations to establish a reserve, the federal minister wrote to him in February 1984 urging him to reconsider. Like Barker, Munro asserted that the Lubicon’s cultural survival was tied to their land: “If this Band is to survive as a group and is to preserve its identity, a reserve is urgently needed.”⁹⁴ When the Tories were elected, David Crombie became Minister of Indian Affairs and assigned David Fulton, a former federal Justice Minister, as a special envoy to the Lubicon.⁹⁵

In 1985, the Alberta Court of Appeal upheld Justice Forsyth’s ruling on the Lubicon’s injunction request. Like Justice Forsyth, Justice J.A. Kerans believed that citizens’ interests could be measured and expressed in economic terms. The judge compared the damages oil companies would suffer if they could no longer drill for oil on Lubicon land with the damages the Lubicon would suffer if drilling continued unabated. He concluded: “the balance of convenience favours the defendants, because to abandon the area to the animals would require abandoning producing fields.”⁹⁶ Justice Kerans also concluded that, if the Lubicon’s land claim was successful, oil companies could financially

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Anwar Barkat, qtd in Goddard, *Last stand of the Lubicon Cree*, 86-87.

⁹⁴ John Munro qtd in Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, 87.

⁹⁵ Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, 118-119.

⁹⁶ *Ominayak et al. v. Norcen energy*, Alberta Court of Appeal, 1985. <http://www.canlii.org/en/>.

compensate them for damages. He wrote: “the time-span here is sufficiently short that the plaintiffs could, if successful at trial, gain through damages sufficient moneys to restore the wilderness and compensate themselves any interim losses.”⁹⁷ The rulings by Justices Forsyth and Kerans illustrate that the Lubicon’s cultural survival was not protected by Canadian law.

In 1986, after consulting extensively with the Lubicon and provincial officials, Fulton recommended that the federal government establish a Lubicon reserve based on the current number of community members.⁹⁸ Because they were not signatories of Treaty 8, the Lubicon’s land rights, Fulton argues, were never extinguished. Moreover, the losses the Lubicon suffered were profound and irreversible. He wrote: the land “upon which they have depended for their livelihood, has been seriously diminished by the unrestricted development which has been allowed to take place without their consent and before they have had time to adjust.”⁹⁹ In contrast to Justices Forsyth and Kerans, Fulton recognized the importance of the Lubicon’s right to maintain a distinct social and economic community, arguing that they should be given “the widest powers of self-determination and self-government to enable its members to realize the concept of the preservation and continuance of their way of life as an Indian community in a manner that is compatible with a balance between their rights and interests and those of others whom they must live in harmony.”¹⁰⁰ The federal government, however, did not act upon any of Fulton’s recommendations.

Dawn Martin-Hill writes that the Lubicon’s experience “reveals the Canadian government’s hollow commitment to human rights and democracy.”¹⁰¹ Her argument is supported by a 1987 United Nations Human Rights Commission ruling that Canada had violated article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights by putting

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ The amount of land the federal government sets aside for an Indigenous community’s reserve is based on the number of people belonging to the community. Fulton argued that the size of the Lubicon reserve should be based on the number of Lubicons in 1986, not 1939.

⁹⁹ Fulton, John. “Fulton Report (1986).” *Native Studies Review* 4, no. 1&2 (1988): 196.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 200.

¹⁰¹ Martin-Hill, *The Lubicon Lake Nation*, 155.

the Lubicon's culture and way of life in jeopardy.¹⁰² In response, the Canadian government informed the Commission that it was prepared to settle the Lubicon's land claims. But, even today, the Lubicon still do not have a reserve. In 2010, Amnesty International released a report expressing concern "that 20 years after the Committee adopted its views on the case, the Lubicon Cree continue to suffer serious human rights violations. Canada's failure to act in a timely and just manner to address these violations is unacceptable."¹⁰³ In light of this situation, the honorary name Ominayak received when he visited the Blood reserve southeast of Calgary is apt. The name, Gaday-skoughkh-omee, means "man with no land."¹⁰⁴

Wamsley and Heine argue that by criticizing anti-Olympic protesters for politicizing the Olympics, supporters of the Olympics turned a blind eye to the political ramifications of Shell and Petro Canada's sponsorship of the Games.¹⁰⁵ For Wamsley and Heine, at issue was "the discursive delimitation of the 'proper' politics in the context of the 1988 Olympics."¹⁰⁶ The substance of the protesters' message, and the fact that many Canadians tried to sideline this message, have political implications not addressed by Wamsley and Heine. Protestors drew attention to the fact that the Lubicon no longer had rights as citizens in Canada because they opposed the profit-generating activities of oil companies in northern Alberta. Thus, protestors exposed the fact that a practice occurring during the Games, the inclusion and exclusion of citizens based on their contributions to the nation, was occurring on a much larger scale outside of the Olympics. The negative effects of the Lubicon's social exclusion were more serious than the protestors' exclusion

¹⁰² United Nations Human Rights Committee, *Lubicon Lake Band v. Canada*, (Communication No. 167/1984), 26 March 1990; Amnesty International, *Canada: 20 Years' Denial of Recommendations Made by the United Nations Human Rights Committee and the Continuing Impact on the Lubicon Cree* (London: Amnesty International Publications, 2010), 5. <http://www.amnesty.ca/sites/default/files/2010-03-17amr200032010en20yearsdeniallubicon.pdf>

¹⁰³ Amnesty International, *Canada: 20 Years' Denial of Recommendations Made by the United Nations Human Rights Committee and the Continuing Impact on the Lubicon Cree* (London: Amnesty International Publications, 2010), 6. <http://www.amnesty.ca/sites/default/files/2010-03-17amr200032010en20yearsdeniallubicon.pdf>

¹⁰⁴ Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, 155.

¹⁰⁵ Wamsley and Heine, "Don't Mess With the Relay," 176.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 176.

from the Olympics; the Lubicon were not included in civic and political communities in Canada.

The argument that the Lubicon were socially excluded relies on Hanna Arendt's conceptualization of human rights and statelessness. Arendt wrote that, in the interwar years, European Jews and other groups who were expelled from their home countries became stateless. When these groups sought asylum in new countries, they became unwanted refugees who could not be deported (no country would take them) or naturalized (there were too many of them). In other words, they lost their homes and could not find new ones. Once they became stateless, they also became rightless.¹⁰⁷ These individuals lost government protection, both in their country of origin and elsewhere. International treaties and agreements guarantee the rights of citizens even outside their own country, but stateless individuals were not citizens of any country.¹⁰⁸ Arendt wrote: once individuals who had been expelled from their country "had left their homeland they remained homeless, once they had left their state they became stateless; once they had become deprived of their human rights they were rightless, the scum of the earth."¹⁰⁹ When the rights of stateless individuals were no longer guaranteed by an authority or institution, these rights disappeared altogether. This situation illustrated that the concept of the Rights of Man, the notion that all individuals possess inalienable human rights, was a fallacy. The "loss of national rights," Arendt observed, "was identical with the loss of human rights."¹¹⁰

Arendt used the term the "right to have rights" to describe the fact that, in order to exercise any civil or juridical right, individuals must first belong to a community that recognizes them as rights bearing individuals. She wrote: "Not the loss of specific rights, then, but the loss of a community willing and able to guarantee any rights whatsoever, has been the calamity which has befallen ever-increasing numbers of people."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1996), 297.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 293.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 289.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 292.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 297.

Drawing on Arendt's work, Somers argues that citizenship rights and human rights are inextricably linked because they both rely on a prior guarantee, the guarantee of inclusion in a social and political community.¹¹² However, Somers departs from Arendt when she argues that individuals become internally stateless when they are excluded from their national community. These individuals still reside in their country of origin and are, nominally, citizens of that country. However, they have lost the rights that their fellow citizens possess. Somers uses the metaphor of interior borders to describe this situation: "the borders and boundaries once used solely as external demarcations designed to exclude people from nation-state entry are increasingly expanding to the center of our politics, *creating sharp interior borders of internal social and political exclusion.*"¹¹³

Somers argues that the contractualization of citizenship creates internally stateless people because, in a society governed by market fundamentalism, individuals must earn the right to have rights. For example, when Hurricane Katrina hit in 2005, many inhabitants of New Orleans were trapped in the city. These individuals could have been evacuated by the federal government if it had invested in and harnessed sufficient manpower and resources. For Somers, the fact that certain members of society, including the elderly, infirm, disabled and unemployed, were not evacuated reflected the extent of their social exclusion. After the hurricane, these individuals were described as refugees or immigrants seeking asylum in their own country. Somers argues that they were internally stateless even before the hurricane. Hurricane Katrina, Somers writes, exposed "what is entailed when an entire segment of civil society has so disintegrated that its people have been robbed of their ontological rights to membership and inclusion, and with it their recognizable humanity – without which no other rights are possible."¹¹⁴ The people left behind in New Orleans were excluded from American society because they had not contributed to the nation in economically profitable ways. In the language of the

¹¹² Somers, *Genealogies of Citizenship*, 7.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 21, italics included.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 113.

contractualization of citizenship, they had not fulfilled their contractual obligations as citizens.¹¹⁵

In Canada, the Lubicon were already internally stateless, and lacked citizenship rights, when Calgary hosted the Olympics in 1988. Of course, any discussion of the Lubicon's status as Canadian citizens must acknowledge that, historically, Indigenous peoples could only become citizens by assimilating into Settler society. After 1867, public officials argued that Indigenous peoples had to be "civilized" in order to obtain Canadian citizenship and could not keep their official status as Indians if they wanted to vote.¹¹⁶ In 1960, changes to the Canadian Elections Act gave all status Indians the right to vote in federal elections, but Indigenous peoples still maintain a different relationship to Canadian citizenship than non-Indigenous Canadians. Section 35(1) of the 1983 Constitution Act recognizes that, as self-governing peoples who lived on the land before Europeans settled in Canada, Indigenous peoples have a unique set of rights. These include the right to access and occupy their own land and to preserve their language, economy and culture.¹¹⁷ Indigenous peoples, therefore, are distinguished from other Canadians by their right to self-determination, illustrating that not all Canadian citizens have equal rights.¹¹⁸ Rather, Indigenous peoples belong to nations that have the additional right to exercise political autonomy within Canada.¹¹⁹

The Lubicon were denied the "right to have rights" when their ability to maintain their sovereignty, preserve their culture, and practice their traditional way of life became

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 116-117.

¹¹⁶ Carole Blackburn, "Differentiating Indigenous citizenship: Seeking multiplicity in rights, identity, and sovereignty in Canada," *American Ethnologist* 36 no. 1 (2009): 67; Marie Battiste and Helen Semaganis, "First Thoughts on First Nations Citizenship: Issues in Education," in *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*, ed. Yvonne . Hébert (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 104.

¹¹⁷ Christopher McKee, *Treaty Talks in British Columbia: Building a New Relationship* vol 2 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000), 5; McKee points out that determining whether these rights exist within a particular Indigenous community and under what conditions these rights can be (or have already been) extinguished is a complicated affair and there no legal consensus on these questions has been reached.

¹¹⁸ Blackburn, "Differentiating Indigenous citizenship," 67.

¹¹⁹ Canada, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, volume 5: Renewal: A Twenty-Year Commitment (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996), 5.

jeopardized. They literally lost their land, becoming internally stateless people. Dwight Gladue, a Lubicon living in Little Buffalo, said in 1991: “We have no rights up here, nothing. They can come up here, take our land, destroy us, our lives, and get rich doing it.”¹²⁰ John Goddard writes that the Lubicon band did not understand “how the government could sell exploration and drilling rights to people newly arrived in Lubicon territory while granting no rights at all to the people who had used and occupied the land since recorded time.”¹²¹ The Lubicon’s rightless status was based, in part, on the fact that they did not have jurisdiction over their land. Like stateless Europeans who lost their homes, the loss of the Lubicon’s land meant the loss of “the entire social texture into which they were born and in which they established for themselves a distinct place in the world.”¹²² The Lubicon developed plans for a reserve in 1985 and, although they were never put in place, these plans illustrate that having a reserve would have made it possible for the Lubicon to maintain a distinctive social and political community within Canada. They intended to build a school, band office and other public buildings on the reserve and establish homes spread out along the lakeshore. Additionally, the Lubicon would have set aside land to cultivate agricultural crops and herd cattle. In fact, some individuals took courses on how to start and run small businesses, anticipating that they would be able to start their own businesses once the reserve was built.¹²³

“Uncanny Experiences:” Fetish Objects

The Olympic torch and related commodities were fetish objects in McClintock’s understanding of fetish as “the embodiment of an impossible irresolution.”¹²⁴ These objects embodied an impossible irresolution in the meaning of citizenship and belonging in Canada. On one hand, they represented the idea that Canadian citizens are included

¹²⁰ Dawn Martin-Hill, *The Lubicon Lake Nation: Indigenous Knowledge and Power* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 108.

¹²¹ Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon*, 53.

¹²² Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 293.

¹²³ Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, 133-136.

¹²⁴ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*, (New York: Routledge, 1995), 184.

within the nation's civil and political community. On the other hand, they represented the fact that Canadians must earn their citizenship rights and that some Canadians, like the Lubicon, are excluded from local and national communities. In other words, these objects represented and repudiated the idea that internal borders of inclusion and exclusion exist within Canada. Significantly, these fetish objects were often used as symbols of national unity and pride. Prime Minister Mulroney said in 1988 that the torch relay was “a great unifying strand across this country. Unity requires a lot more than political speeches. It requires symbols, and the Olympic torch relay is a symbol and reality of unity.”¹²⁵ Many Canadians standing along the relay route held candles that looked like replica torches. These long, white candles had red covers that protected the flame from wind and were marked with the torch relay emblem, the Olympic rings and the Petro Canada logo. By purchasing and holding replica torches, Canadians conspicuously demonstrated their identity as Canadians who, having fulfilled their contractual obligations as citizens, were now full members of a national community.



Figure 25: Replica Calgary Olympics torches, www.calgaryisawesome.com.

Anti-Olympic protestors holding signs with messages like “Share the Shame” made the plight of the Lubicon difficult to ignore. As such, they drew attention to the ghosts that haunted the Olympic/Canadian spirit and, in doing so, produced an uncanny effect. For

¹²⁵ Brian Mulroney, qtd in Hobson, *Share the Flame*, 9.

Freud, the uncanny describes something that was meant to be hidden but has become visible.¹²⁶ Gordon argues that “uncanny experiences are haunting experiences”¹²⁷ because to confront a ghostly haunting is to come face to face with things or information that have been hidden from view. In the case of the Calgary Olympics, the haunting experience would involve acknowledging the fact that the Lubicon are excluded from Canadian society. Freud wrote: “an uncanny effect often arises when....a symbol takes on the full function and significance of what it symbolizes.”¹²⁸ In the case of the Calgary Olympics, the uncanny effect arises when the full meaning of the Olympic torch, as a symbol of a haunted Olympic/Canadian spirit, became overt. In other words, the uncanny emerges in the face of the reality that some citizens have been denied the rights and privileges of citizenship. In this context, statements like King’s argument that there was no room for anti-Olympic protestors in the torch relay helped to keep the uncanny out of the Olympics. Likewise, the Olympic supporters who threw snowballs at anti-Olympic protestors in Calgary helped ensure that the protestors, and their message, hovered at the margins of the Games, neither fully recognized nor fully hidden.

Like the Olympic torch, the glassware that Petro Canada sold as souvenirs of the torch relay were fetish objects. Petro Canada sold 50 million glasses, more than double the population of Canada at the time, and the company marketed these objects as commemorative items.¹²⁹ For example, the narrator of a Petro Canada ad said: “Each purchase of a glass secures you a lasting memento of the relay and helps build a legacy for our future Olympians.”¹³⁰ Petro Canada intended for the glassware to commemorate the positive memories that Canadians associated with the torch relay, but these memories are fractured and incomplete. As a lasting symbol of the torch relay, the glassware represented and repudiated the memory of anti-Olympic protestors lining the torch relay trying to publicize the Lubicon’s unresolved land claim. Thus, the prevalence and

¹²⁶ Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, trans. David McLintock (London: Penguin Books, 1953), 132.

¹²⁷ Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 50.

¹²⁸ Freud, *The Uncanny*, 150-151.

¹²⁹ David Ebner, “Petrocan hopes its glasses will strike gold again,” Jan. 26, 2009, *Globe and Mail*, A1.

¹³⁰ “Olympic Torch Relay Launch”, Petro-Canada advertisement. *YouTube*.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BqzO9zhfWDQ>.

permanence of these objects in Canada made the ghosts that haunted the Calgary Olympics live on, lingering in the rooms where Canadians placed the glassware. In fact, Petro Canada released an ad in the lead up to the 2010 Vancouver Olympics that depicted the glasses as lasting symbols of the Calgary Games. The narrator said: “It was 1988, the Calgary Winter Games, when the country came together to support Olympic athletes with glasses from Petro Canada. Isn’t it time to do it again? Buy the glass. Support Canadian athletes. Only at Petro Canada.”¹³¹ The ad showed the objects in unremarkable places in a home: on a shelf in the kitchen, on a table holding paint brushes, on a ledge filled with loose change, etc. These places, I argue, are haunted by the memory of the anti-Olympic protests staged during the Calgary Olympics and by the fact that the Lubicon’s land claim remains unsettled.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that commodities linked to the Calgary Olympics were haunted by the rightless status of the Lubicon in Canada. I illustrated the significance of official narratives about the Olympic and Canadian spirits by showing that these narratives encouraged Canadians to engage in practices that added value to the Games. As such, participating in the Olympics offered Canadians the opportunity to earn their citizenship rights. Moreover, a key criticism of anti-Olympic protestors focused on the fact that their actions were incompatible with the spirit of the Games. What was at stake in these narratives about spirit was the visibility of the protestors and the open acknowledgment that the Lubicon Cree no longer had the “right to have rights” in Canada. Thus, in this chapter, I related the concepts of fetish and haunting to the contractualization of citizenship, showing that Olympic commodities represented competing ideas about Canadian citizenship and inclusion. I also discussed Freud’s work on the uncanny by arguing that an open acknowledgment of the Lubicon’s rightlessness in Canada would

¹³¹ “2010 Olympic Glassware.” Petro Canada advertisement. *YouTube*.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4yx7aXrcKr0&list=PLWMRezgdS5q50fZzQU2_uM82ltVSbJdx4

have caused an uncanny experience for Canadians who viewed Olympic commodities as symbols of national pride and unity.

Chapter 6

“A Living Embodiment of the Olympic Ideal:” The Four Host First Nations, Sustainable Legacies, and Aboriginal Title in the 2010 Vancouver Olympics

In December 2009, a few months before the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games, the Crying Room gallery installed an outdoor mural by the artist Jesse Corcoran. Depicting the Olympic rings as four sad faces and one happy face, the mural was placed outside the gallery for the public to view. It reflected Corcoran’s belief that the Olympics benefit a small group of people and, conversely, disadvantage many more. The artist worked at a homeless shelter in Vancouver’s downtown eastside neighborhood and held that the coming Games would not benefit the marginalized people living in the area. He was particularly grieved that public spaces where homeless people often gathered, such as Oppenheimer Park, had been shut down for Olympic-related renovations. Corcoran told the *Globe and Mail*: “The oppressive nature of the Games is what I wanted to capture and how the majority is suffering for the minority.”¹ Vancouver city officials demanded that the gallery take down the mural, claiming that it was graffiti. Although it was painted on wood in an unpolished style, Corcoran argued that his work was not graffiti and that that the city really wanted the mural gone because it reflected an anti-Olympic sentiment.² After the Crying Room took down Corcoran’s mural, the public outcry was so great that the city relented and allowed the gallery to reinstall it.

¹ Marsha Lederman, “Vancouver orders removal of anti-Olympic mural,” *Globe and Mail*, Dec. 11, 2009, A4.

² *Ibid*; the controversy over the mural occurred after Vancouver City Council passed a bylaw making it illegal for people to put up Olympic-related signage that did not celebrate the 2010 Winter Games or create a festive environment. The British Columbia (B.C.) Civil Liberties Association successfully pressured City Council to amend the law so that it only applied to commercial signs that impinged on Olympic sponsors’ exclusive advertising rights.

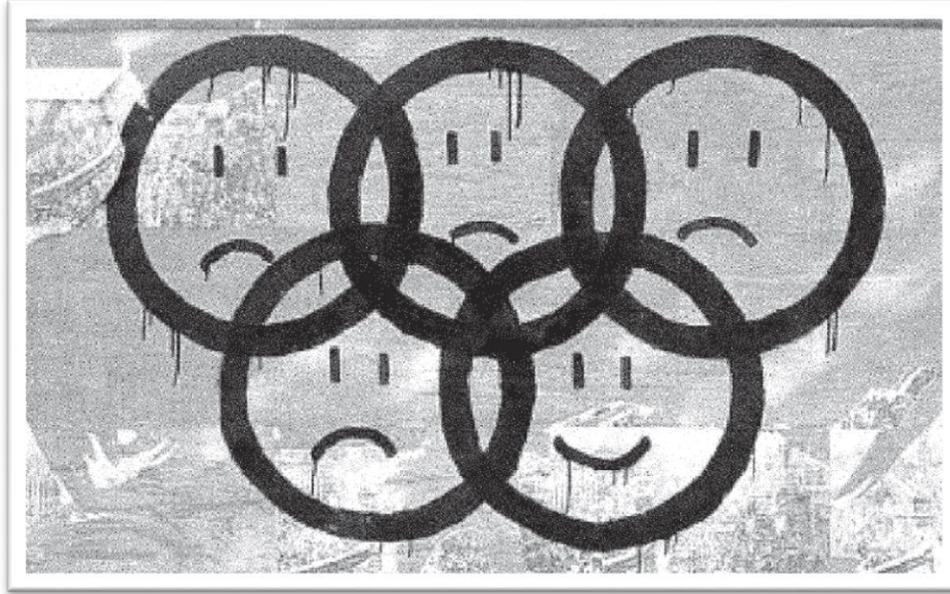


Figure 26: Mural by Jessie Corcoran, *The Globe and Mail*, Dec. 11 2009, A4.

