> them. I never thought we were co-operating very much though. I had a tough time ever seeing the minister or the deputy or anything when we had a problem or needed help. It was tough to get in the office. They don't really know the problems and maybe Dick sensed this, that the government wasn't working with us.

Another member of Sport Alberta described the situation this way:

> We wanted to meet with the government and the Sport Council to lay our plan on the table and say, 'This is what we want to do: we want to transfer all of our programs, services and we don't want to wipe Sport Alberta off of the books, but we want to provide our programs to an organization that has the resources, financial and human, to develop them to benefit amateur sport in general.' Stan Fisher would not meet with us; Julian Nowicki would not meet with us; Max Gibb would not meet with us; the minister and the board of directors of Sport Council wouldn't touch us . . . . So we got down to the level of Noni Heine and Jack Monaghan. Noni Heine at that time was the provincial association development section head and Jack Monaghan was and still is the technical manager. I went in to a meeting with those three on the 9th floor Standard Life Centre back in February 1986 and I laid it on the table for them and their reaction was one of shock that we were actually going to do this. And then that old mind-set came back that it was a setup, that we were acting and going to embarrass them. It was never verbalized, but the non-verbal reaction to the presentation was very evident that they were looking for an ulterior motive and they looked for the ulterior motive for four months before we got into the final transfer. Once they recognized the significance of the steps that Sport Alberta was taking, we then met with Julian Nowicki, Max Gibb, etc., etc. and we attempted to not only look after the program needs of Sport Alberta, but also some of the management and support staff needs.

A letter from Paul Conrad to the Sport Alberta board of directors indicates that by August 1986 the plan for transfer was nearing completion. All programs were to be completely transferred to the Alberta Sport Council by October 1986. In the letter Conrad noted:

> Overall there has been a concerted effort on both the Divisions [*sic*] and Sport Council's part to place greater responsibility for administration of support programs to the individual sport association. For the most part this is viewed as a progressive step, with the only concern being that the agency should recognize there will be as well be greater time spent by Associations administering their own affairs. All programs, other than the

> Alberta Sports Hall of Fame and Museum, will effectively be transferred on October 1, 1986 (P. Conrad, personal correspondence August 21, 1986 p.1).

According to a letter sent to Loomis Courier Service by Catherine Armour, "Sport Alberta ceased operations effective February 28, 1987." All programs except the Alberta Sports Hall of Fame had been transferred to the Alberta Sport Council. While the official operation of Sport Alberta had ceased in 1987, its name was kept alive by a small five-member board which continued to administer and raise funds for the Alberta Sports Hall of Fame. In 1990 it began final negotiations for the transfer of the Sports Hall of Fame to the Alberta Sport Council. Gwen Smith noted:

> The last thing that Sport Alberta passed on to the Council was the Hall of Fame. . . . We felt with no money it was logical to that Sport Council should have this program and that they were going to get lottery bucks so they could do big things for the Hall of Fame, but we really weren't sure how this would fly and we wanted to preserve this thing so we said we would keep things together and there is a three-year agreement that Sport Alberta struck with the Sport Council that if it didn't work out give it back to Sport Alberta and they would make the thing fly. I just met with Herb Mclaughlin about an hour ago, I should have asked him. I think that three-year thing is over now and it seems to be going well. . . . We're meeting next month for our annual meeting and I think we may well dissolve then. I think it's time.

In October, 1992, a public announcement of the official transfer of the Hall of Fame was made, pending the location of a permanent site for the Hall of Fame. The name "Sport Alberta" is still on the books of Alberta Corporate and Consumer Affairs so that it is protected from being used by other sports groups. This has been done because, as Gwen Smith put it:

> When the Sport Council came into being on April 1, '84, it would have been neat if they could have taken the name 'Sport Alberta,' . . . they [sport volunteers] can't seem to relate how this Alberta Sport Council and Sport Alberta fit. I mean, it is confusing to everybody, but I don't think there is any way [of] passing these programs over to Sport Council that we could dissolve Sport Alberta and give them the name. I don't know if that could have happened with the legislature . . . but I still feel that name Sport Alberta should be. Alberta Sport Council doesn't make sense?

Perhaps it would make sense to change the name, since this feeling is shared by other leaders in the sport community. Maybe one day this wish will be granted and the Alberta Sport Council will be known as Sport Alberta. This would make the abrogation or transformation complete, if not somewhat ironic, as the Alberta Sport Council would be given the name of the very institution that stood against its coming into being.