In contrast to Corcoran, the Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games (VANOC)³ argued that the Games would benefit the broader public. VANOC was committed to sustainability, a practice it defined as “striving to manage the social, environmental, and economic impact and opportunities of the Games in ways that would create lasting benefits, locally and globally.”⁴ The organization’s sustainability plan included a partnership with the First Nations upon whose land the Games were held, the Lil’wat, Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh Nations. Known collectively as the Four Host First Nations (FHFN), they were the first Indigenous groups to officially partner with an Olympic organizing committee.⁵ Debates about how much, if at all, the 2010 Games benefitted Indigenous communities reflected the central question Corcoran’s

³ Unlike other Olympic Games held in Canada, the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games were organized by the same organization, thus providing “one overall organizational structure for both the Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games”. The VANOC Board of Directors included a member nominated by the Canadian Paralympic Committee; VANOC. *Vancouver 2010: Bid Report* (Vancouver: VANOC, November 2009), 6-7. In this chapter and Chapter Seven, I focus primarily on the Olympic Games but sometimes discuss examples that include the Olympic and Paralympic Games.

⁴ VANOC. *Vancouver 2010: Sustainability Report 2009-10* (Vancouver: VANOC, 2010), 5.

⁵ VANOC. *Vancouver 2010: Staging the Olympic Winter Games Knowledge Report* (Vancouver: VANOC, September 2010), 35.

mural raised: who benefitted from the Games? Shawn Atleo, Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, argued: “The [Vancouver] Winter Olympics demonstrated that the principles of recognition and respect create the right foundation for real partnerships that produce innovation and shared benefits for everyone involved.”⁶ However, Seislom, a Lil’wat Elder, said: “An overwhelming number of Indigenous people in these territories and in the interior are opposed to the Olympics because of the long-term impact including destruction of the land, [and] commodification of Native art and culture.”⁷

In this chapter, I argue that the Vancouver Bid Corporation (VBC) and VANOC’s partnerships with the FHFN were primarily profit-generating endeavours. These partnerships helped the VBC and VANOC demonstrate their commitment to the sustainable development goals of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). This, in turn, strengthened Vancouver’s Olympic bid and enhanced the value of the Olympic and corporate sponsors’ brands. The FHFN’s involvement in the Games contributed to the B.C. government’s effort to restore economic stability to the province. Few First Nations in B.C. have signed treaties with the Crown and Indigenous peoples argue they have jurisdiction over the land (and its subsurface minerals) not covered by treaties. When Indigenous nations began asserting their land rights, foreign companies became wary of investing in B.C.’s natural resources. Some public officials used the term “economic uncertainty” to describe the threat these land claims posed to the economy and the government tried to contain this threat through various means. Because the 2010 Games were held on the FHFN land, there was a risk the nations would challenge the province’s authority to host the Games in Vancouver and surrounding areas. Partnering with the FHFN offered the VBC and VANOC a way to mitigate this risk. While the organizations promised the Games would positively impact Indigenous communities throughout the province, this promise went largely unfulfilled.

⁶ VANOC, *Sustainability Report*, 78.

⁷ Seislom, quoted in Kim Peterson, “Unceded, British Columbia: Indigenous people face the theft of land, commodification of culture,” *The Dominion, Special Issue 2009*, Issue #64: *Olympics*, 13. PAM 2009-12: The Dominion, City of Vancouver Archives Pamphlet Collection: AM 1519 (PC), City of Vancouver Archives (CVA).

Valuable scholarship has been written about representations of Indigenous peoples in the modern Olympic Games. A recurring theme in these works is that Olympic organizers often appropriate or exploit Indigenous peoples' cultures.⁸ I contribute to this literature by showing how the inclusion of the FHFN in the Vancouver Olympics was part of a broader set of political and marketing practices aimed at strengthening the economy of British Columbia and making the Olympics a profitable endeavour. Further, I discuss and analyze how, similar to Calgary in 1988, jurisdiction over land emerged as a key issue in Vancouver during the Games.

“Creating a Larger Economic Pie:” The Olympic Bid

After Vancouver won its bid to host the 2010 Olympic Games in July 2003, VBC Chairman Jack Poole declared: “If it hadn't been for the full support of the Four Host First Nations in our bid, we likely wouldn't be talking about Vancouver 2010 today.”⁹ The VBC established an “Aboriginal Participation Strategy and Secretariat” and gave a representative from each of the FHFN a seat on its board of directors.¹⁰ A letter of support from the Squamish National Council was included in Vancouver's Olympic Bid Book. The book noted: “planning is underway for extensive involvement of Aboriginal people in the 2010 Games.”¹¹ Furthermore, the VBC wrote that the strong relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians reflected Olympic values: “Canada brings together the cultures of the world, as well as an ancient and rich First Nations

⁸ See: Janice Forsyth, and Kevin Wamsley, "Symbols without substance: Aboriginal peoples and the illusion of Olympic ceremonies," in *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games*, eds. Kevin Young and Kevin Wamsley (Oxford: Elsevier Press, 2005): 227-248; Darren J. Godwell, “The Olympic Branding of Aborigines: The 2000 Olympic Games and Australia's Indigenous Peoples,” in *The Olympics at the Millennium: Power, Politics and the Games*, eds. Kay Schaffer and Sidonie Smith (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000): 243-257; Christine O'Bonsawin, “Indigenous Peoples and Canadian-Hosted Olympic Games”, in *Aboriginal Peoples & Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Challenges*, eds. Janice Forsyth and Audrey Giles (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 35-63; Kevin Wamsley, and Mike Heine, "Don't mess with the relay - it's bad medicine": Aboriginal culture and the 1988 Winter Olympics," in *Olympic Perspectives: Third International Symposium for Olympic Research*, ed. Robert Barney (London: Centre for Olympic Studies, 1996), 173-178.

⁹ VANOC, *Bid Report*, 12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 12, 23.

¹¹ Vancouver Bid Corporation (VBC). *The Sea to Sky Games: Vancouver 2010 Candidate City Bid Book Volume 1* (Vancouver: Vancouver Bid Corporation, 2003), 63.

culture, in one harmonious society: a living embodiment of the Olympic ideal.”¹² The VBC also highlighted Canada’s official policy on Indigenous rights, noting that, “in 1982, Canada became the first country in the world to constitutionally entrench the rights of Aboriginal peoples” through Section 35 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.¹³

The VBC’s partnership with the FHFN enhanced Vancouver’s Olympic bid by affirming its commitment to the IOC’s sustainable development goals.¹⁴ In 1999, the IOC adopted *Agenda 21: Sport for Sustainable Development*, which included the following statement:

The starting point of sustainable development is the idea that the long-term preservation of our environment, our habitat as well as its biodiversity and natural resources and the environment will only be possible if combined simultaneously with economic, social and political development particularly geared to the benefit of the poorest members of society.¹⁵

Although *Agenda 21* is primarily concerned with environmental preservation, it also contains sections about strengthening the involvement of women, youth, and Indigenous peoples in sport. The document affirmed Indigenous peoples’ “strong historical ties to

¹² Ibid., 3.

¹³ Ibid., 3.

¹⁴ O’Bonsawin “Indigenous Peoples and Canadian-Hosted Olympic Games”, 52; While the IOC uses the term “sustainable development”, the Vancouver Bid Corporation and VANOC dropped the word “development” and instead used the word “sustainability” on its own.

¹⁵ International Olympic Committee (IOC). Sport and Environment Commission (SEC). *Agenda 21: Sport for Sustainable Development*. (Rio de Janeiro: International Olympic Committee, 1999). http://www.olympic.org/Documents/Reports/EN/en_report_300.pdf; the report was published with the support of a corporate sponsor, Shell International; The IOC’s Agenda 21 is based on a policy of the same name that was created during a 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). Participating countries created a global action plan that would allow them to pursue economic development in environmentally sound ways. The IOC adapted the UNCED’s Agenda 21, calling their version *Agenda 21: Sport for Sustainable Development* in order to make it directly relevant to sporting practices. According to the IOC, *Sport for Sustainable Development* is consistent with the values of Olympism.

their environment” and “important role in ecological preservation.”¹⁶ Further, it called for Indigenous peoples to play a greater role in the Olympic Movement.

When Vancouver was first considering an Olympic bid, the value that the IOC placed on sustainability was very high. In April 2000, an unnamed VBC member wrote a discussion paper about changes to the bid procedure, which is worth quoting at length:

The format for Olympic Bids is changing dramatically, as the IOC moves to an evaluation approach that is more focused on the substance of the Bid, rather than the relationships developed through the bidding process. At the same time, the IOC has taken a far more active role in promoting societal issues in conjunction with sport, including the environment, anti-doping, inclusiveness, etc. While the need to have a technically flawless bid is apparent, it is also evident that bids must appeal to the priorities of the decision makers even more than before.¹⁷

The changes to the bid process were likely influenced by the fact that, in 1998, the IOC had become embroiled in a bribery scandal over Salt Lake City’s bid for the 2002 Winter Olympics. In November 1998, news broke that the Salt Lake Olympic Organizing Committee had paid for Sonia Essomba, daughter of IOC member René Essomba, to attend American University in Washington (they paid her tuition and living expenses).¹⁸ Further investigation found that Salt Lake City bid officials had bribed numerous IOC members in exchange for awarding them the 2002 Games.¹⁹ IOC member Dick Pound led an investigation into the matter, later recommending the organization expel six members and adopt a Code of Ethics.

¹⁶ Ibid., 4; for more on the Olympic Movement and sustainable development, see: John Gold and Margaret Gold, “‘Bring it Under the Legacy Umbrella’: Olympic Host Cities and the Changing Fortunes of the Sustainability Agenda,” *Sustainability*, 5 (2013): 3529-3530.

¹⁷ Strategy and Positioning Development Discussion Paper (Draft), April 10, 2000, File: Fundraising Plan, Series S10: Fundraising Sales and Services, Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation Fonds: AM1581 (VBCF), CVA.

¹⁸ Bill Mallon, “The Olympic Bribery Scandal,” *Journal of Olympic History* May (2000): 11.

¹⁹ Ibid., 11.

As well, the VBC was preparing its Olympic bid at a time when the IOC was increasing its emphasis on the legacy of Olympic Games. In 2003, the organization amended its charter and introduced the requirement that all Olympic Games leave a positive legacy on the host city and country.²⁰ As John and Margaret Gold point out, the IOC defines this concept loosely, which makes it easy for host nations to align their priorities with Olympic legacies. They argue that, for the IOC, legacy is “something passed down from one generation to the next although not necessarily purposefully (as with a bequest in a will).”²¹ In 1999, even before the IOC amended its charter, the VBC launched its “Legacies Now” initiative, which funds sport and physical activity programs in Canada. The VBC even committed to carrying out its legacy program regardless of the outcome of its Olympic bid. It was the first Olympic bid organization to make such a commitment.²²

The FHFN’s involvement in the Vancouver Olympic bid also helped to elevate public support for the bid. Gaining this support was especially important because, previously, the Bread Not Circuses Coalition (BNCC) in Toronto had mounted strong opposition to that city’s 2008 Olympic bid. The BNCC, which was endorsed by about 50 community groups, argued that the city should use public resources to address social issues like poverty and not spend them on the Olympics.²³ As early as 1998, VBC members raised concerns about anti-Olympic organizations developing in Vancouver. The minutes of a 1998 board of directors meeting mention the BNCC by name: “To date we have not received any correspondence from any groups opposing the games i.e. the ‘Bread not Circuses’ group that is actively opposing the Toronto 2008 bid.”²⁴ However, organizers believed that this silence would not last and decided to “develop a strategy to handle the

²⁰ Gold and Gold, ‘Bring it Under the Legacy Umbrella’, 3530.

²¹Ibid., 3530.

²² Joseph Weiler and Arun Mohan, “Catalyst, Collaborator, Connector: The Social Innovation Model of 2010 Legacies Now – Case Study” (2009), 3.

http://www.2010andbeyond.ca/media/pdf/Catalyst_Collaborator_Connector_The_Social_Innovation_Model_of_2010_Legacies_Now.pdf

²³ Lenskyj, “When Winners are Losers”, 400.

²⁴ Vancouver/Whistler 2010 Bid Society, Board of Directors Meeting Minutes, June 1, 1998, Series 5: Board Secretariat, Sub-Series 2: Board of Directors, File: General, VBCF, VBC; The Vancouver/Whistler 2010 Bid Society changed its name to the Vancouver Bid Corporation (VBC) in 2001 dropping “Whistler” from its name in order to adhere to rules 33 and 34 of the IOC’s Olympic charter, which mandates that only one city per country can bid for the Games: VANOC, *Bid Report*, 19.

potential opposition groups.”²⁵ In 2002, Poole identified another reason why public support was essential: the IOC required it. He said: “The importance of broad-based support for our Bid cannot be over-estimated. This is a very important factor to the IOC when they make their decision about the city selected to host the Games. The support that British Columbians are prepared to show can make the difference for our Canadian Bid.”²⁶

In 2002, the VBC hired Ipsos Reid to conduct focus groups with Vancouver area residents who supported and opposed the city’s Olympic bid. The survey research firm concluded that the VBC should develop ad campaigns that would “appeal to the hearts as well as the minds of residents in Lower Mainland.”²⁷ Significantly, a potential ad for the Olympic bid that Ipsos Reid showed focus groups included the Indigenous artist Roy Vickers. This ad resonated emotionally with participants, with one person saying: “I have a passion for First Nations culture and I got goose bumps watching the ad with Roy Vickers. It really appeals to me.”²⁸ Ipsos Reid also advised the VBC to target opponents with advertorials that addressed “the social concerns among this group (i.e. the perception that money is diverted away from healthcare and education to support the Olympics, as well as the environment and social housing aspects of the Bid).”²⁹

The VBC partnered with CIBC to establish an official youth ambassador program, which enlisted 20 youths (aged 14 to 17) to build awareness and enthusiasm for the bid.³⁰ The program included ambassadors from the Musqueam and Squamish Nations. Fourteen-year-old Rebecca Campbell said: “I think it is very exciting that Vancouver is making a bid for the Olympics due to the fact that Vancouver sits on the traditional territory of the

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Alcan Spirit of 2010 Tour Final Report, Prepared by Optimum PR, Nov. 1, 2002, Series 6: Communications and Media Relations, Subseries 1: Advertising and Awareness Campaign, File: ALCAN Spirit of 2010 tour, VBCF, CVA.

²⁷ Vancouver 2010 Olympic Bid Qualitative Communications Research Summary by Ipsos Reid, submitted to the Olympic Bid Corporation, Sept. 13, 2002, Series 5: Board Secretariat, Sub-Series 1: Board Committees, File: Executive Committee – Agenda package, VBC, CVA.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Press release: 20 CIBC Youth ambassadors selected to join 2010 Winter Games bid, Vancouver, July, 16 2002, Series 2: Athlete and Sport, Subseries 1: Legacies Now, File: General, VBC, CVA.

Musqueam First Nation. What a great way to represent my people and city by being a CIBC 20 for 10 Youth Bid Ambassador!”³¹ In 2002, five B.C. athletes travelled across the province with the Alcan Spirit of 2010 Tour. The athletes, all of whom were sponsored by RBC, gave presentations in schools, shopping malls, seniors’ residences and Indigenous communities across the country to raise support for the bid.³²

Despite the above efforts, many B.C. citizens did not want the Olympics to come to Vancouver. During the city’s 2002 mayoral election, Larry Campbell promised to hold a vote on Vancouver’s upcoming Olympic bid if he was elected. As mayor, he delivered on his promise and held a non-binding plebiscite on February 22, 2003. Residents voted on the following question: “Do you support or do you oppose the City of Vancouver’s participation in hosting the 2010 Olympic Winter Games and Paralympic Games?”³³ Opponents of the bid argued that the Olympics would divert public funds from important social services. The “No Games 2010 Coalition,” endorsed by community groups like the Anti Poverty Coalition, Lower Mainland Social Justice Coalition and Vancouver Status of Women, encouraged citizens to vote “No.” Activist Chris Shaw, for example, argued that instead of devoting money to the Olympics, governments should invest in areas like forestry renewal, sustainable fisheries, health care, education and alternative energy resources.³⁴ The B.C. chapter of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives argued that British Columbians should ask themselves how much public spending on hospitals, schools, or other services they were willing to sacrifice in order to host the Games.³⁵ Finally, the B.C. Green Party distributed a flyer that reversed the conventional association between the Olympics and nationalism. The party argued that it was “patriotic

³¹ CIBC 20 For 10 Youth Bid Ambassadors Biographies, Series 2: Athlete and Sport, Subseries 1: Legacies Now, File: General, VBCF, CVA.

³² Alcan Spirit of 2010 Tour Final Report, Prepared by Optimum PR, Nov. 1 2002, Series 6: Communications and Media Relations, Subseries 1: Advertising and Awareness Campaign, File: ALCAN Spirit of 2010 tour, VBCF, CVA.

³³ VANOC, *Bid Report*, 22.

³⁴ Games 2010 Coalition, Chris Shaw, Vancouver, Olympics, Fantasies and Facts , Series 7: Community Relations, Subseries 4: Stakeholders Relations, File: No Games Coalition, VBCF, CVA.

³⁵ Marvin Shaffer, Alan Greer and Celine Mauboules, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, B.C. Office, “Olympic Costs and Benefits: A Cost-Benefit Analysis of the Proposed Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics and Paralympic Games,” Feb. 2003, Series S11: Government Support and Services, Subseries 1: Economic Studies, File: General, VBCF, CVA. 17.

and smart” to oppose the Games since public money “spent on Olympics is money not spent on essential services like hospitals, schools and seniors’ care homes.”³⁶

The VBC addressed opposition to the Olympics by emphasizing their economic benefits. Whereas anti-Olympic activists argued that the Games would economically advantage a select group of individuals and socially disadvantage many more, the bid corporation argued that economic growth benefits all of society. The VBC promised that the Games would “result in a significant investment of federal funds into the BC economy. This is what the investment is all about: creating a healthier economy that will allow government to support the programs its citizens choose. It is about creating a larger economic pie, permanently.”³⁷ Articulating conventional arguments about the merits of region branding, the bid corporation asserted that, as hosts of the Olympic Games, “international attention will be riveted on British Columbia in the years leading up to 2010 and beyond. Business and travel media from around the world will focus on B.C. as never before.”³⁸ Postcards and posters featured working class people (like construction workers and hotel employees) who would benefit economically from the Games. They all held signs saying: “I’ll be voting YES on February 22nd.”³⁹ One poster told readers that, by voting in favour of the Olympic bid, citizens were saying “Yes” to “strengthening our economy so we can support world-class social programs and public services.” They were also supporting “social equity through economic and employment opportunities which will be actively targeted to youth, women, Aboriginal and low-income groups.”⁴⁰

This poster also advertised the value of Olympic-related sustainability and legacy projects. It promised that the Games would provide a “better future for our children and for generations to come” and that the facilities built or upgraded for the Games would

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ “Answering the NO side,” Series 7: Community Relations, Subseries 4: Stakeholders Relations, File: No Games Coalition, VBCF, CVA.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ “Let’s invite the World, 2010 vote YES, February 22,” Series 7: Community Relations, Subseries 1: Cooperation and Liaison, File: Business and Professional Groups, VBCF, CVA.

⁴⁰ “Yes! Vancouver 2010,” Series 7: Community Relations, Subseries 1: Cooperation and Liaison, File: General, VBCF, CVA.

remain in Vancouver “as lasting legacies to families, students and competitive athletes.”⁴¹ Additionally, the Olympic host city would showcase “world-leading environmental innovation through a Games that achieve zero net emissions, zero net waste, and minimum energy use.”⁴² For bid supporters, the Shared Legacies Agreement between local First Nations, the VBC, and the province was “an excellent example of the Olympics helping to improve the economic and social sustainability of the affected First Nations.”⁴³ On February 22, 2003, 64% of Vancouver citizens voted in favour of the city hosting the 2010 Olympics.⁴⁴

The “Most Important Issue Facing the Province:” Aboriginal Title in B.C.

The VBC’s partnership with the FHFN helped foster what some government officials described as “economic certainty” to the region. Unlike other parts of Canada, few treaties were signed between First Nations in B.C. and the Crown. In the early 1850s, the Governor of Vancouver Island, James Douglas, signed 14 purchase treaties with participating First Nations. However, when Joseph Trutch took over from Douglas as governor in 1867, he refused to recognize Indigenous peoples’ right to land, arguing that all of B.C. belonged to the Crown and no further treaties were negotiated. In 1973, the Supreme Court of Canada, in *Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia*, ruled on a landmark case about Aboriginal title. This is a legal term that describes Indigenous peoples’ inherent right to land in Canada. In this case, the Nisga’a Nation (located in the Nass Valley of B.C.) asserted that they still had Aboriginal title because they never signed a treaty with the Crown. The Justices agreed that the Nisga’a had Aboriginal title prior to European settlement in the province, but were divided over the following question: do the Nisga’a still possess this title?⁴⁵ Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau was

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ VANOC, *Bid Report*, 23.

⁴⁵ Christina Godlewska, and Jeremy Weber. “The *Calder* Decision, Aboriginal Title, Treaties, and the Nisga’a,” in *Let Right Be Done: Aboriginal Title, the Calder Case, and the Future of Indigenous Rights*, eds. Hamar Foster, Heather Raven and Jeremy Webber (Vancouver: UBC Press. 2007), 19.

surprised by the ruling, commenting that the Nisga'a may have more rights than the government had previously thought.⁴⁶ In 1997, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled on another Aboriginal title case, this time concerning the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en Nations (in northern B.C.). In *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*, the court clarified the definition of Aboriginal title and the ways it could (and could not) be extinguished.⁴⁷ The Justices argued that Indigenous nations who possessed Aboriginal title have exclusive authority over their ancestral land. They made it clear that, at the very least, Indigenous nations which hold Aboriginal title must be consulted about any resource extraction practices on their land.⁴⁸

The Supreme Court rulings raised questions about the province's authority over natural resources in B.C. Many foreign companies who invested in these resources became concerned that the government would not be able to protect their investments. Thus, the uncertain status of Indigenous peoples' Aboriginal title affected the region's economy. In 1998, Premier Glen Clark argued that the uncertainty over Indigenous peoples' land rights was the most important issue facing the province because of its far-reaching

⁴⁵ Inger Stole, "Philanthropy As Public Relations: A Critical Perspective on Cause Marketing," *Journal of Communication*. 2 (2008): 19.

⁴⁶ Blackburn, "Searching for Guarantees in the Midst of Uncertainty", 589.

⁴⁷ Godlewska and Weber, "The *Calder* decision", 19-20; in the *Delgamuukw* case, the Justices distinguished between Indigenous rights and land title. The court concluded that if an Indigenous community possessed title over a portion of land, they had exclusive use and occupation over that land, including its subsurface minerals. Moreover, Indigenous communities maintained land title even if the way in which they used the land changed over time. In other words, Indigenous groups "can choose to what uses the land should be put, uses that don't need to be integral to its culture or confined to past historical practices" (McKee, *Treaty Talks in British Columbia*, 89). Significantly, the Supreme Court ruling asserted that Aboriginal land title could not be gradually extinguished through regulation (Godlewska and Weber, "The *Calder* decision", 21). Finally, the court found that Indigenous communities had the right to extract resources on the land (i.e. they could engage in mining) as long as these practices were consistent with the communities' attachment to the land. For more on the *Delgamuukw* ruling, see: Godlewska and Weber, "The *Calder* decision," 1-36; McKee, *Treaty Talks in British Columbia: Building a New Relationship* volume 3; Tony Penikett, *Reconciliation: First Nations Treaty Making in British Columbia* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2006); In 2014, the Supreme Court of Canada made a landmark ruling on Aboriginal title in *Tsilquot'in Nations v. British Columbia*: Sean Fine, "Supreme Court expands land-title rights in unanimous ruling," *Globe and Mail*, June 26, 2014.

<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/supreme-court-expands-aboriginal-title-rights-in-unanimous-ruling/article19347252/>

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

economic implications.⁴⁹ Additionally, anti-logging protests by environmentalists and First Nations that took place in the 1990s, known as the “wars in the woods,” disrupted on-going economic projects in the province and made companies wary of starting new projects.⁵⁰

Earlier, in 1990, the B.C. government began exploring treaty options with First Nations by establishing a B.C. Claims Task Force and subsequently creating the B.C. Treaty Commission in 1992.⁵¹ Andrew Woolford argues: “It was the economic consequences of uncertainty, as much as anything else, that at least brought the provincial government to the treaty table in the early 1990s.”⁵² Carole Blackburn uses the example of treaty negotiations with the Nisga’a to make a similar point. She argues that the province wanted to transform Indigenous peoples’ rights “from unknown Aboriginal rights to a set of concrete treaty rights. Their knowability is essential for certainty; it is their transformation to known rights that eliminates them as threats.”⁵³ Blackburn interviewed a member of the provincial treaty negotiation team who argued that “the wars in the woods create economic uncertainty” in B.C. He noted that financial markets in Toronto, New York and Asia responded negatively “to the uncertainties about Aboriginal title in British Columbia.”⁵⁴

The B.C. treaty process has been widely criticized for requiring First Nations to give up their Aboriginal title. Activist Arthur Manuel argues that the provincial and federal governments must abandon their existing policy of Aboriginal title extinguishment. Taiaiake Alfred encourages First Nations to withdraw from treaty negotiations until governments makes this change.⁵⁵ However, extinguishing Aboriginal title is central to

⁴⁹ Blackburn, “Searching for Guarantees in the Midst of Uncertainty,” 590.

⁵⁰ Andrew Woolford, “Negotiating Affirmative Repair: Symbolic Violence in the British Columbia Treaty Process,” *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 29 no. 1, (2004): 113; Blackburn, “Searching for Guarantees in the Midst of Uncertainty,” 588-89.

⁵¹ Penikett, *Reconciliation*, 89.

⁵² Woolford, “Negotiating Affirmative Repair,” 113.

⁵³ Blackburn, “Searching for Guarantees in the Midst of Uncertainty,” 593.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 589.

⁵⁵ Arthur Manuel, “Land and Rights in Canada: Don’t let Harper play hockey with human rights,” *The Dominion, Special Issue 2009: Issue #64: Olympics*, 18, PC, CVA; Taiaiake Alfred, *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2005), 25.

the government's goal of restoring economic certainty to B.C. As Christina Godlewska and Jeremy Weber write, Aboriginal title interferes with provincial resource policies and "if Aboriginal title is removed, the benefit accrues to the province."⁵⁶ Tony Penikett makes the same argument, only more succinctly: "For government, 'certainty' required extinguishment [of Aboriginal title]."⁵⁷

The 2010 Games were held on FHFN land and securing their support for the Olympic bid was essential to its success. If these nations challenged the province's authority to host the Olympic Games, they could put the bid in jeopardy. The government had an economic incentive to host the Games: impact reports estimated that they could add between \$2.9 billion and \$4.2 billion to Canada's Gross Domestic Product.⁵⁸ If the B.C. government tried to contain the threat that Aboriginal title posed to the economy by establishing a treaty process, the VBC managed the risk the FHFN posed to its Olympic bid by including these Nations in its bid process. The corporation promised the IOC that it would do everything possible to minimize anti-Olympic protests and planned to involve "all community-based groups and agencies representing special interests to ensure that the benefits of an Olympic Games are inclusive of all citizens."⁵⁹ Partnering with the FHFN was central to this community involvement plan.

The FHFN's partnership with the VBC did not automatically guarantee its leaders influence within the bid corporation. Chief Ernest Campbell of the Musqueam Nation requested a seat on the organization's board of directors, writing to Poole in February 2002: "it is respectfully suggested that the Bid Corporation is remiss for not having solicited Musqueam's participation [on the board of directors] earlier" and reminded Poole that nearly two-thirds of the events planned for the 2010 Games were scheduled to

⁵⁶ Godlewska and Weber, "The *Calder* Decision," 18.

⁵⁷ Penikett, *Reconciliation*, 90.

⁵⁸ InterVISTAS Consulting Inc., "The economic impact of the 2010 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games: An Update, Prepared for Hon. Ted Nebbeling Minister of State for Community Charter and 2010 Olympic Bid," Nov. 20, 2002, Series S11: Government Support and Services, Subseries 1: Economic Studies, File: General, VBCF, CVA; The Economic Argument for the Winter Olympic Games, Capital Projects Branch, Ministry of Competition, Science and Enterprise, Oct. 18, 2001. Series S11: Government Support and Services, Subseries 1: Economic Studies, File: General, VBCF, CVA.

⁵⁹ VBC, *The Sea to Sky Games Volume 3*, 43.

take place on Musqueam “traditional territory.”⁶⁰ In November 2002, the Squamish and Lil’wat Nations signed an agreement with the province and VBC which included 300 acres of land for economic development, \$2.3 million for skills training, \$6.5 million for legacy housing, and \$3 million to the Aboriginal Youth Legacy Fund, an organization that runs sport-related programs for Indigenous youth in B.C.⁶¹ The Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh Nations signed memoranda of understanding with the Bid Committee much later, on July 1, 2003, the day before Vancouver won the Olympic bid.⁶² The memoranda guaranteed the nations \$500,000 (to be shared) from VANOC and \$20 million (to each nation) in “legacy contributions” from the federal government.⁶³

Taiiaki Alfred describes the partnership between First Nations and the VBC as a “blatant pay-off” and “a sell-out designed to benefit elite politicians on both sides of the colonial divide.”⁶⁴ For Alfred, the partnership exemplifies the weakened state of Indigenous peoples. He argues that instead of becoming involved in the Games, Indigenous peoples should focus on regenerating their cultures.⁶⁵ The anti-Olympic group No2010.com⁶⁶ also criticized the partnership, arguing that it gave the false impression that the FHFN were “the only legitimate Indigenous voice” on land issues related to the Games. They also pointed out that the financial gains the FHFN received did not directly benefit the majority of Indigenous peoples in B.C.⁶⁷ No2010.com noted that the FHFN’s

⁶⁰ Letter from Chief Ernest Campbell, Musqueam Indian Band to Jack Poole, President and CEO, Vancouver Whistler 2010 Bid Corporation, Re: Board of Directors – Vancouver/Whistler 2010 Bid Corporation, Feb. 11, 2002, Series 5: Board Secretariat, Subseries: 4: Partner Relations, File: General. VBCF, CVA.

⁶¹ VANOC, *Staging the Olympic Winter Games*, 24; VANOC *Bid Report*, 58.

⁶² VANOC, *Bid Report*, 24.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 58; For a detailed description of the negotiations between the Lil’Wat, Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh Nations, the Bid Corporation and the provincial and federal governments, see: Catharine Hilary Dunn, “Aboriginal Partnerships for Sustainable 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games: A Framework for Cooperation” (Master’s Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2007). Dunn demonstrates that the Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh Nations were involved in Vancouver’s Olympic bid process prior to the involvement of the Musqueam and Lil’Wat Nations. She also points out that construction for new venues were being proposed on Crown land in Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh territory, but no new venues were planned on Crown land in Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh territory.

⁶⁴ Alfred, *Wásase*, 41-42.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶⁶ This name describes the anti-Olympic organization and the website that its members created.

⁶⁷ No2010.com, “Anti-2010: Information against the Olympic industry: no Olympics on stolen Native Land,” 2010, PAM 2010-21: Anti 2010, PC, CVA.

population (5,000 to 6,000) was relatively small compared to the total Indigenous population in Vancouver (60,000) and argued that the “extent of corporate invasion associated with the Olympic industry” would negatively impact many Indigenous peoples in the province.⁶⁸

Setting “New Standards of Achievement:” Sustainability, Legacy and Profits

Vancouver won its bid for the 2010 Winter Olympics on July 2, 2003.⁶⁹ John Furlong became VANOC’s CEO in February 2004 and the organization’s board of directors included representatives from the federal, provincial and municipal governments (Vancouver and Whistler), the Canadian Olympic and Paralympic Committees, local First Nations, and the IOC.⁷⁰ VANOC’s \$1.9 billion operating budget and its \$600 million program for venue construction (which was distinct from its operating budget) were funded by a mix of public and private sources.⁷¹ The organization raised \$756.8 million from its domestic corporate sponsorship program, which was separate from the IOC’s international sponsorship program.⁷² The IOC described the latter as one of VANOC’s “major success stories” and celebrated the fact that it exceeded expectations (the VBC anticipated \$253 million in profits).⁷³ The program included three tiers: each national partner contributed between \$50 million and \$200 million; each official supporter contributed between \$15 million and \$49 million; and each official supplier contributed between \$3 million and \$14 million.⁷⁴ Sales of Olympic licensed merchandise were also higher than expected. The \$57 million in royalties was more than

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ VANOC, *Bid Report*, 21-22.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 27.

⁷¹ Unlike the Official Reports of the Montreal and Calgary Olympics, the official report of the Vancouver Olympic and Paralympic Games does not provide details of VANOC’s revenues and expenses. Moreover, because information regarding Olympic sponsors are sealed for 15 years, I cannot rely on archival material to discover additional information about funding.

⁷² VANOC, *Staging the Olympic Winter Games*, 43-44.

⁷³ IOC, *Marketing Report Vancouver 2010*: 43; VBC, *Sea to Sky Games Volume 1*: 93.

⁷⁴ International Olympic Committee (IOC), Marketing Department, *Marketing Report Vancouver 2010* (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2010), 44.

double the anticipated \$22.6 million in profits.⁷⁵ The program included 45 licensees and 1,600 retail stores, which stocked Olympic merchandise.⁷⁶ VANOC and raised in excess of \$230 million through ticket sales.⁷⁷

The IOC also argued that VANOC “set a new standard for sustainability and legacy planning.”⁷⁸ The organizing committee listed its accomplishments, including offsetting 118,000 tonnes of carbon; implementing environmental management plans for Olympic venues and facilities; and inspiring Canadian youth to live more active and sustainable lifestyles.⁷⁹ Moreover, it considered “the unprecedented Aboriginal participation in the planning and hosting of the Games” a central sustainability and legacy achievement.⁸⁰ VANOC praised Olympic sponsors’ corporate social responsibility (CSR) practices, arguing that they enhanced the sustainability and legacy program.⁸¹ For example, Coca-Cola recycled all the bottles used during the Games and introduced the PlantBottle, which was made partly from plant-based materials.⁸² It also donated \$350,000 to construct an outdoor sport course for inner-city youth in Vancouver.⁸³ This initiative illustrates that VANOC’s sustainability goals served corporate sponsors’ interests. In fact, the organizing committee argued that earning money from the Games was a reasonable sustainability and legacy goal: “A healthy and balanced economy can increase living standards and manage the impact of human activities on nature and communities by reducing waste and pollution and more efficiently using resources such as energy, materials and labour.”⁸⁴ Thus, the sustainability and legacy program of the Vancouver

⁷⁵ Ibid., 44.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 44.

⁷⁷ VANOC, *Staging the Olympic Winter Games*, 43-44.

⁷⁸ IOC, *Marketing Report*, 15.

⁷⁹ VANOC, *Sustainability Report*, 9.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 10.

⁸¹ VANOC, *Staging the Olympic Winter Games*, 52.

⁸² IOC, *Marketing Report*, 48.

⁸³ Ibid., 48.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 88.

Olympics was underpinned by the market fundamentalist drive to reduce all aspects of social life to market principles.⁸⁵

The Aboriginal Licensing and Merchandising Program, jointly developed by VANOC and the FHFN, helped the organizing committee earn a profit from its sustainability practices. The program sold “authentic Aboriginal products” and donated one third of the royalties, amounting to \$200,000, to the Aboriginal Youth Legacy Fund.⁸⁶ Coca-Cola also supported the Aboriginal Youth Legacy Fund by establishing an Aboriginal Art Bottle Program. The company auctioned off Coke bottles designed by Indigenous artists in Canada, donating all proceeds to the legacy fund.⁸⁷ This practice is an example of what Michael Silk and David Andrews describe as a “glocalized” marketing campaign.⁸⁸ They argue that, beginning in the mid-1990s, Coke began to affiliate its brand with local cultures while still promoting itself as a global brand. For example, the company sponsored the 1996 Cricket World Cup in India and designed ad campaigns linking red Coke cans to red symbols of Indian culture, like red bindis and cricket balls.⁸⁹

FHFN CEO Tewanee Joseph praised the Aboriginal Licensing and Merchandising Program for sharing “the best Aboriginal artists from across Canada” with the world.⁹⁰ However, Shain Jackson, who owned a company that sold artwork by Indigenous artists, criticized VANOC for selling products that were not made in Canada or distributed by Indigenous retailers. He circulated a petition calling on VANOC to stop describing the commodities sold through the Aboriginal Licensing and Merchandising Program as authentic.⁹¹ VANOC did not submit to Jackson’s request, arguing instead: “every piece of Aboriginal Games merchandise was marked with a FHFN logo, signifying its

⁸⁵ Margaret Somers, *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to have Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 79-82.

⁸⁶ VANOC, *Sustainability Report*, 6, 81.

⁸⁷ IOC, *Marketing Report*, 51.

⁸⁸ Michael Silk, and David Andrews, “The spatial logics of global sponsorship: corporate capital, cola wars and cricket,” in *Global Sport Sponsorship*, eds. John Amis and T. Bettina Cornwell (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 71.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Tewanee Joseph, qtd in IOC, *Marketing Report*, 116.

⁹¹ Mark Hume, “Vancouver 2010 merchandise distribution: Native artist attacks VANOC over authenticity of handcrafts,” *Globe and Mail*, Jan. 14, 2010, A2.

authenticity. The fact is, when games enthusiasts purchased an official Vancouver 2010 licensed Aboriginal product, they invested in the future of Aboriginal peoples in Canada.”⁹² This statement drew attention away from Jackson’s criticism and redirected it to the social cause linked to the program.

VANOC Vice President of Sponsorship Sales and Marketing, Andrea Shaw, argued that the Vancouver Games added value to the Olympic brand, noting: “what we did with the [IOC’s] brand was raise the bar and make it even more valuable to the Olympic Movement.”⁹³ She does not say how VANOC accomplished this feat (the quote was included in an Olympic-related education resource targeted to students). I argue that VANOC enhanced the value of the Olympic brand by strengthening the pre-existing link between this Olympic brand and positive social values. According to the IOC, “Olympic partners enjoy a multitude of benefits, including the opportunity to align themselves with the Olympic rings – one of the most widely recognized symbols in the world *and one that is associated with a set of ideals that resonate strongly across the globe.*”⁹⁴ The IOC began conducting market research in 1985 in order to make the Olympic brand more appealing to Olympic sponsors⁹⁵ and the IOC’s marketing report for Vancouver 2010 highlighted the stakes involved in maintaining this positive brand identity. Readers were told: the IOC relies on its marketing program to preserve “the independent financial stability of the Olympic movement.”⁹⁶ As IOC Marketing Commission Chairman Gerhard Heiberg wrote: “Put simply, without the support of our official commercial partners, the Games would not be able to happen.”⁹⁷

⁹² VANOC, *Sustainability Report*, 81.

⁹³ Andrea Shaw, qtd in “Case Study: Brand Development and the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Winter Games”, *Canadian Olympic School Program (COSP)*. www.olympicschool.ca.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 44, italics in original.

⁹⁵ Joseph Maguire, Sarah Barnard, Katie Bulter, and Peter Golding. "'Celebrate humanity' or 'consumers'?: A critical evaluation of a brand in motion,” *Social Identities* 41, no. 1 (2008): 67.

⁹⁶IOC, *Marketing Report*, 21.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 44.

“Unprecedented and Amazingly Successful:” The New Relationship in B.C.

In the mid-2000s, the B.C. government initiated the “New Relationship with Aboriginal People and Communities in British Columbia” (New Relationship); VANOC’s partnership with the FHFN became an important part of this endeavour. The New Relationship committed the province to develop partnerships with Indigenous peoples based on respect, reconciliation and recognition of their rights and title.⁹⁸ The province promised to consult with First Nations about relevant public policy and would ensure that they shared in the profits earned from resource extraction practices on their land.⁹⁹ As part of the New Relationship, a \$100 million New Relationship Trust Fund was established.¹⁰⁰ Government representatives maintain that the New Relationship is not a replacement for treaty negotiations. Rather, they recognized that these negotiations take time and that they needed “to find practical and timely ways to improve social and economic conditions” for Indigenous peoples in the province.¹⁰¹

Two Supreme Court decisions from 2004, *Haida Nation vs. British Columbia (Minister of Forests)* and *Taku River Tlingit First Nations vs. British Columbia (Project Assessment Director)*, influenced the government’s decision to establish the New Relationship. These rulings obligated the government to consult with First Nations when activities on Crown land might influence their rights and Aboriginal title.¹⁰² Caitlyn Vernon argues that the 2010 Olympic Games also played a role in B.C. Premier Gordon

⁹⁸ B.C. Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, “New Relationships with Aboriginal People and Communities in B.C.”, http://www.gov.bc.ca/arr/reports/down/2007-08%20FINAL_NewRelationships.pdf: 1.

⁹⁹ B.C. Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, “The New Relationship: Aboriginal People and the Government of British Columbia: *Building a healthy and prosperous future together*”, http://www.sfu.ca/~palys/new_relationship_brochure.pdf

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid; The New Relationship marked a significant change in the B.C. Liberal’s position on First Nations’ land claims. See: David Rossiter and Patricia Wood, “Fantastical topographies: neo-liberal responses to Aboriginal land claims in British Columbia,” *The Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe canadien*, 49 no. 4 (2005).

¹⁰² B.C., MARR, *The New Relationship: Aboriginal People and the Government of British Columbia Building a healthy and prosperous future together* (Victoria: MARR). http://www.sfu.ca/~palys/new_relationship_brochure.pdf.