Analysis: The Role of Agency and Structure in the Entrenchment of Corporatism in Sport Development

The events described above illustrate that efforts to gain public status for the interests of sport development did not end with the creation of the Alberta Games Council. These efforts continued well into the 1980s and only ended once the Alberta Games Council had been transformed into the Alberta Sport Council and Sport Alberta's role as the representative of sport interests withered to nothing. The events which took place during this seven-year period of time were quite different from those which occurred over the course of the previous seven years. The outcomes of this time period cannot be interpreted as a means to solve a conflict between individuals, as was the case during the previous time period. Different individuals were involved and the government was acting in a very different social and economic context.

The process preceding the decision to create the Alberta Sport Council was very different from that which led to the creation of the Alberta Games Council. In the case of the Alberta Sport Council there was more public discussion about sport development and the needs of the sports community. Sport leaders, civil servants and politicians communicated regularly until a final course of action was accepted and implemented. Even so, as was the case during the previous seven-year period, activity focused on specifying the way in which sport interests would be defined, represented and addressed in the public domain.

The authority to sanction any system that would grant public status to sport interest representation rested in the hands of the provincial legislature. This

suggests that the public policy process was a fundamental component of the sports community's struggle to gain public status for sport interests. The analysis put forward in this section seeks to highlight the factors that effected the development of a sport policy that differed greatly from the proposals put forward by sport interest groups prior to and during the public policy process. In order to discover these factors, insights from theories of public policy were combined with insights revealed by using the three levels of analysis introduced in Chapter Four.

As in Chapter Four, the analysis in this chapter considers social actors, organizational factors and the social system. An analysis of the role played by key individuals identified by respondents is undertaken in conjunction with an analysis of organizational factors. In this analysis the factors which pertain to public policy-making are discussed. The analysis of organizational factors focuses primarily on the Alberta government because of its control and authority over the public policy process. Where appropriate, consideration is given to other organizations (i.e. Sport Alberta). The third level of analysis considers the social system in general in terms of social-structural pressures and influences that were identified as having some impact on the outcome of events.

(1) Key Actors

The data most relevant to this level of analysis came from interviews, archival documents and government publications. In examining this information the objective was to discover the factors that explain why the Progressive Conservative government was so committed to a sport delivery system that utilized a Crown corporation. Interviewees were asked to give their explanations of why the final policy which was approved and implemented differed so much from what was being discussed and put forward to government by the sport community. The responses of the interviewees focused primarily on the role of individuals and/or organizational factors. The two most frequently cited individuals were Peter Trynchy, the minister of Recreation and Parks, and his deputy minister, Barry Mitchelson.

Several individuals indicated that Trynchy contributed to the creation of the Alberta Sport Council by means of his ability to gain support from other MLAs and key members of the cabinet. Gary Tomick recalled, "none of this would have happened without the approval and the support and the workings of the minister in taking it through to cabinet." Trynchy also, as noted above, played an important role in encouraging and organizing sports groups to lobby for the changes to the lottery distribution formula that would ensure the money necessary to operate the council would be available. While most people spoke highly of Trynchy's political skills, they did not suggest that he had played a significant role in formulating or directing the development of the form that the Alberta Sport Council would take.

Barry Mitchelson was consistently identified as the person who exerted the most influence over the council's formation. During an interview, Paul Conrad commented:

> During my two-and-a-half year stay with them [Sport Alberta] I met with everybody from the deputy minister down in regard to the future of Sport Alberta and, while the provincial government never came out and said it, I believe Barry did in a meeting that I had with him that they just wanted Sport Alberta to go quietly into the dust. Peter Trynchy was getting his advice from Barry Mitchelson and Barry had very significant influence, as deputy minister, on the direction of Recreation and Parks. I'm in no position to judge the relative success or failure of that influence, but, when it got right down to it . . . . there was no conciliation or attempt to reconcile or to look at compromises throughout the history of Sport Alberta, that is its relationship with the province. It was a win-lose situation

Former Sport Alberta president and Alberta Sport Council board member Gwen Smith identified Barry Mitchelson as "the number-one guy who pushed everyone to get the Sport Council off the ground." Dick White remarked:

> This Sport Council was a dream of Barry Mitchelson who came from the University of Alberta. I attended a number of conferences with Barry, you know. Let's face it, he just came out of an Intersport Program and he wound up deputy minister and implementing that program and he did a fantastic job. Barry and I have had our differences of opinion as to whether it should have ever happened in the way it did, but you know,

> what I like to say is give the devil his due. He did a hell of a job, you know, and is very successful today.