Campbell's decision to implement the New Relationship because "the upcoming 2010 Olympics were putting pressure on the provincial government to improve its image regarding Aboriginal relations."¹⁰³ The B.C. Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation described the FHFN's involvement in the Games as a central achievement of the New Relationship. Writing in 2009, it claimed that the FHFN would showcase "British Columbia's unique Aboriginal cultures and history to the world."¹⁰⁴ The following year, it noted that, as the first Indigenous hosts of the Olympic Games, the FHFN had "achieved something historic, unprecedented and amazingly successful."¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the Ministry argued that the 2010 Olympic Aboriginal Pavilion, which showcased Indigenous art, business, food and music, revealed "why Aboriginal culture – First Nations, Inuit, and Métis – is an important part of B.C.'s past, present and future."¹⁰⁶

Like the B.C. treaty process, the establishment of the New Relationship helped return economic certainty to the province. According to Penikett, the Business Council of B.C. encouraged Premier Campbell to start the New Relationship by arguing that foreign investment opportunities in the province would dry up if questions about land and resource ownership remained uncertain.¹⁰⁷ Verner interviewed government representatives, business operators, and Indigenous peoples who all "agreed that a major impetus to develop the New Relationship arose from the desire by the provincial government, industry and some First Nations to secure access to lands and resources for economic development."¹⁰⁸ David Rossiter and Patricia Wood argue that the provincial government's approach to the New Relationship "reveals a position firmly rooted in the assumption that full and equal citizenship in the province is predicated on an economic

¹⁰³ Caitlyn Vernon, "What New Relationship? Taking Responsibility for Justice and Sustainability in British Columbia," in *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous Relationships*, ed: Lynne Davis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 283.

¹⁰⁴ British Columbia. Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation (MARR). *New Relationships with Aboriginal People and Communities in B.C.* (Victoria: MARR, 2008), 16.
http://www.gov.bc.ca/arr/reports/down/2007-08%20FINAL_NewRelationships.pdf

¹⁰⁵ B.C. Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, "New Relationships with Aboriginal People and Communities in British Columbia, Annual report on progress 2009-2010": 7, available for download at: <http://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/governments/aboriginal-people/progress-reporting#newrelationship>.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Penikett, *Reconciliation*, 257.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 282.

relationship that puts at the top of the agenda private investment in resources and their subsequent exploitation for individual gain.”¹⁰⁹

Rossiter and Wood’s argument illustrates that Indigenous peoples could earn citizenship rights by participating in the New Relationship. As Margaret Somers argues, these rights have become privileges that individuals can receive by making material contributions to the nation.¹¹⁰ The Indigenous peoples who were involved in the 2010 Games earned citizenship right by strengthening the province’s tourism industry. As B.C. Attorney General Geoff Plant said in 2004: “There are enormous openings emerging in Aboriginal tourism as we prepare for the Olympics and we are working to support these.”¹¹¹ Similarly, the provincial Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation argued that the 2010 Winter Games increased support for the “Aboriginal cultural tourism industry.”¹¹² Rossiter and Wood argue that by emphasizing Indigenous peoples’ “participation in regimes of capitalist accumulation as the ultimate sign of equality,” the B.C. government reduced “complex Aboriginal cultures to a single commodity that can be peddled by knowledgeable salespeople (read: properly trained Natives) to eager consumers (read: tourists).”¹¹³ This insight draws attention to the fact that the benchmark by which the province measured the success of the New Relationship was underpinned by market fundamentalist principles.

As part of the New Relationship, the provincial government committed to significantly reducing the socio-economic gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. To measure its progress, the Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation compared the social and economic welfare of Indigenous peoples in B.C. from 2005/2006 to 2010/2011. Its findings show that the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous

¹⁰⁹ Rossiter and Wood, “Fantastical topographies,” 363.

¹¹⁰ Somers, Margaret. *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to have Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008: 70-117.

¹¹¹ Geoff Plant, B.C. government press release, 2004, qtd in Rossiter and Wood, “Fantastical topographies”, 364.

¹¹² B.C., MARR, *New Relationships with Aboriginal People and Communities in British Columbia, Annual report on progress 2009-2010* (Victoria: MARR, 2010): 30, italics added.
<http://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/governments/aboriginal-people/progress-reporting#newrelationship>.

¹¹³ Rossiter and Wood, “Fantastical Topographies,” 363.

peoples' quality of life in B.C. did not significantly decrease in this time period. The report revealed that the number of long-term drinking water advisories on Indigenous reserves rose from 19 in 2005 to 25 in 2011.¹¹⁴ The report revealed that “overall a Status Indian individual is statistically 1.7 times more likely to die at any stage of their life than other persons of the same age.”¹¹⁵ Perhaps most troubling, between 2001 and 2005, the ratio of Indigenous vs. non-Indigenous youth suicides (expressed as the number of suicides per 10,000 people) was 3.8 to 0.8. Between 2006 and 2010, the ratio was 3.0 to 0.7.¹¹⁶ While the reduction in the number of youth suicides is positive, this number was still alarmingly high. The report also revealed that the FHFN's participation in the Games did not have a significant impact on public perception of First Nations in the province. In 2010, 30% of British Columbians described themselves as very aware “of the diversity of First Nations cultures” within the province, up only four percent from 2007 when the same question was asked. The percentage of British Columbians who strongly agreed with the statement “First Nations have made a wide range of valuable contributions to B.C.” increased only marginally between 2007 and 2010, rising from 23% to 27%.¹¹⁷

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated that the partnership between the VBC, VANOC, and the FHFN helped Vancouver win its bid for the 2010 Olympic Games. Moreover, the VBC used its relationship with the FHFN to showcase its commitment to sustainability and to convince the public to support Vancouver's Olympic bid. VANOC's relationship with the FHFN helped it continue, and build upon, the VBC's dedication to sustainability, an activity that enhanced the value of the Olympic brand and companies' sponsorship of the Games. The partnership also financially benefitted the FHFN and involved them in the Olympic planning process. However, outside of this small number of First Nations, the Olympic Games did not have a significantly positive impact on the broader Indigenous

¹¹⁴ B.C., MARR, *New Relationships with Aboriginal People and Communities in B.C.: Measuring Outcomes, 2011-2012*, 8.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 11; the report defined youth as aged 15 to 24 year old.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

population of B.C. The Games largely promoted the interests of the provincial government, which sought to restore economic certainty to the region, than they did to advance the socio-economic and political interests of indigenous peoples throughout the province.

Chapter 7

Haunted History: National Identity, Indigenous-Settler Relations, and the 2010 Vancouver Olympics

When the Vancouver 2010 Olympic torch relay passed through Fort Langley, B.C. on February 8th 2010, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) temporarily re-opened a local trading post that had been closed for 124 years. Once filled with provisions for gold miners, the post was now stocked with Olympic merchandise including red mittens etched with white maple leaves and plush toys of the Olympic and Paralympic Games' mascots, Miga, Quatchi, and Sumi.¹ Animal pelts remained in the store but, as Justine Hunter observed, "young customers were more interested in the small Quatchi-on-a-key-chain."² Hunter wrote that the store's 19th century customers had given "rise to the colony of British Columbia – and eventually allowed Canada to stretch from sea to shining sea."³ Bruce Mavis, the town's torchbearer, was the great-grandson of a successful prospector, Alexander Mavis, who had passed through the Fort Langley trading post in 1858. Mavis later returned to the area and purchased the trading post from the HBC.⁴ In her article, Hunter did not mention that Indigenous peoples lived in Western Canada before Settlers like Mavis came to the area in search of gold. However, the animal pelts in the trading post were evidence of the commercial exchanges that HBC traders had made with Indigenous fur trappers. Because the pelts attracted little attention, it was easy to miss or ignore these symbols of Canada's colonial past.

¹ Justine Hunter, "Vancouver 2010: The Torch Relay Day 102: They came for a pelt and left with a Quatchi," *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 9 2010, A3.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.



Figure 27: Image from: Justine Hunter, “They Came for a pelt and left with a Quatchi,” *the Globe and Mail*, Feb. 9, 2010, A3. The original caption reads: “While pelts of fox and other animal furs were on display in the temporary HBC post, visitors were more interested in the mitts, Quatchi and hats.”

The example of the torch relay’s stop in Fort Langley highlights a key question I address in this chapter: how were national history and identity represented in the Vancouver Olympics? I begin this chapter by identifying prominent ideas about Canadian society promoted through the Games. These include the notion that Canada is a progressive, culturally diverse country and that Indigenous-Settler relations have improved dramatically in recent years. Like Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s 2008 apology to survivors of Indian Residential Schools, these narratives made it appear as though the oppression of Indigenous peoples occurred in the past and elided the colonialist policies and practices that caused this oppression.⁵ In contrast, anti-Olympic protestors drew

⁵ This argument is informed by critiques of the federal government’s reconciliation practices. See: Matthew Dorrell, “From Reconciliation to Reconciling: Reading What ‘We Now Recognize’ in the Government of Canada’s 2008 Residential Schools Apology,” *English Studies in Canada* 35, no. 1 (2009): 27-45; Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham, “Colonial Reckoning, National Reconciliation?: Aboriginal Peoples and the Culture of Redress in Canada,” *English Studies in Canada* 35 no. 1 (2009): 1-26; Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham, “Introduction”, in *Reconciling Canada: Critical Perspectives on the Culture of Redress*, eds. Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 3-30; Eva Mackey, “The Apologizers’ Apology,” in *Reconciling Canada: Critical Perspectives on the Culture of Redress*, eds. Jennifer Henderson, and Pauline Wakeham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 47-62; Keavy Martin, “Truth, Reconciliation, and Amnesia: Porcupines and China Dolls and the Canadian Conscience,” *English Studies in Canada*, 35, no. 1 (2009) : 47-65.

attention to such information. Olympic commodities, I argue, were fetish objects haunted by the history and legacy of colonialism in Canada. This chapter contributes to existing scholarship on reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and the Olympic Games. Although research has been done on the Sydney 2000 Olympics and reconciliation, no comparable work has been done on the Vancouver Olympics.⁶

The Inukshuk is a “Symbol of Canada:” Representations of National Identity

In April 2005, the Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games (VANOC) announced the results of a competition it ran to select the official emblem of the Vancouver Games. Out of 1,600 entries, organizers chose a contemporary interpretation of an inukshuk (a stone sculpture that Inuit people use as a directional marker)⁷ submitted by Vancouver designer Elena Rivera MacGregor. The design showed five coloured stones stacked on top of each other that, combined, looked like a person extending his arms.⁸ The emblem’s colour scheme (green, blue, red, and yellow) symbolized various elements of the Canadian landscape (forests, oceans, sunsets, and wheat fields). The emblem was called Ilanaaq, the Inuktitut word for “friend,” and this emphasis on friendship was a key feature of the ideas about national identity that the emblem sought to convey.⁹ It represented the fact that Canadian society was welcoming, hospitable, and recognized the value of Indigenous peoples’ cultures. Ilanaaq was

⁶ See: Catriona Elder, Angela Pratt, and Cath Ellis, “Running race: Reconciliation, nationalism and the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games,” *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 41, no. 2 (2006).

⁷ Norman Hallendy told the *Globe and Mail* that describing the emblem as an inukshuk (plural: inuksuit) was misleading. An inukshuk is a collection of stones assembled by the Inuit that operate as navigational beacons and come in many different shapes. Similar stone figures that look like humans are called innunguaq. However, Olympic organizers said that the emblem is one person’s “contemporary interpretation of an Inuit tradition”: Jane Armstrong, “The friend nobody likes,” *Globe and Mail*, April 27, 2005, A1.

⁸ Peter Kennedy, and Grant Kerr, “Inukshuk to be logo of Vancouver Games,” *Globe and Mail*, April 25, 2005, A8; The statue in Stanley Park was created by Alying Kanak of Rnaklin Inlet on behalf of the government of the Northwest Territories and was featured in the 1986 World Exposition which was held in Vancouver.

⁹ IOC, *Marketing Report*, 128; an inukshuk statue located near Vancouver’s Stanley Park inspired MacGregor’s winning design.

frequently described as a national symbol. For example, an article published in the *Globe and Mail* argued: “as with the maple leaf, although the maple tree is only native to certain regions of Canada and cannot grow in others, the inuksuit may belong first and foremost to the Inuit but they have become a symbol of Canada.”¹⁰ As such, the emblem functioned as synecdoche, a part of something (i.e. a cultural symbol within Canada) that stands in for the entire thing (i.e. all of Canada).



Figure 28: Vancouver Olympics emblem, VANOC, *Vancouver 2010: Staging the Olympic, Winter Games Knowledge Report*, September 2010, 1.

The choice of a national emblem for the Games, rather than a regional one, contrasts with the emblems of the 1976 Montreal and 1988 Calgary Olympics. As I argue in earlier chapters, the Montreal Games’ emblem symbolized French-Canadian culture while the Calgary Games’ emblem represented the co-existence of regional (Western Canadian) and national identities. The Vancouver Games’ emblem reflected organizers’ efforts to ensure that the Games belonged to all Canadians.¹¹ The motto of the Vancouver Olympics, “with glowing hearts,” was taken from a line in the national anthem and reinforced this idea.¹² Some Indigenous leaders in B.C., including Grand Chief Edward John of the First Nations Summit and Chief Stewart Phillip, President of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, criticized VANOC for not selecting an emblem that reflected

¹⁰ N.a., “Olympic Medals: the Aboriginal aesthetic,” *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 19, 2009, A16.

¹¹ VANOC, *Staging the Olympic Winter Games*, 8.

¹² The French theme “Des plus brillants exploits” a line from the French version of the national anthem, was the French theme: VANOC, *Vancouver 2010: Staging the Olympic Winter Games*, 12.

Indigenous cultures from the West Coast.¹³ Others, like Chief Gibby Jacob of the Squamish First Nation (who was a member of VANOC's board of directors) defended the emblem design by pointing out that it represented national rather than regional identity.¹⁴

The emblem appeared on Olympic commodities like stamps and Vancouver 2010 glassware.¹⁵ Shoppers could literally consume Ilanaaq by buying shortbread cookies in the shape of an inukshuk (dubbed "inukie cookies.")¹⁶ Canada Post sold envelope seals that reflected "defining aspects" of the host province, including totems and an inukshuk that, according to the company, "speak to the region's rich Aboriginal history and culture."¹⁷ This description is bizarre considering that the inukshuk reflects the culture of an Indigenous group (the Inuit) that does not live in B.C. Some 350 million Olympic-themed coins distributed by the Royal Canadian Mint also contained the inukshuk emblem.¹⁸ The Mint's Olympic Pavilion included an enormous Olympic loonie on the floor, upon which children could lay while their parents took pictures of them.¹⁹ MacGregor's design of Ilanaaq personified the inukshuk by giving it arms, legs, and a smile. By lying on top of the loonie and covering Ilanaaq with their own bodies, children personified the emblem to an even greater degree.

¹³ Jim Morris, "B.C. natives criticize Olympic logo choice", *Globe and Mail*, April 26, 2005, A9

¹⁴ Gibby Jacob, qtd in Morris, "B.C. natives criticize Olympic logo choice".

¹⁵ IOC, *Marketing Report*, 115; "Vancouver 2010 Olympic Winter Games," *CanadaPost*, Jan. 12, 2010. https://www.canadapost.ca/cpo/mc/personal/collecting/stamps/2010/2010_Olympic_Winter_Games.jsf.

¹⁶ "Inukie cookie a hot seller," *Canada.com*, June 9, 2008.

<http://www.canada.com/story.html?id=5bcec139-f120-49ad-b116-cd06ebc1161b>.

¹⁷ "Vancouver 2010 Olympic Winter Games," *CanadaPost*, Jan. 12, 2010.

https://www.canadapost.ca/cpo/mc/personal/collecting/stamps/2010/2010_Olympic_Winter_Games.jsf.

¹⁸ IOC, *Marketing Report*, 115.

¹⁹ Adriana Barton, "Vancouver 2010 Today's Pavilion: Royal Canadian Mint Pavilion," *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 28, 2010, S2.



Figure 29: Vancouver Olympics loonie, Royal Canadian Mint website, www.mint.ca.

The design of the Games' mascots was heavily influenced by Indigenous themes. The Olympic mascots were Miga, a sea bear (part killer whale, part Kermode bear) and Quatchi, a sasquatch. The Paralympic mascot was Sumi (an animal spirit). A marmot named Mukmuk, which VANOC described as a “mascot sidekick,” often appeared with the other mascots.²⁰ The company Meomi designed the mascots based on “local Aboriginal mythological creatures.”²¹ For example, Miga’s identity as a sea bear was “inspired by the legends of the Pacific Northwest First Nations, tales of orca whales that transform into bears that arrive on land.”²² The Indigenous themes reflected in the mascots helped make them representative of B.C. and Canada. According to VANOC CEO John Furlong, the mascots “had to appeal to children from all over the world, they needed to represent the people, geography, and spirit of British Columbia and Canada, and they had to personify the values and essence of the 2010 Winter Games.”²³

VANOC sold more than 200,000 mascot-related commodities in 2007, the year they were unveiled. These objects included plush toys, tote bags, hats, key chains, and jewelry.²⁴ A picture book about the mascots, *Miga, Quatchi and/et Sumi: The Story of the Vancouver*

²⁰ IOC, *Marketing Report*, 132.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Michael Murphy, *Miga, Quatchi and/et Sumi: The Story of the Vancouver 2010 Mascots/L'Histoire des Mascottes de Vancouver* (Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 2008), 22.

²³ John Furlong, qtd in IOC, *Marketing Report*, 132.

²⁴ Rod Mickleburgh, “Mukmuk no longer on the sidelines,” *Globe and Mail*, Nov. 28, 2009, A13.

2010 Mascots/L'Histoire des Mascottes de Vancouver, became a national bestseller.²⁵ Lapel pins and coins recreated scenes from the picture book.²⁶ Glen Street, president of the manufacturing company Street Characters Inc., observed that VANOC “has done a great job of making the character desirable. Every kid at school has a Quatchi backpack, keychain, something.”²⁷ The Canadian Olympic School Programme designed educational resources “to inspire youth to become ‘Smarter, Better, Stronger,’” encouraging them to explore Olympic values while pursuing healthy, active lifestyles.²⁸ Sponsored in part by RBC, the curriculum included an activity involving the Vancouver Olympic mascots; the case study, “Brand Development and the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Winter Games,”²⁹ asked students to write a persuasive paragraph arguing for or against the following statement: “The mascots for the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Winter Games were a playful representation of Canada and its Aboriginal peoples’ mythology.”³⁰

²⁵ The book was published in English and French; each page of the book contained the same information in both languages.

²⁶ Murphy, *Miga, Quatchi and/et Sumi*, note on front cover.

²⁷ Glen Street, qtd in: Shawna Richer, “Vancouver 2010 Star wattage in a cute and cuddly package: We love you, Quatchi. Oh yes we do. We don’t love anyone as much as you,” *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 20, 2010, F3.

²⁸ IOC, *Marketing Report*, 91.

²⁹ “Case Study: Brand Development and the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Winter Games”, *Canadian Olympic School Program (COSP)*. www.olympicschool.ca.

³⁰ Ibid; Mark Devitt argues that, although the Olympic Education program has the potential to help students develop critical thinking skills, the Vancouver Olympic Education program uses “one-sided rhetoric” to promote the Olympic Games and their corporate sponsors. See: Devitt, Mark. “Olympic Education: Gold Medal for Propaganda?” in *Problems, Possibilities, Promising Practices: Eleventh International Symposium for Olympic Research* (London: Centre for Olympic Studies, 2012).



Figure 30: Miga, Quatchi, and Sumi commodities available for sale on eBay, www.ebay.com.

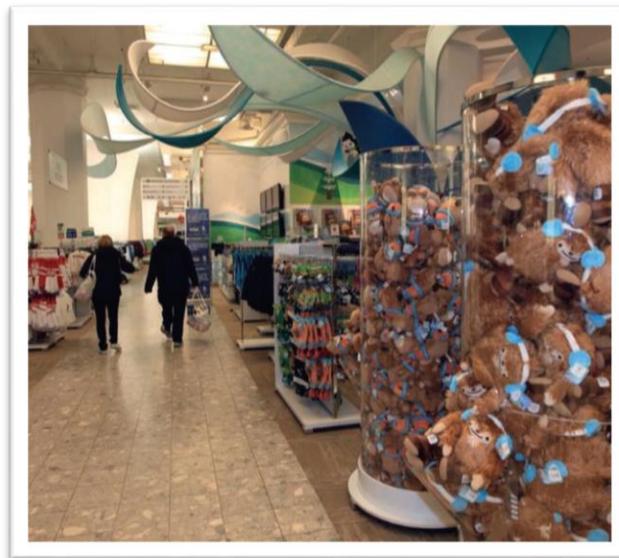


Figure 31: A bin full of Quatchis, *IOC Marketing Report Vancouver 2010*, 118.

VANOC's emphasis on Indigenous cultures was similarly evident in the Olympic torch relay and opening ceremony. The relay, which passed within an hour of 90% of the Canadian population, included approximately 600 Indigenous torchbearers and visited

118 Indigenous communities.³¹ In September 2009, RBC, a corporate sponsor of the torch relay, hired Phil Fontaine, former National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, to maximize “the involvement of the aboriginal community in the 2010 Olympic Torch Relay.”³² VANOC decided that the domestic audience for the opening ceremony was its most important audience, reasoning that if the ceremony engaged Canadians from across the country, they would be more likely to support the Games.³³ Some 23 million Canadians (almost 80% of the country’s population) watched the opening ceremony,³⁴ which featured an official welcome delivered by representatives from the Four Host First Nations (FHFN). The announcer introduced the FHFN by recognizing that the Games were being held on their “traditional territories.”³⁵ After their welcome, FHFN representatives were joined on stage by more than 300 Indigenous performers who, as VANOC noted, “wore their own traditional clothing or regalia.”³⁶

The Vancouver Olympics did not mark the first time that Indigenous peoples had played a central role in an international sporting event in Canada. Organizers of the 1994 Victoria Commonwealth Games pioneered many of the strategies that VANOC later used to maximize Indigenous peoples’ participation in the Olympics. The Victoria Commonwealth Games Society (VCGS) established a Native Participation Committee to involve Indigenous peoples in the Games’ planning process.³⁷ Just as VANOC recognized that the 2010 Games were being held on the FHFN’s “traditional territories,” the VCGS acknowledged that the “Greater Victoria area is the *traditional territory* of

³¹ IOC, *Marketing Report*, 9.

³² Tara Perkins, “Financial Services: Guess who’s coming to Bay Street? Fontaine signs on with Royal Bank,” *Globe and Mail*, Sept. 2, 2009, B1.

³³ VANOC, *Staging the Olympic Winter Games*, 15.

³⁴ Nathan Kalman-Lamb, “A Portrait of This Country’: Whiteness, Indigeneity, Multiculturalism and the Vancouver Opening Ceremonies,” *Topia* 27(2012): 6.

³⁵ “Vancouver 2010 Opening Ceremony.” Vancouver Organizing Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games. *YouTube*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MxZpUueDAvc>

³⁶ VANOC, *Vancouver 2010: Sustainability Report 2009-10* (Vancouver: VANOC, 2010), 82.

³⁷ Report Summary of the Native Participation Committee Business Plan, Series 187: Ceremonies and Culture records re: Native Participation Committee 1992-1994, Vancouver Commonwealth Games Society Fonds: PR74 (VCGSF), City of Victoria Archives (CVicA); Letter from from Edward Philip Oscapeella, General manager of the Ceremonies and Culture, to Geoff Burrett, Government Relations Officer, B.C. region, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, July 14 1992, VCGSF, CVicA.

several bands of the Coast Salish Nation, one of the three First Nations on Vancouver Island.”³⁸ While the FHFN welcomed athletes and visitors to the 2010 Games, a Coast Salish welcome ceremony linked to the Victoria Games occurred on August 8, 1994.

The participation of Indigenous peoples in the Victoria Commonwealth and Vancouver Olympic Games conveyed the message that relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples were improving. The VCGS noted that the Coast Salish welcoming ceremony would “wipe away the tears of the past so that a new relationship and celebration can begin.”³⁹ Similarly, the connotations of friendship and hospitality reflected in the Olympic emblem, along with its connection to Inuit culture, gave the impression that relations between Indigenous peoples and Settler Canadians were based on mutual respect. This message is significant in light of the fact that Prime Minister Stephen Harper delivered a formal apology in 2008 to former students of Indian Residential Schools, their families, and communities. Matthew Dorrell points out that Harper’s apology began by depicting residential schools as “a sad chapter in our history” and concluded by expressing the desire to improve relations between Indigenous peoples and Settler Canadians.⁴⁰ A narrative of progress similar to the one in Harper’s apology was promoted in the Olympic Games’ opening ceremony during the “landscape of a dream” sequence. This sequence began by dramatizing the first meeting of Indigenous peoples and European Settlers. The two groups, distinguished from one another by their clothing, waved at each other and then came together tentatively to shake hands. A Spirit Bear emerged from the ground and opened its arms.⁴¹ Suddenly, the floor broke apart and people became separated from one another by cracks in the ground. Everyone on stage looked surprised and worried when they realized that they were standing on glaciers floating in the ocean. As the gap between the glaciers widened, the stadium went dark. This moment, I argue, symbolized a dark period in the past when the harmonious

³⁸ Program Notes for the Opening Ceremony. Series: Communications Department – Communication Services, Communication Services Director Records, Box 2, File 6, Ceremonies, 1993-1994. VCGSF, CVicA; italics added.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Dorrell, “From Reconciliation to Reconciling, 32; these quotations are taken from Harper’s 2008 apology.

⁴¹ Kalman-Lamb, “A Portrait of This Country,” 17.

relationship between Indigenous peoples and Settler Canadians had broken down.

The darkness in the stadium was suggestive of a difficult period in Indigenous-Settler relations. When the light returned, the audience was taken on a journey across the country through oceans, forests, wheat fields, and snowy mountains (notably, these same parts of Canada were represented through the Games' emblem). Music, dance, spoken word, and acrobatic performances accompanied colourful visual displays of the landscape.⁴² The poem, "We are More," recited by Shane Koyczan at the end of this visual journal described Canada as a friendly, welcoming, and diverse country: "we are more than genteel or civilized. We are an idea in the process of being realized. We are young. We are cultures strung together then woven into a tapestry and the design is what makes us more than our history. We are a design going right for a change."⁴³

Nathan Kalman-Lamb argues that this segment in the opening ceremony celebrated white cultures in Canada and gave the impression that Indigenous peoples were "part of a past that no longer exists."⁴⁴ By contrast, I argue that the welcome given by FHFN leaders during the opening ceremony made it appear as though indigenous peoples were thriving in Canada. The narratives promoted in the ceremony consigned the mistrust and discord that exists between Indigenous peoples and Settler Canadians (rather than Indigenous peoples themselves) to a bygone past. Eva Mackey argues that the Prime Minister's apology relegated "over two hundred years of colonial violence" to the past so that Canadians could "move forward into a unified future."⁴⁵ The Vancouver opening ceremony gave the impression that this "unified future" had arrived.

⁴² VANOC notes that the emblem consisted "of five stone-like formations depicted in Vibrant colours found in both the natural features of the Vancouver-Whistler region and across Canada": VANOC, *Staging the Olympic Winter Games*, 10.

⁴³ The entire Vancouver 2010 Opening Ceremony is available to view on YouTube: "Vancouver 2010 Opening Ceremony." Vancouver Organizing Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games. *YouTube*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MxZpUueDAvc>

⁴⁴ Kalman-Lamb, "A Portrait of This Country," 15.

⁴⁵ Mackey, "The Apologizers' Apology", 49.

“This is Not the Start of a New Relationship:” Haunting Truths

Commodities of the Olympic emblem and mascot were haunted by information that contradicted the celebratory ideas about national identity promoted by Olympic organizers. As such, they were fetish objects that held together competing information about the nation.⁴⁶ Avery Gordon and Jacques Derrida argue that ghostly hauntings are absences that can be perceived and felt.⁴⁷ Gordon asserts: “the ghostly haunt gives notice that something is missing.”⁴⁸ Olympic commodities were haunted by the fact that Prime Minister Harper’s 2008 apology did not mark the beginning of an entirely successful reconciliation process between Indigenous peoples and Settler Canadians. This fact was evident in an article by Stella August and Philipa Ryan published in 2009. The authors are part of the Downtown Eastside Power of Women Group, whose members include “women from all walks of life who are working poor, homeless or on social assistance” and describe themselves as living “in extreme poverty.”⁴⁹ August is a residential school survivor who, in her words, is “living proof of the residential school era.”⁵⁰ She wrote:

Like many others, I am not satisfied with last year’s formal apology from the federal government. The apology was supposed to start a new relationship with Indigenous peoples, one based on respect. But the 2010 Olympic Games represents just one of the many examples of the continuation of the same kind of colonial relationship; we are not consulted, are forcibly

⁴⁶ This conceptualization of fetish is based on Anne McClintock’s definition of the term: Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 184.

⁴⁷ Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1997); Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York: Routledge, 1993).

⁴⁸ Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 15.

⁴⁹ Stella August, and Philipa Ryan, “In Our Own Words: Women living in Downtown Eastside weigh in on the Olympics,” *The Dominion, Special Issue 2009: Issue #64: Olympics*, 28, PAM 2009-12, PC, CVA.

⁵⁰ August, “In Our Own Words: Women living in Downtown Eastside weigh in on the Olympics,” *The Dominion, Special Issue 2009: Issue #64: Olympics*, 28, PAM 2009-12, PC, CVA; August and Ryan wrote the first part of the article together and each wrote a section of the second part of the article.

displaced, and endure increasing poverty for their benefit. This is not the start of a new relationship.⁵¹

The final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) illustrates that August is not alone in her criticism. The report found that “Aboriginal leaders identified a post-apology gap between the aspirational language of Canada’s apology and Aboriginal peoples’ continuing realities.”⁵² The report concluded that the “The promise of reconciliation, which seemed so imminent back in 2008 when the Prime Minister, on behalf of all Canadians, apologized to Survivors, has faded.”⁵³ The TRC report defined reconciliation as “an ongoing process of establishing and maintaining respectful relationships” between Indigenous peoples and Settler Canadians.⁵⁴

Olympic commodities were intended to reflect the notion that Canada is a friendly and welcoming place, but many Indigenous peoples in Canada faced, and continue to face, a radically different reality. For example, the anti-Olympic group No2010.com⁵⁵ argued that VANOC’s celebration of Indigenous peoples’ cultures drew attention away from the high incidences of unemployment, poverty, homelessness, suicide, violent death, drug and alcohol addiction, imprisonment, HIV, and tuberculosis in Indigenous populations in Canada.⁵⁶ Soon after the Games, United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous peoples, James Anaya, released a report on the status of Indigenous peoples’ rights in Canada. Anaya makes explicit the disjuncture between the Canada depicted by Games’ organizers and the Canada experienced by many Indigenous peoples:

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² TRC, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 268.

⁵³ Ibid., 8.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 16; Henderson and Wakeham prefer the term “cultures of redress” over reconciliation because the latter term “imposes closure upon grievances”. However, the TRC’s definition of reconciliation rejects closure in favour of ongoing action. In this chapter, I rely on the TRC’s definition in order to distance my work from the problematic ideas about reconciliation reflected in official documents: Wakeham and Henderson, “Colonial Reckoning, National Reconciliation?: Aboriginal Peoples and the Culture of Redress in Canada”, 8-9.

⁵⁵ This name refers to the anti-Olympic organization and the website that its members created.

⁵⁶ No2010.com, “Anti-2010: Information against the Olympic industry: no Olympics on stolen Native Land,” 2010, PAM 2010-21: Anti 2010, City of Vancouver Archives Pamphlet Collection: AM 1519 (PC), City of Vancouver Archives (CVA); this information initially appeared on the organization’s website and was subsequently made available in print for individuals who were not able to access the internet.

“It is difficult to reconcile Canada’s well-developed legal framework and general prosperity with the human rights problems faced by indigenous peoples in Canada, which have reached crisis proportions in many respects.”⁵⁷ International Olympic Committee (IOC) member René Fasel said the emblem of the Vancouver Games reflected Canadian values,⁵⁸ but his comment raises the question: what values make it possible for Settler Canadians to remain unaware or unmoved by the disturbing facts that Anaya and No2010.com identified?

Rivera MacGregor has said that her Olympic emblem design was inspired by Canadian hospitality: “As Canadians, we are proud of being friendly people; you know, we’re...non-threatening and we smile.”⁵⁹ However, this declaration was contradicted by numerous incidents of violent confrontations in Canadian history. One such example is the 1990 clash between provincial and federal troops and Mohawk protestors in Oka, Quebec. The conflict began over the town’s plan to expand a golf course, which impinged on “The Pines,” a forested area that Kanehsatake Mohawk consider sacred and have used as a burial place. In March 1990, protestors barricaded the entrance to “The Pines” to prevent construction of the golf course expansion. On July 11th, approximately 100 members of the Quebec police force confronted the protestors. Shots were fired and Corporal Marcel Lemay was killed.⁶⁰ The provincial police subsequently withdrew, leaving behind several vehicles which protesters used to barricade all entrances to the disputed land.⁶¹

As an act of solidarity with the Kanehsatake, Mohawk from the nearby Kahnawake reserve, located near Chateauguay, Quebec, blocked three major highways in the area and

⁵⁷ United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC), 27th session, *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples, James Anaya, on the situation of indigenous peoples in Canada* (A/HRC/27/52/Add.2) (4 July 2014), 6.

⁵⁸ René Fasel, qtd in IOC, *Marketing Report*, 128.

⁵⁹ Elena Rivera Macregor, qtd in Armstrong, “The friend nobody likes”.

⁶⁰ Pertusati, Linda. *In Defense of Mohawk Land: Ethnopolitical Conflict in Native North America*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997: 102; It is not clear whether the bullet that killed Corporal Lemay was fired by the Mohawk protestors or a police officer because individuals on both sides of the confrontation used identical rifles.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 102.

seized the Mercier Bridge, which connects Montreal suburbs to the city's downtown core.⁶² Non-Indigenous residents of Chateauguy gathered nightly to oppose the blockade, sometimes shouting racist remarks and burning effigies of Mohawk people.⁶³ On August 8th, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney invoked Canada's National Defense Act and sent more than 4,000 federal troops to the blockades. Shortly thereafter, the Oka municipal council agreed to sell the disputed land to the federal government, thus ending the proposed golf course expansion. On August 29th, the Mohawk began dismantling their barricades.⁶⁴

When the Vancouver Olympic torch relay passed through Kahnawake, the legacy of the Mohawk-Oka crisis was difficult to miss. Although they allowed the torch to enter their community, the Kahnawake did not let the RCMP, provincial police officers or VANOC vehicles on their land. Instead, Mohawk Peacekeepers accompanied the torch. Grand Chief Michael Delisle Jr. told journalist Sean Gordon that no one in the community would identify as Canadian.⁶⁵ Gordon wrote that this leg of the relay illustrated a "mostly unspoken dichotomy: the Olympic ideal is held up as a symbol of hope and achievement to young people in Aboriginal communities, but in Kahnawake, that inspiration has little to no connection with the national celebration the 2010 Games organizers envision."⁶⁶ The headline of Gordon's article read: "In a town haunted by Oka, nobody is 'Canadian'"⁶⁷ and it drew attention to the fact that the torch relay's passage through Kahnawake brought the past to life.

Olympic commodities were haunted by the history of the Mohawk-Oka crisis and, more broadly, colonialism in Canada. Paulette Regan argues convincingly that Canada's colonial past lives in the present. She writes:

⁶² Ibid., 103.

⁶³ Ibid., 107.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 117-119.

⁶⁵ Sean Gordon, "Vancouver 2010 The Torch Relay Day 40: In a town Haunted by Oka, nobody is 'Canadian,'" *Globe and Mail*, Dec. 9, 2009, A3.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

For Indigenous people, the past is a painful chronicle of broken treaties, stolen lands, Indian residential schools, and the Indian Act...this problematic history is not in the past: it sits with us in many places – government offices, boardrooms, negotiating tables, churches, hospitals, classrooms, and community halls. Whether or not we acknowledge its presence, we know intuitively that this history is still alive.⁶⁸

This past also animated Olympic goods, making them ghost(ed) objects that merged, in Gordon's words, "the visible and the invisible, the dead and the living, the past and the present."⁶⁹ As discussed in Chapter Three, the term ghost(ed) object is borrowed from Sharon Rosenberg, Amber Dean, and Kara Granzow. They describe a picture of an Indigenous settlement in Alberta as a ghost(ed) image that represented a "haunting presence repeatedly disavowed" by a narrative about the province's history; this narrative separated "colonial history from the present."⁷⁰ By representing the idea that Canadian society is friendly and values Indigenous peoples' cultures, the Games' emblem and mascots disavowed the fact that the devastating effects of colonialism still affects Indigenous peoples. Taiaiake Alfred argues, for example, that the "complex relationship between the effects of social suffering, unresolved psychophysical harms of historical trauma and cultural location" caused by colonialism in Canada has limited indigenous peoples' ability to be "self-sufficient, healthy and autonomous."⁷¹

Like Olympic goods, the Victoria Commonwealth Games mascot (a smiling orca whale) and commodities of the mascot were haunted by the past. The VCGS asked the public to recommend names for the orca, ultimately selecting "Klee Wyck." Four people suggested

⁶⁸ Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), 20.

⁶⁹ Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 24.

⁷⁰ Sharon Rosenberg, Amber Dean, and Kara Granzow, "Centennial hauntings: Reckoning with the 2005 celebration of Alberta's history," *Memory Studies* 3, no. 4 (2010): 397.

⁷¹ Gerald Taiaiake Alfred, "Colonialism and State Dependency," *Journal of Aboriginal Health* (November 2009: 42; this argument, of course, is not intended to give the impression that Indigenous peoples lack agency or that they all lead unhealthy lives. Alfred's central point is that indigenous peoples must prioritize cultural regeneration.

this name, with one person arguing: “What better name for our Commonwealth mascot, the noble Orca, than KLEE WYCK. An Indian name meaning ‘the Laughing One,’ it was the one given to Emily Carr, our very own famous Victoria artist.”⁷² As the above quotation illustrates, the mascot’s name was intended to represent the harmonious relationship that Emily Carr shared with Indigenous peoples. Official VCGS documents translated the mascot’s name, Klee Wyck, as “the laughing one.” However, according to the Victoria Commonwealth Games’ Mascot Steering Committee, this was a mistranslation. A committee report from 1991 observed:

Klee Wyck does not, in fact, quite translate from Chinook into English as ‘The Laughing One.’ This, apparently, was Emily Carr’s interpretation of what her Indian friends were calling her, communicated to her by them through sign language. The actual translation is closer to ‘the smiling one,’ and its correct anglicised written translation is one word, not two.⁷³

The report reveals that the Victoria Games’ mascot represented a Settler’s literal misunderstanding of Indigenous peoples. More broadly, “Klee Wyck” symbolized instances of impaired communication between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups, where Settlers have been unable or unwilling to understand Indigenous peoples’ perspectives.

Confronting the ghosts that haunt Olympic and Commonwealth Games commodities can alter their meaning and transform them into uncanny objects. According to Sigmund Freud, the uncanny emerges when previously unknown information comes to light, making something that used to be familiar seem unfamiliar.⁷⁴ Margot Francis notes that “an experience of the uncanny can emerge when the place one considers home is

⁷² Naming of Mascot Entry, Series 138: Communications Department – Information Services, Promotional Services Co-ordination Records, File 26, VCGSF, CVicA.

⁷³ Initial recommendations of the XV Commonwealth Games Mascot Steering Committee, June 14 1991, Series 138: Communications Department – Information Services, Promotional Services Co-ordination Records, File 24, VCGSF, CVicA.

⁷⁴ Sigmund Freud. *The Uncanny*, Trans: David McLintock (London: Penguin Books, 1953), 132.

somehow rendered unfamiliar.”⁷⁵ Trying to reconcile the official narratives about the nation represented by Olympic and Commonwealth commodities with the truths that haunt these commodities can be an uncanny experience. These items could become representations of an unfamiliar version of “home” (the nation) that is no longer fully recognizable to Settler Canadians.

The TRC report identifies the importance of recognizing unsettling truths about the nation, and it is worth quoting at length:

non-Aboriginal children and youth need to comprehend how their own identities and family histories have been shaped by a version of Canadian history that has marginalized Aboriginal peoples’ history and experience. They need to know how notions of European superiority and Aboriginal inferiority have tainted mainstream society’s ideas about, and attitudes towards, Aboriginal peoples in ways that have been profoundly disrespectful and damaging. They too need to understand Canada’s history as a Settler society and how assimilation policies have affected Aboriginal peoples. This knowledge and understanding will lay the groundwork for establishing mutually respectful relationships.⁷⁶

Put another way, reconciliation is an ongoing process that requires Settler Canadians to acknowledge uncanny and unfamiliar versions of the nation and use this newfound recognition to create social change.⁷⁷

Coming to terms with the truths that haunt Olympic and Commonwealth commodities can produce unpleasant emotions, like discomfort and confusion, which contrast with the comforting and pleasing ideas about national identity that the objects ostensibly represented. However, as the TRC argues, “No Canadian can take pride in this country’s

⁷⁵ Margot Francis, *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 7.

⁷⁶ TRC, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, 238.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 16.

treatment of Aboriginal peoples.”⁷⁸ Moreover, Keavy Martin points out that the goal of reconciliation is not to free settler Canadians from the responsibility of remembering Canadian history or to alleviate their guilt about the past.⁷⁹ Rather, reconciliation can make Settlers feel uncomfortable and unsettled because it requires them to, in Regan’s words, “confront the history of colonization, violence, racism and injustice that remains part of the IRS [Indian residential school] legacy today.”⁸⁰

“This Magic Mitten Moment:” The Hudson’s Bay Company and Brand Canada

Canadian torch bearers and athletes who marched in the Parade of Nations during the Vancouver opening ceremony wore uniforms designed by the HBC. Subsequently, the red and white mittens they wore became popular consumer items. These mittens symbolized ideas about national identity and history that the HBC promoted in its marketing campaign. When the company unveiled its Olympic apparel line in 2009, Nathalie Lambert, Canada’s Chef de Mission for the Games, said: “Finally, we are given an identity, a look and feel to the Canadian team. I think it will inspire millions of Canadians.”⁸¹ Canadian Olympic Committee CEO Chris Rudge summed up the look succinctly: “This line of apparel screams ‘Canada.’”⁸² The HBC intentionally designed its Olympic merchandise to reflect national identity.⁸³ Company executive Mark Kinnin said: “There’s a great story around Canada and the history of Canada and the team and how we’re getting ready for the Vancouver Games...*Can we commercialize that? Absolutely, because sports is a business.*”⁸⁴ Fashion journalist Amy Verner endorsed this practice by noting that the “Games offer a global marketing op – and a chance to parlay

⁷⁸ Ibid., 237.

⁷⁹ Martin, “Truth, Reconciliation, and Amnesia,” 49.

⁸⁰ Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within*, 11.

⁸¹ Natalie Lambert, qtd in n.a., “Olympic Attire: Opinion,” *Globe and Mail*, Oct 2, 2009, A13.