The role that these individuals have attributed to Barry Mitchelson deserves serious attention as a key factor that influenced the decision to create a Crown corporation to oversee sport development. All sources of data indicate that Barry Mitchelson was involved in key positions throughout this second seven-year period examined in this study. In many of those roles he was given the task of presenting recommendations as to how sport development might be co-ordinated in Alberta. His involvement can be traced to the board of directors of Sport Alberta in the mid-1970s, the chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee from 1979 to 1980, and finally to the Alberta government where he served as deputy minister from 1981 until 1988. Mitchelson himself attributed less significance to the role he played in the development of the Alberta Sport Council than the other individuals involved.

Given his long-term involvement in key organizations and his tenure as deputy minister, Mitchelson was clearly in a position where he could exert significant influence over the outcome of the sport policy process. Several publications on public administration in Canada have emphasized the key role played by deputy ministers (cf. Bojechko, 1982; Brooks, 1989; Kernaghan & Siegel, 1987). Deputy ministers act as the administrative heads of government departments and as such are in a position to significantly influence cabinet ministers who are ultimately responsible for policy decisions. "The fact is," write Kernaghan and Siegel (1989), "that deputy ministers often do exercise power—in the form of influence—through policy initiatives in which their minister has had little involvement" (p. 332). With particular reference to deputy ministers in Alberta during Peter Lougheed's rule, Bojechko notes, "Senior officials have said that although they have little influence directly on public policy, they do have influence in advising elected politicians."

One must conclude that the actions of Mitchelson did play a significant role in influencing the outcome of the Alberta government's sport policy. In

particular, Mitchelson's unsympathetic opinions and feelings towards Sport Alberta are reflected in Sport Alberta's ultimate exclusion from a legitimate role in sport development in Alberta. While the data fail to reveal if Mitchelson's influence extended to other issues, such as the decision to create a Crown corporation, Bojechko's comments about the apparent influence of deputy ministers in the Alberta government suggest it is likely that Mitchelson would have exerted some influence with regard to other related issues. Unfortunately, since all respondents, including Barry Mitchelson, failed to give any specific details that could be used to draw specific conclusions in this regard. Exactly what these issues were and how they were contested within the government remains obscure.

(2) Organizational Factors

Notwithstanding the significance of the role played by Barry Mitchelson, the data also indicated that organizational factors influenced the outcome of the policy process. In this regard, the opinions of the members of the sports community and Sport Alberta differed from those of the elected politicians, which in turn differed from those of the civil servants.

Members of the sports community and Sport Alberta made comments that implied the Alberta government's sport policy turned out the way it did because the government was interested in increasing its control over sport development in Alberta. After the Ad Hoc Committee report had been presented to government officials, they proceed to engage in a public discussion in order to propagate their own view of how sport delivery in Alberta should be managed. Several individuals indicated that the public hearings were primarily used to tell the sports community what was going to be happening. Little if any input was received or desired from those attending the public meetings. A former president of Sport Alberta recalled:

> I don't think they wanted any input. It was ready to fly. . . . They may have adjusted some of the stuff that was not quite carved in stone, but I

> don't think they had any idea of doing anything different either; it was ready to go.

Similarly, the technical director of one provincial sport association reported that the policy meetings had been a "staged affair where we were guided to give the answers that the Sport Council and the Department wanted." This individual described the characteristics of a second round of public meetings, held in the early 1990s, to illustrate her point:

> In the second one, it was staged very well, in that you almost felt like you did have input and you did have some, give some direction. It really made no difference into the sport development policy whatsoever because it just sort of went in the direction they wanted. I felt I had more influence as an individual or we had more influence as a sport when I had smaller group meetings with Jack Monaghan and a few of us from the technical development division when they were trying to redefine their [the Alberta Sport Council's] whole policy and their structure within their office. It was a smaller type of session specifically focused on one specific agenda; not the whole thing which was basically led down the garden path, so to speak.

In direct contrast to representatives of the sports community, elected officials[17] and senior members of the departmental bureaucracy emphasized that the sport policy emerged from an extensive consultation with the general public. For example, when discussing the historical background that led to the formation of the Alberta Sport Council, Peter Trynchy emphasized that Intersport was somewhat important because through that medium he was able to ascertain what the general public wanted with regard to government assistance to sport development. Over and over again he emphasized that he did not want a system where government was running things. He wanted one where volunteers did the work. These people also drew attention to the ineffectiveness of Sport Alberta as the key reason why the final policy differed from the recommendations of the

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[17]Here elected officials refer to representatives of the Progressive Conservative government. Members of the opposition who were identified as critics of sport policy were contacted, but could not be interviewed. Several phone calls and letters were not returned.

sport community. The leadership of Sport Alberta was seen to be unfit to oversee sport development in Alberta. Barry Mitchelson, commented:

> Probably the most significant thing that I think would have influenced the recommendation and then ultimately the decision that endorsed it [the Alberta Sport Council] was the effective or ineffectiveness of Sport Alberta which was, and could have been as was stated in their terms of reference, an umbrella organization. And it had not been particularly productive. Now someone would come to their defence and say, 'Well, we weren't given the chance, whatever, whatever'. Well, it had been there long enough from my perspective. You know, quite frankly, I sat on that board and I just got tired of the infighting.

Members of the departmental bureaucracy also emphasized the role that public meetings, public submissions and studies of other sports systems played in the policy process and government decision-making[18]. In agreement with the minister and the deputy minister, one department official noted that government was concerned about the instability of Sport Alberta and that figured into its decision to create a Crown corporation that employed many of the key people who had been involved from the start. There were other additional benefits such as access to tax benefits that could be passed on to potential donators. As well it meant less dependence on government dollars. It was also suggested that creating a Crown corporation was a practical way to use lottery funds and keep these funds out of the hands of government. Amending existing legislation had not been anticipated and the decision to amend was based on pragmatic considerations related to timing and to preserving the integrity of what was needed. There was an opportunity to access lottery money only if the program got running as soon as possible. The decision was opportunity-based.

The analyses offered by the interviewees can be synthesized into three explanations. The first explanation suggests the sport policy was the result of a deliberate and calculated effort on the part of the Alberta government to gain

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[18]These are summarized in the government publications entitled Proposed Sport DevelopmentPolicy: Comparison of National and International Sport Policy and Proposed Sport Policy: Sport Issues, Vol. 1 and 2.

authority over sport development in Alberta in order to achieve political objectives. The second explanation (that of politicians) suggests the sport policy was the direct result of consultations with the public and a desire on the part of the government to legitimize a sport development system that was big on community involvement and small on government intervention. The third explanation suggests that the sport policy was the result of a compromise that addressed the needs of politicians, the demands of the sports community and the legal limitations placed on government activity. The validity of each these explanations is addressed below by identifying points of coherence between the data, the rationales for the creation of Crown corporations and theories of public policy-making cited in the literature on public administration.

(a) A decision intended to increase government control?

The creation of the Alberta Sport Council did increase the Alberta government's scope of authority over sport development (see Chapter Six), but no evidence was discovered that supports the suggestion that a Crown corporation was created in order to increase the government's role and control. Even if evidence of such an intention had been discovered, government desire to control sport development cannot, by itself, explain the choice of a Crown corporation. Other governments, both federal and provincial, have exerted considerable influence and authority over sport development through their own departments and central agencies without choosing to create a single Crown corporation for this purpose[19].

The absence of evidence indicating a government plot to influence sport development does not discount the suggestion that the Alberta government had an interest in promoting sport development to achieve political objectives. Two of the nine rationales for the creation of Crown corporations discussed by Kernaghan

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[19]This is illustrated by Kidd (1981), Harvey (1988), Macintosh & Whitson (1990) and other authors.

and Siegel (1987) are associated with achieving political objectives: province building and political opportunism. The data collected for this study support the conclusion these two rationales are among the important factors that explain the government's choice of a Crown corporation.

Nation or province building has been identified by Prichard (1983) as the most prevalent rationale for the creation of Crown corporations. "Provinces use the Crown corporation as an instrument to engage in province building and to attain their rightful position in the national economy" (Kernaghan & Siegel, 1983, p. 176). An important component of province building is provincialism as expressed in terms of a province's desire to promote its cultural, economic and geographical uniqueness. Sport's ability to foster and promote nationalism and provincialism is well documented (cf. Kidd, 1981; Harvey, 1988; Harvey & Proulx 1988; Macintosh et al., 1987). Comments contained in the transcripts and the documentary evidence collected for this study indicate that the Alberta government was well aware of sport's potential to contribute to provincialism and province building in numerous ways. The most convincing evidence can be found in the Alberta government's Sport DevelopmentPolicy under the heading 'The Economics of Sport' where the following comments are made:

> Within the past decade, several societal trends have emerged which have impacted positively upon the growth and development of sport in Alberta. It is increasingly apparent that these trends have significant implications for the economic growth and stability of not only the sport system, but of municipalities, regions and the province. Trends such as the increase in sport participation; in the number of public, private and commercial sport facilities and opportunities; and in consumer expenditures related to sports equipment, clothing and fees/memberships, imply that there are direct and indirect economic benefits associated with sport.
>
> Public demand and sport-related consumer expenditures not only provide a basis for the expansion, growth, and stability of sport facilities and opportunities, but also influence the growth and stability of related manufacturing and service industries. This, in turn, provides opportunities for employment and assists in the economic diversification of the manufacturing and service sectors of the sports industry. This benefits municipalities, regions and the province. In another economic area,

> participation in sport has often been considered an important factor in reducing medical costs (p. 33).

Political opportunism has also been cited as a reason for the creation of Crown corporations. This rationale focuses on the dimensions of government concern with vote maximization and concern for self-interest that forms the basis of the public choice perspective on policy-making. From this point of view a government is most likely to create a Crown corporation because this form of policy implementation:

> is the most visible and leads to the capture of the maximum number of votes from people who are interested in a particular policy area. For example, if a government provided a grant to a private corporation to create jobs, this might be overlooked or forgotten at election time; it is more difficult to forget that your town's major employer is a Crown corporation (Kernaghan & Siegel, 1987, p. 180).

The Lougheed government's focus on province building and its early success in this area contributed to its popularity with the electorate, which suggests that, in this case, the rationale of province building is closely linked to the rationale of political opportunism. According to Tupper, Pratt and Urquhart (1992) the province-building strategy pursued by Peter Lougheed during the 1970s began to unravel "amidst the virtual collapse of the western Canadian economy after 1981" (p. 33). Lougheed's response was "to become even more interventionist, though in different ways and for different motives" (Tupper et al. p. 33). During the 1980s, the government scrambled to smooth out the cycles of an unstable economy, to pursue its economic strategy in new areas and to simultaneously protect its eroding political base.

In view of the observations of Tupper et al. (1992) and the data collected for this case, it is reasonable to suggest that the attention the government gave to sport was, at the very least, partly motivated by the potential benefits that would accrue politically if Albertans saw themselves being more successful in the context of sport. The data, however, did not give any indication of the degree to which this factor had bearing on the decision to create a Crown corporation.

(b) A decision based purely upon public input?

The public-input explanation put forward by the senior government officials interviewed for this study contradicts the statements made by many individuals who attended the public discussions. Furthermore, as noted above, the documentary evidence suggests that several significant requests that emerged from these discussions were absent from the sport policy. Specifically missing from the policy were directives to provide Sport Alberta with a legitimate role in Alberta's sport development system and directives to ensure direct public input in the selection of the directors of the organization charged with overseeing sport development.

The critics of the policy process failed to recognize that some important requests that came from public input were addressed. For instance, the request for a larger and more stable source of funding for sport was met unequivocally. Government voted to redistribute the allocation of lottery monies and gave a greater share to sports organizations through the Alberta Sport Council. Although the subject of some contention, the creating of a Crown corporation enabled the Alberta government to address the request that government remain detached from sport development. The literature on public administration suggests that Crown corporations are often created in order reduce government influence (Kernaghan & Siegel, 1987). In this case, however, the explanatory significance of this rationale taken in isolation is limited, if at all applicable, since this rationale is usually applied to organizations with a predominantly commercial mandate and such a mandate is not characteristic of the Alberta Sport Council.

(c) A decision aimed at conciliating interests?

The explanation put forward by civil servants drew attention to a number of factors which include those noted above. In addition to concerns that are related to province building and political opportunism, this group drew attention to issues related to fiscal and legal constraints and timing. In granting the request to increase the funding available to sports groups, the Alberta government

allocated financial resources outside of its primary and traditional sources of revenues, namely funds from the sale of lottery tickets.

Government procedures regulating the distribution of lottery monies indicate that these funds should be allocated to not-for-profit or Crown organizations, but not to internal government departments. As a result, in choosing this source of funding, government officials had no other option but to place the administration of these funds in the hands of an external agency. Alternatively, government could have chosen to allocate more funds from the general revenues fund, however, the economic downturn that began in the early 1980s increased public scrutiny of patterns of government spending. The ten-million-dollar increase in expenditures on sport that was possible through a reallocation of lottery money would likely have been met with some if not considerable public disapproval if this had been achieved through a reallocating of tax money or a tax increase in order to make it possible to use money from the general revenue fund. Taking these circumstances into account, it is reasonable to conclude that the decision to use lottery money as the source of funding rather than tax dollars meant that the management of sport development would have to be extended to include, if not completely transferred to, an outside organization.