⁸² Chris Rudge qtd in n.a., “Olympic Attire: Opinion,” *Globe and Mail*, Oct 2, 2009, A13.

⁸³ Marina Strauss, “RETAIL: HBC’s wares get host with the ‘coolness’ factor,” *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 27, 2010, B4.

⁸⁴ Mark Kinnin, qtd in Marina Strauss, “Vancouver 2010: Sponsorships: After Beijing flop, Bay goes all-Canadian,” *Globe and Mail*, June 17 2009, B3, italics added.

the True North into lasting cool.”⁸⁵ She added that companies can “package and promote brand Canada globally.”⁸⁶ The HBC’s promotion of “brand Canada” was a central part of the company’s re-branding strategy. In order to attract more business, HBC began “mining the retailer’s heritage advantage by bolstering its Signature Shop with about 120 new items (canoes, trapper hats, maple sugar cubes) alongside its signature striped ‘point’ blankets and throws.”⁸⁷ The company emphasized its long history (it was founded in 1670) by using its full name, original crest, and trademark “point blanket” pattern in promotional material.⁸⁸

In keeping with the HBC’s branding strategy, company President Jeffrey Sherman said that the Vancouver 2010 Olympic clothing line displayed “a sense of history of what it means to be Canadian.”⁸⁹ This sense of history was, however, incomplete. An HBC TV ad that aired during the Games problematically promoted the myth that Canada was uninhabited before European explorers arrived. The ad, “We Were Made for This,” showed Europeans arriving by boat to Canada for the first time and discovering empty land. The narrator glorified their ability to survive the harsh conditions, noting: “We arrived 340 years ago to a land of rock, ice, and snow. We outfitted a nation of pioneers, explorers, and dreamers. We are the skiers, we are the sledders. We didn’t just survive the elements. Together, we thrived in them.”⁹⁰ The HBC ad obscured the fact that Indigenous peoples inhabited land in Canada long before the arrival of Europeans. It also failed to note that the labour of Indigenous peoples was essential to the company’s early success. Yet actors in the ad wore clothing made from iconic HBC “point blanket” design and this detail drew attention to the relationship fur traders established with Indigenous peoples. Specifically, HBC employees exchanged blankets made from this striped

⁸⁵ Amy Verner, “Brand Canada: They like us, they really like us,” *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 27, 2010, L1.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Strauss, “RETAIL: HBC’s wares get hot with the ‘coolness’ factor.”

⁸⁸ Strauss, “RETAIL: HBC’s wares get hot with the ‘coolness’ factor,” Strauss, “Vancouver 2010: Retail Strategy”.

⁸⁹ Jeffrey Sherman, quoted in n.a. “Olympic Attire Opinion,” *Globe and Mail*, Oct 2, 2009, A13.

⁹⁰ “We Were Made for This,” Hudson’s Bay Company advertisement, *YouTube*.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dLsFkZKj63U>.

material for the furs that Indigenous peoples trapped.⁹¹ Thus, like the Fort Langley trading post mentioned earlier in this chapter, the role of indigenous people in the fur trade was obscured but not completely invisible in the HBC ad.

Some people criticized the company for including a knock-off Cowichan sweater in its 2010 Olympic clothing line. These critics drew attention to the labour involved in producing HBC commodities that typically remains hidden.⁹² Coast Salish knitters are known for making sweaters with a distinctive design and the HBC considered asking them to produce these items for its Olympic line. However, the company ultimately decided that the knitters would not be able to make enough sweaters in time for the Games. Instead, it sold a product that “nods towards this icon of Canadian fashion.”⁹³ FHFN CEO Tewanee Joseph raised the issue with VANOC and Cowichan knitters were eventually permitted to sell their sweaters in the First Nations Pavilion and the Olympic Superstore in Vancouver.⁹⁴

Donica Belisle’s analysis of the HBC historical publication *The Beaver* shows that the company viewed itself as a major player in Canada’s early development as a nation. “Proud of its heritage,” she writes, “the HBC did not let customers forget it had helped create modern Western Canada.”⁹⁵ For example, a 1921 article informed readers that HBC employees had “fed, clothed and supported the natives, and held the future Western Canada in trust for the British Empire.”⁹⁶ Another article published the same year noted that as more white people arrived in Canada in the early 1900s, the HBC’s “Indian”

⁹¹ “Our History: The HBC Point Blanket,” *Hudson’s Bay Company*.

<http://www2.hbc.com/hbcheritage/history/blanket/history/>.

⁹² Christine O’Bonsawin, “Indigenous Peoples and Canadian-Hosted Olympic Games”, in *Aboriginal Peoples & Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Challenges*, eds. Janice Forsyth and Audrey Giles (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 56.

⁹³ HBC statement, qtd in Mark Hume, “Fashion: Native Design: The Bay, Cowichan leaders hope to settle sweater row,” *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 2009, A8.

⁹⁴ Hume, “Fashion: Native Design”, O’Bonsawin, “Indigenous Peoples and Canadian-Hosted Olympic Games,” 56.

⁹⁵ Donica Belisle, *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 50.

⁹⁶ “H.B.C. Helped Settlers Remain on Land During ‘Lean Years’”, *The Beaver* (February 1921): 20, article referenced by Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 50, n. 20.

customers “gradually died out.”⁹⁷ Although Indigenous peoples shopped at HBC stores in the 1920s, ads from this time period, like the article, made it appear as though only white Settlers frequented the store.⁹⁸ By 2010, such accounts would have likely been seen as racially offensive. However, the use of the pronoun “we” in HBC’s 2010 Olympic ad (“We arrived 340 years ago to a land of rock, ice, and snow” and “We are the skiers, we are the sledders”) suggests a continuation of such views by exclusively targeting Settler Canadians.⁹⁹

Verner wrote that she did not normally express her national pride through clothing: “When it comes to fashion, I have never been a flag waver – no maple leaf patches on my backpacks, no Canada scrawled across my sweatshirt.”¹⁰⁰ However, she was taken with the HBC mittens, and described herself as “captivated by this magic mitten moment.”¹⁰¹ Verner praised the mittens for keeping “hands feeling cozy”¹⁰² and when Canadians embraced the mittens as positive symbols of the nation, they adopted a “cozy” view of Canada that was untroubled by the “seething absence” of Indigenous peoples.¹⁰³ The HBC sold 3.5 million pairs of the mittens and a post on the Canadian Olympic Committee website noted that athletes, celebrities, politicians, and fans wore the red mittens to demonstrate “their support for the Canadian Olympians. They were, and still are, a symbol of Canadian pride.”¹⁰⁴

⁹⁷Jack Prest, “From Pioneer Trading Post to Great Department Store,” *The Beaver* (March 1921): 2-4, article referenced by Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 63, n. 70.

⁹⁸ Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 64.

⁹⁹ “We Were Made for This,” Hudson’s Bay Company advertisement.

¹⁰⁰ Amy Verner, “Fashion: Now and then the look 2010,” *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 30, 2009, O13.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Gordon, *Ghostly Matter*, 21.

¹⁰⁴ “Hudson’s Bay: Official Outfitter,” *Canadian Olympic Committee*. <http://olympic.ca/partners/hudsons-bay/hudsons-bay-official-outfitter/>



Figure 32: Hudson’s Bay Company mittens in the Vancouver Olympics, IOC, *Marketing Report Vancouver 2010*, 107, 160.

This quotation illustrates that, like the Olympic emblem, the mittens operated as synecdoche for the nation. In fact, they looked like mini versions of the Canadian flag and their popularity contrasts with *Globe and Mail* journalist Lawrence Martin’s complaint that few Canadians at the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games waved the national flag.¹⁰⁵ The mittens were fetish objects that obscured Canada’s colonial history. On the one hand, they represented ideas about the nation present in the “We Were Made for This” ad: that national identity is rooted in Europeans’ “discovery” of Canada and their ability to survive in harsh environmental conditions. On the other hand, they were haunted the reality that Settlers appropriated Indigenous peoples’ land and pursued a policy of assimilation that had a devastating, inter-generational impact on Indigenous peoples’ lives.

By purchasing the HBC mittens, Canadians made material contributions to the nation. As such, they participated in an activity that helped them earn the privilege of citizenship. This argument relies on Margaret Somers’ contention that individuals’ relationship with the nation has become transformed into a “contractual quid pro quo market exchange.”

¹⁰⁵ Lawrence Martin, "Canadians lag in another league, fans' cheering not medal calibre," *The Globe and Mail*, July 22, 1976, 51.

¹⁰⁶ She maintains that citizens earn rights by contributing to the nation in economically profitable ways.¹⁰⁷ The people who bought the mittens supported a charity because net proceeds from sales went to Own the Podium, a national funding program for Canadian Olympians.¹⁰⁸ Additionally, by wearing the mittens, consumers enhanced the positive affiliation between the HBC and Olympic brands and the Vancouver Games. The Canadian Olympic Committee website encouraged people to “keep warm and show your support for Canadian athletes in their quest for gold at the 2010 Winter Games by wearing a pair of Vancouver 2010 Red Mittens.”¹⁰⁹ It noted too that these items had become “the most visible illustration of Canada’s excitement for 2010.”¹¹⁰ Canadians wearing these garments, Furlong said, “literally wore their hearts on their hands.”¹¹¹ They also wore a corporate and Olympic brand on their bodies.

Anti-Olympic activists made Canada’s colonial history, and HBC’s involvement in this history, difficult to ignore. The Olympic Resistance Network (ORN) popularized the anti-Olympic slogan “No Olympics on Stolen Native Land,” which drew attention to the history of colonization in the province and, according to No2010.com, “reveals the fact that government and corporations are involved in theft (of land & resources), and therefore lack moral and legal authority to govern or conduct business.”¹¹² The ORN also published a flyer that quoted Prime Minister Harper’s surprising public statement in 2009 that “Canada has no history of colonialism.”¹¹³ The organization told readers that the “Olympics are occurring on unceded & unsurrendered Indigenous lands” and asked

¹⁰⁶ Somers, Margaret. *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to have Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008: 70-117.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 70-117.

¹⁰⁸ VANOC, *Staging the Olympic Winter Games*: 10.

¹⁰⁹ Athletes CAN – Supporting the Voices of 2010 and Beyond,” *Canadian Olympic Committee*. Nov. 19, 2009. <http://olympic.ca/2009/11/19/athletescan-supporting-the-voices-of-2010-and-beyond/>.

¹¹⁰ “As Red Mittens Fly off Shelves, Olympic Spirit Builds,” *Canadian Olympic Committee*. Dec. 21, 2009. <http://olympic.ca/2009/12/21/as-red-mittens-fly-off-shelves-olympic-spirit-builds/>

¹¹¹ John Furlong, qtd in IOC, *Marketing Report*, 115.

¹¹² No2010.com, “Anti-2010: Information against the Olympic industry: no Olympics on stolen Native Land,” 2010, PAM 2010-21, PC, CVA.

¹¹³ Harper made this comment to a Reuters reporter. See: Aaron Wherry, “What he was talking about when he talked about colonialism,” *Macleans* Oct. 1, 2009. <http://www.macleans.ca/politics/ottawa/what-he-was-talking-about-when-he-talked-about-colonialism/>

rhetorically: “Really, no colonial history?”¹¹⁴ Editors of grassroots publication *The Dominion* noted that the HBC “was active in the British colonization of Canada, building forts and claiming land on behalf of Great Britain.”¹¹⁵ *Balaclava!*, a newspaper dedicated to “2010 anti-Olympic convergence,” published a photograph of protestors smashing the glass of an HBC storefront on February 14, 2010. The blurb under the photo read: the HBC “represents the colonization of British Columbia directly through it’s [sic] own involvement in the colonization and genocide” of Indigenous populations.”¹¹⁶

Finally, the ORN distributed pamphlets showing the red and white HBC mittens dripping with blood under the caption “Blood On Your Hands.” The pamphlet stated that the HBC had “acted as the colonial government” in Canada.¹¹⁷ The Canadian Olympic Committee noted that “the Red Mittens became the iconic item for Canadians as the Games were celebrated on home soil.”¹¹⁸ The ORN drew attention to the fact that the “soil” (land) upon which Settlers established a “home” was already occupied by Indigenous peoples. As I have argued earlier in this chapter, the importance of Settler Canadians openly recognizing and coming to terms with this fact cannot be understated; it is an essential part of meaningful reconciliation practices.

¹¹⁴ Olympic Resistance Network, “Do you hate the Olympics?,” 2010, PAM 2010-7: Do you hate the Olympics, PC, CVA.

¹¹⁵ *The Dominion, Special Issue 2009: Issue #64: Olympics*, 6. PAM 2009-12, PC, CVA.

¹¹⁶ *Balaclava! The daily newspaper of the 2010 anti-olympic convergence*, Feb. 14, 2010, Issue 5. PAM 2010-17, PC, CVA.

¹¹⁷ “Blood On Your Hands,” PAM 2010-37, PC, CVA.

¹¹⁸ “Hudson’s Bay: Official Outfitter,” *Canadian Olympic Committee*. <http://olympic.ca/partners/hudsons-bay/hudsons-bay-official-outfitter/>

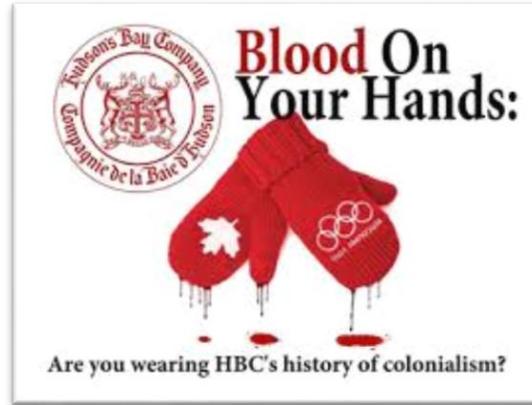


Figure 33: “Blood On Your Hands” pamphlet, City of Vancouver Archives, PAM 2010-37, Fonds: AM1519: City of Vancouver Archives pamphlet collection, City of Vancouver Archives.

Conclusion

This chapter has identified the dominant ideas about Canadian identity and history that were promoted through the Vancouver Games. These ideas, I argued, were reflected in Olympic commodities. However, they left out significant and often contradictory information. Truths about the gap in socio-economic status between Indigenous peoples and Settler Canadians; the history of colonialist policies and practices in Canada; and the legacy of colonization were obscured during the Vancouver Olympics. By applying Gordon’s theory of ghostly haunting to my analysis of Olympic commodities, I argued that, although not overtly acknowledged, troubling facts about Canada were not completely invisible. Additionally, anti-Olympic protestors publicized these facts, including Canada’s colonial past. Finally, I identified why confronting the information that haunted Olympic commodities is so important: it is an essential part of the ongoing process of reconciliation between Indigenous peoples and Settler Canadians.

Chapter 8

Conclusion: “Defiant Fists” and “Loyal Corporate Bodies”

Toronto became the most recent Canadian city to consider an Olympic bid after it successfully hosted the Pan Am and Parapan Am Games in the summer of 2015. Toronto Mayor John Tory ultimately decided not to submit a bid, but the public discussion surrounding the issue is instructive. Bob Hepburn of the *Toronto Star* wrote on July 11, 2015 that Toronto should bid for the Olympics only if it makes economic sense and much of the public discussion around the bid has centered on the cost of the Games.¹ However, as this dissertation has shown, politicians and citizens should consider additional factors beyond economic ones: who will be advantaged and disadvantaged by the Games, both economically and socially? Who will fund the Games and what role will corporate sponsorship play? How will tax dollars and consumer dollars be used to finance the event? What role will Indigenous peoples play? Will the majority of labour come from volunteers or paid staff? What types of Olympic educational materials will enter the schools? Will branding initiatives target students directly? What roles will “sustainability” and “legacy outcomes” play and what sorts of beneficial social change might they engender?

This dissertation, which critically analyzed the commercial practices and products of the Olympic Games hosted in Canada, has demonstrated the importance of asking such questions. I show that the symbolic meanings of Olympic commodities and commercial practices linked to the Games primarily served the interests of Settler Canadians at the expense of Indigenous peoples’ well-being. In making this argument, I fill a gap in research on branded/corporate nationalism by devoting attention to the social and

¹ Bob Hepburn, “Why Toronto should bid for the 2014 Olympics: Hepburn: Pan Am Games have been good for the GTA, and Olympics could be even better,” *Toronto Star*, July 11 2015. <http://www.thestar.com/opinion/commentary/2015/07/11/why-toronto-should-bid-for-the-2014-olympics-hepburn.html>.

political significance of the symbolism of Olympic commodities.² Additionally, unlike existing scholarship, I consider how narratives about Canada's colonial history shape contemporary definitions of national identity. The 1974 Montreal Olympic mascot (a beaver named Amik) and select Olympic coins symbolized the history of the fur trade in Canada and were haunted by the role indigenous peoples in this important economic activity. They were also haunted by the assimilation policies developed in Canada. As Avery Gordon and Jacques Derrida argue, ghostly hauntings are instances when something (like an image or an idea) is missing but not entirely invisible;³ in other words, a haunting draws attention to the existence of a "seething absence."⁴

The commemorative glassware sold by Petro Canada during the 1988 Calgary Olympics were also haunted, this time by the fact that the Lubicon Cree's continued survival as a distinct cultural group was threatened by commercial activity on their land. Meanwhile, the Vancouver Olympics emblem (a stylized inukshuk) and mascot commodities (inspired by legends of West Coast First Nations) were haunted by facts that complicated and/or contradicted official narratives about the nation. These facts include the idea that past colonialist policies and practices by the Canadian state left an inter-generational impact on Indigenous communities. The red and white mittens included in the Olympic clothing line produced by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) were haunted by the fact that European explorers had established a country on land already inhabited by Indigenous peoples. This type of haunting, I argue, makes it possible for Settler

² See: Catherine Carstairs, "Roots Nationalism: Branding English Canada Cool in the 1980s and 1990s," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 39, no. 77 (2006): 235-255; Patricia Cormack, and James Cosgrave, *Desiring Canada: CBC, Contests, Hockey Violence, and Other Stately Pleasures* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013); Steven Jackson, "Globalization, Corporate Nationalism and Masculinity in Canada: Sport, Molson Beer Advertising and Consumer Citizenship," *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics* 17, no. 7 (2014): 901-916; Gregory Millard, Sarah Riegel, and John Wright, "Here's where we get Canadian: English-Canadian nationalism and popular culture," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 1 (2002): 11-34; Ira Wagman, "Wheat, Barley, Hops, Citizenship: Molson's 'I Am [Canadian]' Campaign," *The Velvet Light Trap - A Critical Journal of Film and Television* Fall (2002): 77-89.

³ Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1997); Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. (Peggy Kamuf. New York: Routledge, 1993).

⁴ Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 21.

Canadians to avoid confronting select truths about the nation's colonial history and the ongoing injustices that Indigenous peoples face. As I demonstrate in Chapter Seven, meaningful reconciliation between Settler Canadians and Indigenous peoples is not possible if Settlers do not acknowledge these facts.

My dissertation also contributes to research on the commercialism of the Olympic Movement. While various scholars argue that Olympic-related commercial practices eclipse the political dimensions of the Games, I argue that, in Canada, they were mutually reinforcing.⁵ Marketing and branding campaigns in the Montreal and Calgary Olympics deepened pre-existing regional conflicts in Canada. For example, the design of the Montreal Olympic emblem drew attention to divisions between French- and English-Canada and commodities bearing the emblem served as visual reminders that these were primarily Quebec's Olympics. During the Calgary Olympics, 40 oil and gas companies, known collectively as Team Petroleum, sponsored the Olympics. These corporate sponsorships complemented city and region branding practices in the Games, which highlighted Alberta's frontier history and booming oil and gas industry. The impression given in the Games was that, although the federal government had tried recently to assert greater control over Alberta's natural resources, the province had ultimately retained principal sovereignty over its oil and gas reserves. Moreover, many Canadians earned the privilege of citizenship by participating in the torch relay, either as spectators or torchbearers. This argument relies on Margaret Somers' claim that, under market

⁵ See: Robert Barney, Scott Wenn, and Scott Martyn. *Selling the Five Rings: The International Olympic committee and the Rise of Olympic Commercialism*, (Utah: University of Utah Press, 2002); Andrew Billings, *Olympic Media: Inside the biggest Show on Television*, (New York: Routledge, 2008); Helen Lenskyj, "Gay Games or Gay Olympics? Corporate Sponsorship issues," in *Global Sport Sponsorship*, ed. John Amis and T. Bettina Cornwell (New York: Berg, 2005): 281-296; Joseph Maguire, Sarah Barnard, Katie Bulter, and Peter Golding, "'Celebrate humanity' or 'consumers'?: A critical evaluation of a brand in motion," *Social Identities* 41, no. 1 (2008): 63-76 ; Momin Rahman, and Sean Lockwood. "How to 'use your Olympian': the paradox of athletic authenticity and commercialization in contemporary Olympic Games," *Sociology* 45, no. 5 (2011): 815-829; Maurice Roche, *Mega-Events and Modernity: Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture*, (London: Routledge, 2000); Alan Tomlinson, "The Commercialisation of the Olympics: Cities, Corporations, and the Olympic Commodity," in *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games*, ed. Kevin Young and Kevin Wamsley (Boston: Elsevier Jai, 2005): 179-200; and Gary Whannel, "The Five Rings and the Small Screen: Television, Sponsorship and New Media in the Olympic Movement," in *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games*, ed. Kevin Young and Kevin Wamsley (Bingley: Emerald JAI, 2007): 161-178.

fundamentalism, the “government’s relationship with its citizenry changes from noncontractualism to contractual quid pro quo market exchange.”⁶

The example of Team Petroleum also highlights how Olympic-related commercial practices became implicated in struggles involving land and natural resources in Canada, often at the expense of Indigenous peoples’ interests. Many of the same petroleum companies that sponsored the Calgary Games were active in Northern Alberta, including on the Lubicon Cree’s land. The Lubicon boycotted the Calgary Games to draw attention to the devastating impact that oil and gas extraction practices were having on their community and traditional ways of life. Their protest highlighted the human cost of petroleum companies’ commoditization of the land. Additionally, the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics were held on the territory of the Lil’wat, Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh Nations, known collectively as the Four Host First Nations (FHFN). They helped Vancouver win its Olympic bid and were the first Indigenous group to officially partner with an Olympic Games organizing committee. This partnership added value to the Games’ international and domestic corporate sponsorship programs. The FHFN’s involvement in the Vancouver Olympics also benefitted the B.C. government by helping it manage the threat that Indigenous land claims posed to the provincial economy. Few First Nations in B.C. have signed treaties with the Crown and, beginning in the 1990s, many began to assert their jurisdiction over the province’s natural resources. Companies became concerned that the government would not be able to protect their investments in the province’s resource sectors; the FHFN’s involvement in the Vancouver Olympics was part of a broader strategy and set of practices aimed at restoring economic certainty to B.C.

My dissertation contributes to studies of branded nationalism and the commercialism of the Olympic Movement by identifying the socio-economic factors that made the intersection of commercialism and nationalism possible. I show that organizers of the Montreal Olympics fundraised for the Games by selling commodities containing symbols of French-Canadian identity. Consumers were told that they could support the Games by

⁶ Somers, *Genealogies of Citizenship*, 87.

purchasing Olympic coins and stamps. However, sales fell far below expectations in part because, in the 1970s, Canadians were unfamiliar with cause-related marketing campaigns. Additionally, many people believed that the 1976 Olympics were Quebec's Games, not Canada's. In contrast to the Montreal Games, the 1988 Calgary Winter Olympics were a profitable endeavour. Organizers ran the Games in accordance with market fundamentalism, a comprehensive worldview and political movement governed by the belief that market capitalism exists in a natural state outside the realm of politics and government and, as such, should not be heavily regulated.⁷ Additionally, consumer goods from the Calgary Games, especially commemorative Petro Canada glassware, sold very well and helped raise money for Canadian athletes. Similarly, the red and white mittens sold by HBC during the Vancouver Olympics were popular consumer items that symbolized Canadians' national pride. People who bought and wore these mittens earned the privilege of becoming full-fledged citizens.

Adding to scholarship on Indigenous peoples' involvement in, and opposition to, the Olympics in Canada, I consider how anti-Olympic campaigns drew attention to the competing ideas about the nation that were embedded within Olympic objects.⁸ The Lubicon's boycott of the Calgary Olympics highlighted their plight, while the "No Olympics on Stolen Land" campaign in Vancouver made Canada's colonial history

⁷ Margaret Somers, *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to have Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 73.

⁸ See: Janice Forsyth, "Tee-pees and Tomahawks: Aboriginal Cultural Representation at the 1976 Olympic Games," in *The Global Nexus Engaged: Sixth International Symposium for Olympic Research*, eds. Robert Barney, Kevin Wamsley and Scott Martyn, (London: Centre for Olympic Studies, 2002), 71-76; Janice Forsyth, and Kevin Wamsley, "Symbols without substance: Aboriginal peoples and the illusion of Olympic ceremonies," in *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games*, eds. Kevin Young and Kevin Wamsley (Oxford: Elsevier Press, 2005), 227-248; Christine O'Bonsawin, "Indigenous Peoples and Canadian-Hosted Olympic Games", in *Aboriginal Peoples & Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Challenges*, eds. Janice Forsyth and Audrey Giles (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 35-63; Christine O'Bonsawin, "No Olympics on Stolen Native Land': Contesting Olympic narratives and asserting Indigenous rights," *Sport in Society* 13, no. 1 (2010) 143-156; Christine O'Bonsawin, "The conundrum of Ilanaaq: First Nations representation and the 2010 Vancouver Olympics," in *Cultural Imperialism in Action: Critiques in the Global Olympic Trust: Eighth International Symposium for Olympic Research*, eds. Nigel Crowther, Robert Barney and Michael Heine, (London: International Centre for Olympic Studies, 2006), 387-394; Kevin Wamsley, and Mike Heine, "'Don't mess with the relay - it's bad medicine': Aboriginal culture and the 1988 Winter Olympics," in *Olympic Perspectives: Third International Symposium for Olympic Research*, ed. Robert Barney (London: Centre for Olympic Studies, 1996), 173-178.

difficult to ignore. Anti-Olympic campaigners also made land rights and questions around jurisdiction over natural resources key issues in 1988 and 2010. These activists undermined the coherency of the ideas about Settler society that were promoted through the Olympics and represented by commodities. On a related note, protestors turned Olympic commodities into uncanny, unrecognizable symbols of Canada. As Freud famously noted, the uncanny emerges when something familiar becomes unfamiliar.⁹

Jim McKay has written about the stark difference between the “defiant fists” of Tommie Smith and John Carlos, who gave black power salute at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics, and the “loyal corporate bodies” of the 1992 Barcelona Games.¹⁰ At the latter, Nike-sponsored basketball players used the American flag to cover the Reebok logo on their uniforms.¹¹ This study has examined both defiant gestures of protest and instances of compliant, branded bodies related to the Olympic Games in Canada. In 2010, anti-Olympic protestors on Vancouver streets provided stark contrasts to the bodies of Olympic supporters wearing red and white HBC mittens to show their national pride. Protestors drew attention to the fact that supporters’ bodies were marked by “impassioned objects” which were haunted by “seething absences”¹² and made it impossible to completely ignore these absences.

Put another way, anti-Olympic protests added to broader efforts aimed at reckoning with the ghosts that haunt Settler colonial Canada. What is at stake in such a reckoning is the success of efforts to restructure the relationship between Indigenous peoples and Settler Canadians through practices like honouring Indigenous peoples’ land rights and respecting their sovereignty rights. Thus, the political costs of defining Canadian identity and creating social inclusion through consumer culture include cementing the authority of the Settler state and preventing the kinds of social change necessary to address

⁹ Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, trans. David McLintock (London: Penguin Books, 1953), 132.

¹⁰ Jim McKay, “Enlightened Racism and Celebrity Feminism in Contemporary Sports Advertising Discourse,” in *Sport, Culture and Advertising: Identities, Commodities and the Politics of Representation* eds. Steven Jackson and David Andrews (London: Routledge, 2005), 95.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² McLintock, *Imperial Leather*, 184; Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 21.

contemporary inequalities within Canadian society. Instead of using commodities and consumption as a way of understanding their national identity, Settler Canadians can take the opportunity afforded by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada to listen to Indigenous peoples testify about their experience in residential schools.¹³

Settlers can also learn about the resiliency of survivors, many of whom resisted the state's assimilationist agenda. As Paulette Regan argues, Settlers should act on the moral and ethical obligation to "own the residential school history and legacy" in Canada¹⁴ and recognize that such history "cannot be addressed in isolation from Indigenous people's political struggle to live as self-determining, self-sufficient, healthy communities in accordance with their own customs, laws, and connections to the land."¹⁵

As an example of unofficial commemorative acts that "restored" history, Regan describes commemorative marches held in Minnesota beginning in 2002. These marches remembered and honoured Dakota people who were forcibly relocated from their homelands in 1862. Some Settlers participated in the march as allies while others were sympathetic observers.¹⁶ Applying this example to a Canadian context illustrates that, instead of defining and enhancing their national identity through consumption, Settler Canadians can become actively involved in civil society. As Somers convincingly argues, civil society "is central to the balance of power in the triadic configuration of state, civil society and market."¹⁷ In Canada, Settlers can participate in civil society by doing things like collaborating with Indigenous peoples to raise awareness about the high number of missing and murdered Indigenous women in the country and participating in protest movements like the Idle No More Movement. Other activities include volunteering for a local representative, writing letters to the editors, and becoming involved in artistic and cultural events in their community.

¹³ See: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Website. <http://www.trc.ca>.

¹⁴ Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), 43.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 78-79.

¹⁷ Somers, *Genealogies of Citizenship*, 31.

Many works of art being produced in Canada reckon with the ghosts that haunt the nation and are valuable counterpoints to the haunted, fetish objects I discuss in my research. Margaret Francis provides trenchant examples of Indigenous artists whose work engages with the ghosts of the national imaginary, engendering “a different kind of remembering.”¹⁸ She describes a series of photographs from Jeff Thomas showing his son, Bear, in front of contemporary historical artifacts (like statues of early Canadian Settlers). Francis argues that this work invites viewers to consider how markers of racialized identity are inseparable from the historical images that “ghost them.”¹⁹ Similarly, a series of paintings by Kent Monkman, called the Moral Landscape, draws on and subverts the norms of landscape painting and highlight how such paintings have traditionally been used to promote Settlers’ entitlement to the land.²⁰ Like Monkman’s paintings, my research refutes the “empty lands” myth and exposes stories, events, and information that haunt the nation.

¹⁸ Margot Francis. *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 127.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 144.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 153.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archival Material

XV Olympic Winter Games Inventories. City of Calgary Archives, Calgary, AB.

British Empire and Commonwealth Games Vancouver Committee Fonds (AM172). City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver, B.C.

Commonwealth Games Fonds (RG-78). City of Edmonton Archives, Edmonton, AB.

Fonds Comité organisateur des Jeux Olympiques de 1976 (E46). Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec, Montreal, QC.

Pamphlet Collection (AM 1519). City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver, B.C.

Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation Fonds (AM1581). City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver, B.C.

Victoria Commonwealth Games Society Fonds (PR 74). City of Victoria Archives, Victoria, B.C.

Newspapers and On-line News Sources

Canada.com

Globe and Mail

Huffington Post Canada

Macleans

New York Times

Toronto Life

Toronto Star

Secondary Sources

Books, Reports and Legal Proceedings

XV Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee. *XV Olympic Winter Games: Official Report*. Calgary: Calgary Olympic Development Association, 1988.

Amnesty International. *Canada: 20 Years' Denial of Recommendations Made by the United Nations Human Rights Committee and the Continuing Impact on the Lubicon Cree*. London: Amnesty International Publications, 2010.

<http://www.amnesty.ca/sites/default/files/2010-03-17amr200032010en20yearsdeniallubicon.pdf>

Auf der Mar, Nick. *The Billion Dollar Game: Jean Drapeau and the 1976 Olympics*. Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1976.

British Empire and Commonwealth Games Society. *Official Souvenir Book and Programme of Events of the 1954 Vancouver British Empire and Commonwealth Games*. Vancouver: British Empire and Commonwealth Games Canada Society, 1954.

British Columbia. Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation. *New Relationships with Aboriginal People and Communities in B.C.: Measuring Outcomes, 2011-2012*. Victoria: Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, 2012. http://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/people/aboriginal-peoples/aboriginal-peoples-documents/measuring_outcomes_-_2011-2012_final.pdf

-----, *New Relationships with Aboriginal People and Communities in British Columbia, Annual report on progress 2009-2010*. Victoria: Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, 2010. <http://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/governments/aboriginal-people/progress-reporting#newrelationship>.

-----, *New Relationships with Aboriginal People and Communities in B.C.* Victoria: Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, 2008. http://www.gov.bc.ca/arr/reports/down/2007-08%20FINAL_NewRelationships.pdf

-----, *The New Relationship: Aboriginal People and the Government of British Columbia: Building a healthy and prosperous future together*. Victoria: Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation. http://www.sfu.ca/~palys/new_relationship_brochure.pdf

Canada. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*. Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996. <http://hdl.handle.net/1974/6874>

-----, *Highlights from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: People to People, Nation to Nation*. Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996. <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014597/1100100014637>

Canada. Statement of Apology. Ottawa, 2008. <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100015644/1100100015649>.

Canada. Statistics Canada. "Aboriginal Languages in Canada." Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2014. http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/98-314-x/98-314-x2011003_3-eng.cfm

-----, Stéphanie Langlois and Annie Turner. "Aboriginal Languages and Selected Vitality Indicators in 2011." Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2014. http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/98-314-x/98-314-x2011003_3-eng.cfm;

- Canada. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015. <http://www.trc.ca>
- , *Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and Residential Schools: They Came for the Children*. Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012. http://www.myrobust.com/websites/trcinstitution/File/2039_T&R_eng_web%5B1%5D.pdf
- Chief Bernard Ominayak and the Lubicon Lake Band vs. Canada (Communication No. 167/1984)
- Comité d'Organisation des Jeux Olympique. *The Official Report of the XXIst Olympiad Montréal 1976*. Ottawa: Comité d'Organisation des Jeux Olympique, 1978.
- Fulton, John. "Fulton Report (1986)." *Native Studies Review* 4, no. 1&2 (1988): 181-201.
- Hobson, Alan. *Share the flame: the official retrospective book of the Olympic torch relay*. Vancouver: Murray/Love Productions, 1998.
- Howell, Paul Charles. *The Montreal Olympics: An Insider's View of Organizing a Self-Financing Games*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009.
- International Olympic Committee. Sport and Environment Commission. *Agenda 21: Sport for Sustainable Development*. Rio de Janeiro: International Olympic Committee, 1999. http://www.olympic.org/Documents/Reports/EN/en_report_300.pdf
- , Marketing Department. *Marketing Report Vancouver 2010*. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2010.
- King, Frank W. *It's How You Play the Game: The Inside Story of the Calgary Olympics*. Calgary: Script: the writers' group, 1991.
- Murphy, Michael. *Miga, Quatchi and/et Sumi: The Story of the Vancouver 2010 Mascots/L'Histoire des Mascottes de Vancouver*. Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 2008.
- Ominayak et al. v. Norcen energy, Alberta Court of Appeal, 1985. <http://www.canlii.org/en/>
- United Nations Human Rights Council, 27th session. *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous peoples, James Anaya, on the situation of Indigenous peoples in Canada (A/HRC/27/52/Add.2)*. July 4, 2014.
- United Nations Human Rights Committee, *Lubicon Lake Band v. Canada*, (Communication No. 167/1984). March 26, 1990.
- Vancouver Bid Corporation. *The Sea to Sky Games: Vancouver 2010 Candidate City Bid Book*. Vancouver: Vancouver Bid Corporation, 2003.
- Victoria Commonwealth Games Society. *Official Souvenir Magazine of the XV Commonwealth Games/ Le Magazine Officiel Des XV Jeux du Commonwealth*. Victoria: Victoria Commonwealth Games Society, 1994.

Vancouver Organizing Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games. *Vancouver 2010: Bid Report*. Vancouver: Vancouver Organizing Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games, November 2009.

-----. *Vancouver 2010: Staging the Olympic Winter Games Knowledge Report*. Vancouver: Vancouver Organizing Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games, September 2010.

-----. *Vancouver 2010: Sustainability Report 2009-10*. Vancouver: Vancouver Organizing Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games, 2010.

Weiler, Joseph and Mohan, Arun. Catalyst, Collaborator, Connector: The Social Innovation Model of 2010 Legacies Now – Case Study. 2009.
http://www.2010andbeyond.ca/media/pdf/Catalyst_Collaborator_Connector_The_Social_Innovation_Model_of_2010_Legacies_Now.pdf

Worrall, James. *My Olympic Journey: Sixty Years with Canadian Sport and the Olympic Games*. Canadian Olympic Association, 2000.

On-Line Resources

“2010 Olympic Glassware.” Petro Canada advertisement. *YouTube*.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4yx7aXrcKr0&list=PLWMRezgdS5q50fZzQU2_uM82ltVSbJdx4.

“2014 Recipient: David R. Podmore – Vancouver.” *Order of British Columbia*.
<https://www.orderofbc.gov.bc.ca/2014-recipient-david-r-podmore-vancouver/>

“About Us.” *Spirit Works*. <http://www.authenticaboriginalproducts.ca/>

“As Red Mittens Fly off Shelves.” *Canadian Olympic Committee*.
<http://olympic.ca/2009/12/21/as-red-mittens-fly-off-shelves-olympic-spirit-builds/>

“Athletes CAN – Supporting the Voices of 2010 and Beyond.” *Canadian Olympic Committee*. Nov. 19, 2009. <http://olympic.ca/2009/11/19/athletescan-supporting-the-voices-of-2010-and-beyond/>

“Cause Merchandise Program.” *Kohl’s*.
<http://www.kohlscorporation.com/communityrelations/Community02.htm>

“Case Study: Brand Development and the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Winter Games.” *Canadian Olympic School Program*. www.olympicschool.ca.

“Hudson’s Bay: Official Outfitter.” *Canadian Olympic Committee*.
<http://olympic.ca/partners/hudsons-bay/hudsons-bay-official-outfitter/>

“I Am Canadian.” Molson Canadian advertisement. *YouTube*.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BRI-A3vakVg>

“Olympic Torch Relay Launch,” Petro Canada advertisement. *YouTube*.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BqzO9zhfWDQ>

“Olympic Torch Relay Legacy Fund.” Petro Canada advertisement. *YouTube*.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TcO-rda-qj0>

- “Our History: The HBC Point Blanket.” *Hudson’s Bay Company*.
<http://www2.hbc.com/hbcheritage/history/blanket/history/>
- “Project Pack, Social Studies, Geography & Language, Destination: Vancouver Whistler.” *Canadian Olympic School Program*. www.olympicschool.ca
- “Share the Flame.” Petro Canada advertisement. *YouTube*.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zOANKlwdJyk>
- “Share the Flame (version #2).” Petro Canada advertisement. *YouTube*.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T6kcgZMKGVg>.
- “Sorry.” Nike advertisement. *YouTube*.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aPPF46ASRoM>
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Website. <http://www.trc.ca>
- “Vancouver 2010 Olympic Winter Games.” *Canada Post*. Jan. 12, 2010.
https://www.canadapost.ca/cpo/mc/personal/collecting/stamps/2010/2010_Olympic_Winter_Games.jsf
- “Vancouver 2010 Opening Ceremony.” Vancouver Organizing Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games.
YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MxZpUueDAvc>.
- “We Were Made for This.” Hudson’s Bay Company advertisement. *YouTube*.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dLsFkZKj63U>.
- “Who we are?” *Smithbilt Hats Inc*. www.smithbilthats.com

Theses and Dissertations

- Armenakyan, Anahit. “An International and Longitudinal Study of Mega-Event and Country Images: Attitude Formation and Sense Making Concerning the XXI Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics.” PhD Dissertation, Carleton University, 2012.
- Dunn, Catharine Hilary. “Aboriginal Partnerships for Sustainable 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games: A Framework for Cooperation.” Master’s Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2007.
- Kirby, Jane. “Navigating Power and Privilege: Examining Activist Solidarity in Resistance to the 2010 Olympics.” Master’s Thesis, Dalhousie University, 2009.
- McDonald, Jeff. “Snowing on Public Discourse: Local Print Media and Vancouver’s 2010 Winter Olympics Bid.” Master’s Thesis, Royal Roads University, 2006.
- Orlowski, A. Margaret. “Communication, Protest, and the Right to City: Case of Vancouver 2010. Master’s Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2011.
- Ritchie, Leanne. “Social Media Enter the Stadium: A Case Study on the Political Economy of Media at the 2010 Winter Olympics.” Master’s Thesis, Royal Roads University, 2011.

Vadi, Priya. "Rights, Rituals, and Repercussions: Aboriginal Participation in the 2010 Olympic Games Planning Process." Master's Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2010.

Van Oosten, Marianne. "Canadian Pride During the Vancouver 2010 Olympics." Master's Thesis, Carleton, 2010.

Vukmirovich, Dalia. "Sex Trafficking Discourse and the 2010 Olympic Games." Master's Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2013.

Articles

Alfred, Gerald Taiaiake. "Colonialism and State Dependency." *Journal of Aboriginal Health* (November 2009): 42-60.

Aronczyk, Melissa. "'Living the Brand': Nationality, Globality and the Identity Strategies of Nation Branding Consultants." *International Journal of Communication*. 2 (2008): 41-65.

Belisle, Donica. "Toward a Canadian Consumer History." *Labour/Le Travail* 52 (2003): 181-206.

Belk, Russell W. "The Ineluctable Mysteries of Possessions." *Journal of Social Behaviour and Personality* 6, no. 6 (1991): 17-55.

Berkowitz, Pere, George Gjermano, Lee Gomez, and Gary Schafer. "Brand China: Using the 2008 Olympic Games to enhance China's image." *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*. 3 no. 2 (2007): 164-178.

Billig, Michael. "Commodity Fetishism and Repression: Reflections on Marx, Freud and the Psychology of Consumer Capitalism." *Theory & Psychology* 9, no. 3 (1999): 313-329.

Blackburn, Carole. "Differentiating Indigenous citizenship: Seeking multiplicity in rights, identity, and sovereignty in Canada." *American Ethnologist* 36, no. 1 (2009): 66-78.

----- . "Searching for Guarantees in the Midst of Uncertainty: Negotiating Aboriginal Rights and Title in British Columbia." *American Anthropologist* 107 no. 4 (2008): 586-596.

Cameron, Emilie. "Indigenous spectrality and the politics of postcolonial ghost stories." *Cultural Geographies* 15, no. 3 (2008): 383-393.

Campbell, Colin S. and Garry J. Smith. "Gambling in Canada - From Vice to Disease to Responsibility: A Negotiated History." *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 20, no. 1 (2003): 121-149.

Cariou, Warren. "Haunted Prairie: Aboriginal 'Ghosts' and the Spectres of Settlement." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2006): 727-735.

Carrier, James. "Protecting the environment the natural way: ethical consumption and commodity fetishism ." *Antipode* 42, no. 3 (2010): 672-689.

- Carstairs, Catherine. "Roots Nationalism: Branding English Canada Cool in the 1980s and 1990s." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 39, no. 77 (2006): 235-255.
- Case, Donald O. "Serial collecting as Leisure, and Coin Collecting in Particular." *Library Trends* 58, no. 4 (2009): 729-752.
- Child, Jack. "The Politics and Semiotics of the Smallest Icons of Popular Culture: Latin American Postage Stamps." *Latin American Research Review* 40, no. 1 (2005): 108-137.
- Cohen-Almagor, Raphael. "The Terrorists' Best Ally: The Quebec Media Coverage of the FLQ Crisis in 1970." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 2: 2000.
- Cormack, Patricia. "'True Stories' of Canada: Tim Hortons and the Branding of national Identity." *Cultural Sociology* 2 no.3 (2006): 235-255.
- Cuccioletta, Doland, and Martin Lubin. "The Quebec Quiet Revolution: A Noisy Evolution." *Québec Studies* 36, no. Fall 2003/ Winter 2004 (2004): 125-138.
- Dawson, Michael. "Acting Global, Thinking Local: 'Liquid Imperialism' and the Multiple Meanings of the 1954 British Empire & Commonwealth Games." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no. 1 (2006): 3-27.
- Dorrell, Matthew. "From Reconciliation to Reconciling: Reading What 'We Now Recognize' in the Government of Canada's 2008 Residential Schools Apology." *English Studies in Canada* 35 no. 1 (2009): 27-45.
- Elder, Catriona, Angela Pratt, and Cath Ellis. "Running race: Reconciliation, nationalism and the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 41, no. 2 (2006): 181-200.
- Gold, John and Margaret Gold. "'Bring it Under the Legacy Umbrella': Olympic Host Cities and the Changing Fortunes of the Sustainability Agenda." *Sustainability* 5 (2013): 3529-3530.
- Goldman, Marlene, and Joanne Saul. "Talking with goss: haunting in Canadian cultural production." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2006): 645-655.
- Harrison, Julia. "The Spirit Sings' and the Future of Anthropology." *Anthropology Today* 4, no. 6 (1988): 6-9.
- Henderson, Jennifer and Pauline Wakeham. "Colonial Reckoning, National Reconciliation?: Aboriginal Peoples and the Culture of Redress in Canada." *English Studies in Canada* 3,5 no. 1 (2009): 1-26.
- Jackson, Steven. "Globalization, Corporate Nationalism and Masculinity in Canada: Sport, Molson Beer Advertising and Consumer Citizenship." *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Meida, Politics* 17, no. 7 (2014): 901-916.
- "A Twist of Race: Ben Johnson and the Canadian Crisis of Racial and National Identity." *Sociology of Sport Journal*. 15 (1998): 21-40.
- Johnston, Josée. "The citizen-consumer hybrid: ideological tensions and the case of Whole Foods Market." *Theory and Society* 37 (2008): 229-270.

- Kalman-Lamb, Nathan. "'Portrait of This Country': Whiteness, Indigeneity, Multiculturalism and the Vancouver Opening Ceremonies." *Topia*. 27 (2012): 5-27.
- Kavaratzis, Michalis. "From city marketing to city branding: towards a theoretical framework for developing city brands." *Place Branding* 1 no.1 (2004): 58-73.
- Kidd, Bruce. "The Culture Wars of the Montreal Olympics." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 17, no. 2 (1992): 151-162.
- Kuehn, Kathleen. Compassionate "Consumption: Branding Africa Through Product RED." *Democratic Communiqué* 23, no. 2 (2009): 23-40.
- Lenskyj, Helen Jefferson. "When Winners are Losers: Toronto and Sydney Bids for the Summer Olympics." *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*. 24, Nov (1996): 392-410.
- Macintosh, Donald, and Donna Greenhorn. "Canadian Diplomacy and the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games." *Journal of Sport History* 19, no. 1 (1992): 26-55.
- Magdalinski, Tara. "'Cute, Loveable Characters': The Place and Significance of Mascots in the Olympic Movement." *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* 13 (2004): 75-92.
- Maguire, Joseph, Sarah Barnard, Katie Bulter, and Peter Golding. "'Celebrate humanity' or 'consumers'?: A critical evaluation of a brand in motion." *Social Identities* 41, no. 1 (2008): 63-76.
- Mallon, Bill. "The Olympic Bribery Scandal." *Journal of Olympic History*. May 2000: 11-27.
- Martin, Keavy. "Truth, Reconciliation, and Amnesia: Porcupines and China Dolls and the Canadian Conscience." *English Studies in Canada* 35 no. 1 (2009): 47-65.
- Millard, Gregory, Sarah Riegel, and John Wright. "Here's where we get Canadian: English-Canadian nationalism and popular culture." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 1 (2002): 11-34.
- O'Bonsawin, Christine. "'No Olympics on Stolen Native Land': Contesting Olympic narratives and asserting Indigenous rights." *Sport in Society* 13, no. 1 (2010): 143-156.
- Rahman, Momin, and Sean Lockwood. "How to 'use your Olympian': the paradox of athletic authenticity and commercialization in contemporary Olympic Games." *Sociology* 45, no. 5 (2011): 815-829.
- Robidoux, Michael A. "Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport: A Historical Interpretation of Lacrosse and Hockey ." *Journal of American Folklore* 115, no. 456 (2002): 209-225.
- Rosenberg, Sharon, Amber Dean, and Kara Granzow. "Centennial hauntings: Reckoning with the 2005 celebration of Alberta's history." *Memory Studies* 3, no. 4 (2010): 395-412.

- Roult, Romain, and Sylvain Lefebvre. "Planning and Reconversion of Olympic Heritages: The Montreal Olympic Stadium." *International Journal of the History of Sport* 27, no. 16-18 (2010): 2731-2747.
- Schudson, Michael. "The Troubling Equivalence of Citizen and Consumer." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 608 (2006): 193-204.
- Shaw, Deirdre, Terry Newholm, and Roger Dickinson. "Consumption as voting: an exploration of consumer empowerment." *European Journal of Marketing* 40, no. 9/10 (2006): 1049-1067.
- Simon, Bryant. "Not going to Starbucks: Boycotts and the out-scouring of politics in the branded world." *Journal of Consumer Culture* 11, no. 2 (2011): 145-167.
- Smith, Garry J. "Sucker Bet or Sure Thing: A Critical Analysis of Sports Lotteries." *Journal of Gambling Studies*, 8 no. 4 (1992): 331-349.
- Stole, Inger. "Philanthropy as Public Relations: A Critical Perspective on Cause Marketing." *Journal of Communication* 2 (2008): 20-40.
- Stratton, Jon. "Non-citizens in the exclusionary state: Citizenship, mitigated exclusion, and the Cronulla riots." *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural studies* 25, no. 3 (2011): 299-316.
- Trentman, Frank. "Introduction: Citizenship and Consumption." *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 7, no. 2 (2007): 147-158.
- Van Kirk, Sylvia. "From 'Marrying-in' to 'Marrying Out': Changing patterns of Aboriginal/Non-Aboriginal Marriage in Colonial Canada." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 23, no. 3 (2002): 1-11.
- van Wagenen, Amy. "An epistemology of haunting: a review essay." *Critical Sociology* 30, no. 2 (2004): 287-298.
- Wagman, Ira. "Wheat, Barley, Hops, Citizenship: Molson's 'I Am [Canadian]' Campaign." *The Velvet Light Trap - A Critical Journal of Film and Television* Fall (2002): 77-89.
- Wamsley, Kevin and Michael T. Heine. "Tradition, Modernity, and the Construction of Civic Identity: The Calgary Olympics." *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* V (1996): 81-90.
- Whitson, David. "Olympic Hosting in Canada: Promotional Ambitions, Political Changes." *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies*, 14 (2005): 29-46.
- , and Donald Macintosh. "The Global Circus: International Sport, Tourism and the Marketing of Cities." *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 23 (1996): 278-295.
- Woolford, Andrew. "Negotiating Affirmative Repair: Symbolic Violence in the British Columbia Treaty Process." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 29, no. 1 (2004): 111-144.
- Zhang Li and Simon Ziaobin Zhao. "City Branding and the Olympic effect: A case study of Beijing." *Cities*, 26 (2009): 245-254.

Books and Book Chapters

- Adams, Mary Louise. "The Game of whose Lives? Gender, Race and Entitlement in Canada's 'National' Game." In *Artificial Ice: Hockey, Culture and Commerce*, edited by David Whitson and Richard Gruneau, 71-84. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2006.
- Alfred, Taiiaike. *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2005.
- Anholt, Simon. *Competitive identity: The new brand management for nations, cities and regions*. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007.
- Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1996.
- Barney, Robert, Scott Wenn, and Scott Martyn. *Selling the Five Rings: The International Olympic committee and the Rise of Olympic Commercialism*. Utah: University of Utah Press, 2002.
- Battiste, Marie and Helen Semaganis. "First Thoughts on First Nations Citizenship: Issues in Education." In *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*, edited by Yvonne M. Hébert, 93-111. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- Belisle, Donica. *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.
- Belk, Russell W. "Collectors and Collecting." In *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. Edited by Susan M. Pearce., 317-326. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Billings, Andrew. *Olympic Media: Inside the biggest Show on Television*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Bociurkiw, Marusya. *Feeling Canadian: Television, Nationalism, and Affect*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011.
- Bothwell, Robert. *Canada and Quebec: One Country, Two Histories*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995.
- Boykoff, Jules. *Celebration Capitalism and the Olympic Games*. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Brown, Graham, Laurence Chalip, Leo Jago, and Trevor Mules. "Developing Brand Australia: examining the role of events." In *Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition*, second edition, edited by Nigel Morgan, Annette Pritchard and Roger Pride, 163-186. Oxford: Elsevier, Butterworth-Heinemann, 2004.
- Bryant, John. "Stamp and Coin Collecting." In *Handbook of American Popular Culture*, edited by M. Thomas Inge, 1329-1365. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1989.
- Bryant, John. "Stamp and Coin Collecting." In *Handbook of American Popular Culture*, edited by M. Thomas Inge, 1329-1365. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1989.

- Campbell, Colin S. "Canadian Gambling Policies." In *Casino state: legalized gambling in Canada*, edited by Thomas R. Klassen and James F. Cosgrave, 69-90. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- "Charity Gambling in Western Canada." In *Gambling: Public Policies and the Social Sciences*, edited by William R. Eadington and Judy A. Cornelius, 151-160. Reno: Institute for the Study of Gambling and Commercial Gaming, 1997.
- "Under the Halo of Good Causes." In *Gambling: Public Policies and the Social Sciences*, edited by William R. Eadington and Judy A. Cornelius, 607-620. Reno: Institute for the Study of Gambling and Commercial Gaming, 1997.
- Chastko, Paul. *Developing Alberta's oil sands: from Karl Clark to Kyoto*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004.
- Cohen, Lizabeth. *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*. New York: Vintage Books, 2003.
- Cormack, Patricia. "Double-Double: Branding, Tim Hortons, and the Public Sphere." In *Political Marketing in Canada*, edited by Alex Marchand, Thierry Giasson and Jennifer Lees-Marshment, 209-223. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.
- , and James Cosgrave. *Desiring Canada: CBC, Contests, Hockey Violence, and Other Stately Pleasures*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.
- Creighton, Donald. *The Forked Road: Canada 1939-1957*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.
- Crelinsten, Ron. "Power and Meaning: Terrorism as a Struggle over Access to the Communication Structure." In *Contemporary Research on Terrorism*, edited by Paul Wilkinson and Alasdair M Stewart, 424-438. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987.
- D'Acci, Julie. "Cultural Studies, Television Studies, and the Crisis in the Humanities." In *Television After TV: Essays on a Medium in Transition*, edited by Lynn Spiegel and Jan Olsson, 417-450. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, translated by Peggy Kamuf. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Devitt, Mark. "Olympic Education: Gold Medal for Propaganda?" In *Problems, Possibilities, Promising Practices: Eleventh International Symposium for Olympic Research*, 51-56. London: Centre for Olympic Studies, 2012.
- Drees, Laurie Maier. "White Paper/Red Paper: Aboriginal Contributions to Canadian Politics and Government." In *Hidden in Plain Sight: Contributions of Aboriginal Peoples to Canadian Identity and Culture*, vol. 2, edited by Cora J. Voyageur, David R. Newhouse and Dan Beavon, 282-299. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Fisher, Donald M. *Lacrosse: A History of the Game*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

- Francis, Margot. *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.
- Forsyth, Janice. "Tee-pees and Tomahawks: Aboriginal Cultural Representation at the 1976 Olympic Games." In *The Global Nexus Engaged: Sixth International Symposium for Olympic Research* edited by Robert Barney, Kevin Wamsley and Scott Martyn, 71-76. London: Centre for Olympic Studies, 2002.
- , and Kevin Wamsley. "Symbols without substance: Aboriginal peoples and the illusion of Olympic ceremonies." In *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games*, edited by Kevin Young and Kevin Wamsley, 227-248. Oxford: Elsevier Press, 2005.
- Fossum, John Erik. *Oil, the State, and Federalism: The Rise and Demise of Petro-Canada as a Statist Impulse*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Freud, Sigmund. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. XXI, edited and translated by James Strachey. London: The Hogarth Press, 1953.
- , *The Uncanny*, translated by David McLintock. London: Penguin Books, 1953.
- Goddard, John. *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd, 1991.
- Godlewska, Christina and Jeremy Weber. "The Calder Decision, Aboriginal Title, Treaties, and the Nisga'a." In *Let Right Be Done: Aboriginal Title, the Calder Case, and the Future of Indigenous Rights*, edited by Hamar Foster, Heather Raven and Jeremy Webber, 1-36. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.
- Godwell, Darren J. "The Olympic Branding of Aborigines: The 2000 Olympic Games and Australia's Indigenous Peoples." In *The Olympics at the Millennium: Power, Politics and the Games*, edited by Kay Schaffer and Sidonie Smith, 243-257. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000.
- Gordon, Avery. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1997.
- Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Hastings, Paula. "Branding Canada: Consumer Culture and the Development of Popular Nationalism in the Early Twentieth Century." In *Canadas of the Mind: The Making and Unmaking of Canadian nationalisms in the twentieth Century*, edited by Norman Hillmer and Adam Chapnick, 134-158. Montreal: Press, McGill-Queen's University, 2007.
- Heinrich, Michael. *An Introduction to the Three Volumes of Karl Marx's Capital*, translated by Alexander Locascio. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2012.
- Henderson, Jennifer and Pauline Wakeham. "Introduction." In *Reconciling Canada: Critical Perspectives on the Culture of Redress*, edited by Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham, 3-30. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Herber, Wesley, R. "Aboriginal People and the Fur Trade." In *Hidden in Plain Sight: Contributions of Aboriginal Peoples to Canadian Identity and Culture*, volume 2, edited by Cora J. Voyageur, David R. Newhouse and Dan Beavon, 15-31. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Jancequicz, Bill. "Related-Language Translation: Naskapi and East Cree." In *Born in the Blood: On Native American Translation*, edited by Brian Swann, 109-137. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011.
- Jhally, Sut. *The Codes of Advertising: Fetishism and the Political Economy of Meaning in the Consumer Society*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- King, *Pink Ribbons, Inc.: Breast Cancer and the Politics of Philanthropy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
- Latouche, Daniel. "Montreal 1976." In *Olympic Cities: City Agendas, Planning, and the World's Games, 1896-2016*, vol. 2, edited by John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, 247-267. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Lenskyj, Helen Jefferson. "Gay Games or Gay Olympics? Corporate Sponsorship issues." In *Global Sport Sponsorship*, edited by John Amis and T. Bettina Cornwell, 281-296. New York: Berg, 2005.
- Mackey, Eva. "The Apologizers' Apology." In *Reconciling Canada: Critical Perspectives on the Culture of Redress*, edited by Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham, 47-62. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.
- Madrigal, Robert, Coleen Bee, and Monica LaBarge. "Using the Olympics and FIFA World Cup to Enhance Global Brand Equity: A Case Study of Two Companies in the Payment Services Category." In *Global Sport Sponsorship*, edited by John Amis and T. Bettina Cornwell, 179-191. New York: Berg, 2005.
- Magdalinski, Tara, and John Nauright. "Commercialisation of the Modern Olympics." In *The Commercialisation of Sport*, edited by Trevor Slack, 180-200. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Martin-Hill, Dawn. *The Lubicon Lake Nation: Indigenous Knowledge and Power*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- Marx, Karl. *Capital Volume One*, translated by Ben Fowkes. New York: Vintage Books, 1977.
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- McKay, Jim. "Enlightened Racism and Celebrity Feminism in Contemporary Sports Advertising Discourse." In *Sport, Culture and Advertising: Identities, Commodities and the Politics of Representation*, edited by Steven Jackson and David Andrews, 81-99. London: Routledge, 2005.
- McKee, Christopher. *Treaty Talks in British Columbia: Building a New Relationship*, vol 2. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000.
- McKenna, Brian, and Susan Purcell. *Drapeau*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1980.

- Miller, J.R. *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.
- Mills, Sean. *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.
- Newman, Peter C. *Company of Adventurers: How the Hudson's Bay Empire Determined the Destiny of a Continent*. Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2005.
- O'Bonsawin, Christine. "Indigenous Peoples and Canadian-Hosted Olympic Games." In *Aboriginal Peoples & Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Challenges*, edited by Janice Forsyth and Audrey Giles, 35-63. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013.
- , "The conundrum of Ilanaaq: First Nations representation and the 2010 Vancouver Olympics." In *Cultural Imperialism in Action: Critiques in the Global Olympic Trust: Eighth International Symposium for Olympic Research*, edited by Nigel Crowther, Robert Barney and Michael Heine, 387-394. London: International Centre for Olympic Studies, 2006.
- Penikett, Tony. *Reconciliation: First Nations Treaty Making in British Columbia*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2006.
- Pertusati, Linda. *In Defense of Mohawk Land: Ethnopolitical Conflict in Native North America*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997.
- Poulter, Gillian. "Snowshoeing and Lacrosse: Canada's Nineteenth-Century 'National Games'" in *Ethnicity, Sport, Identity: Struggles for Status*, edited by Andrew Ritchie, 235-258. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Prince, Michael and James Rice. *Governing through Shifting Social-Policy Regimes: Brian Mulroney and Canada's Welfare State*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007.
- Regan, Paulette. *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010.
- Roche, Maurice. *Mega-Events and Modernity: Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Rowe, David. *Sport, Culture and the Media Second Edition*. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2004.
- Rutherford, Paul. "Encounters with Theory." In *Communicating in Canada's Past: Essays in Media History*, edited by Gene Allen and Daniel J. Robinson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009:
- Silk, Michael and Andrews, David. "The spatial logics of global sponsorship: corporate capital, cola wars and cricket." In *Global Sport Sponsorship*, edited by John Amis and T. Bettina Cornwell, 67-88. Oxford: Berg, 2005.
- Somers, Margaret. *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to have Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

- Tomlinson, Alan. "The Commercialisation of the Olympics: Cities, Corporations, and the Olympic Commodity." In *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games*, edited by Kevin Young and Kevin Wamsley, 179-200. Boston: Elsevier Jai, 2005.
- Vernon, Caitlyn. "What New Relationship? Taking Responsibility for Justice and Sustainability in British Columbia." In *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous Relationships*, edited by Lynne Davis, 276-294. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.
- Wamsley, Kevin, and Mike Heine. "'Don't mess with the relay - it's bad medicine': Aboriginal culture and the 1988 Winter Olympics." In *Olympic Perspectives: Third International Symposium for Olympic Research*, edited by Robert Barney, 173-178. London: Centre for Olympic Studies, 1996.
- Whannel, Gary. "The Five Rings and the Small Screen: Television, Sponsorship and New Media in the Olympic Movement." In *Global Olympics: Historical and Sociological Studies of the Modern Games*, edited by Kevin Young and Kevin Wamsley, 161-178. Bingley: Emerald JAI, 2007.
- Wood, David G. *The Lougheed Legacy*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1985.

Curriculum Vitae

- Name:** Estee Fresco
- Degrees:** 2010 - 2015: Ph.D., Media Studies, Western University.
2007 - 2008: MSc, Media and Communications/Gender Studies, London School of Economics and Political Science.
2003 - 2007: Honours B.A. (High Distinction), English Major, University of Toronto, Trinity College.
- Awards:** 2013 - 2014: SSHRC Doctoral Canada Graduate Scholarship.
2013 - 2014: OGS Graduate Scholarship (Declined).
- Teaching:** 2012 – 2015: Lecturer, University of Western Ontario, Media, Information and Technoculture Program. Courses:
- “The History of Communication”
- “Sport, Media and Culture”
- “International Media and Social Change” (September 2015)
2015: Instructor, Ryerson University, Radio and Television Arts, Sport Media Program. Course:
- “Sport, Media and Practice” (Co-taught with Steven Ehrlich)
- Publications:** Fresco, Estee. “Review Essay: Television Studies in Canada: All Grown Up?” *Topia*. 33 (2015): 7-13.
Fresco, Estee. “Consuming Canada’s Colonial Past: Reconciliation and Corporate Sponsorship in the Vancouver 2010 Olympics.” *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies*. 21 (2012).