This approach to increasing the amount of money available to sport did not, in and of itself, require the creation of a Crown corporation. These funds could have been directed to any non-profit organization charged with overseeing sport development. However, there was a second additional factor that favoured the selection of a Crown corporation. This factor was a concern that the organization to become responsible for sport development be eligible to secure funding from the widest possible variety of sources and means. These sources and means included corporate donations, corporate sponsorships, gifts in kind and, most significant of all, tax-refundable donations. Tax-deductible donations made to sport development would only be possible by means of a Crown corporation. Under these conditions, donations could be interpreted as gifts to the Crown

whereas donations to not-for-profit sports associations have never been granted tax-deductible status.

The government's decision to use lottery money combined with its desire to encourage the public to contribute to sport development voluntarily (rather than through taxation) played a crucial role in determining the outcomes of the policy process and the decision to create a Crown corporation. In order to implement these two decisions, government officials had to deal with the structural limitations guiding the institutional framework within which they operated. Of all the available options, the Crown corporation appears to be the only option that could accommodate these considerations.

(3) Social System Factors: The Role of Politics and Economics

Political economy must also be considered to ensure a comprehensive analysis of the circumstances that led to the creation of the Alberta Sport Council. The importance of these factors is stressed by Tupper et al. (1992) who maintain that "Alberta's chronic economic instability, its dependence on primary resource production and its acute vulnerability to external forces, both economic and political, exert an extraordinary influence on government" (p. 31). Furthermore, they emphasize:

> Without discounting the explanatory value of such variables as leadership, party ideology, federal-provincial relations, or class position, we believe these have less analytic power in the interpretation of the policies and interventions of the provincial government than does the unpredictable and extreme variability of Alberta's economy (p. 34).

Tupper et al.'s (1992) discussion of the role of the Alberta government focuses on financial institutions, forestry development and public accountability, highlighting several key features of Alberta's political economy that provide some insight into the way in which this factor contributed to the creation of the Alberta Sport Council. In their discussion of the relationship between resource revenues and public expenditures from the period 1970 through 1991, Tupper et al. indicate that, while the province's revenues grew dramatically throughout the 1970s, they

began to stagnate in 1980 and have declined steadily since 1986. Beginning in 1982, "program expenditure failed to keep pace with inflation" (p. 49). By the fiscal year 1989/90 recreation and culture's budget changed -73% and was among the "four functions of government [that] suffered 'retrenchment', dramatic real cuts in funding, between 1981 and 1989" (p. 50). Through these facts it is possible to draw attention to a chain of events that demonstrates the impact that political economy can have on sport development and the outcome of sport development policy.

The facts denoted by Tupper et al. (1992) and other data indicate that Alberta's economy impacted on sport through a chain of systemic pressures. The chain of pressures proceeds as follows: a reduction in oil prices caused a reduction in the province's resource revenues and general revenue fund. This motivated movement to reduce provincial expenditures. In an effort to provide more money for sport development in the face of shrinking general revenues and growing public pressure for greater funding of sport, the provincial government turned to the growing pool of lottery profits. The government's own policy forbade it from funnelling lottery funds through its own departments; hence an alternative means of distribution had to be developed. The government's continued focus on province building, electoral support, increased focus on intervention, its advocacy of a business approach to government and administration, all combined together to culminate in the birth of a new Crown corporation: the Alberta Sport Council.

Summary

The period between 1977 and 1984 has been the most active period in the history of sport development in Alberta. During this time period time, sport advocates and politicians became engaged in an intense discussion that led to a marked change in Alberta's sport delivery system. Despite considerable criticism and resistance from several fronts including the sports community, the general

public and some civil servants, legislation to enact a Crown corporation responsible to oversee sport development was passed by the Alberta government.

The data analysis conducted for this case study considered three levels of analysis that revealed this unique approach to sport development was the consequence of several interrelated factors. At the level of social actors it was discovered that the deputy minister for Recreation and Parks played a significant role. Through his experience as a leader in the sports community he had developed a vision of an integrated sport development system which he continued to pursue during his tenure as deputy minister. In considering the level of the organization, it was noted that the decision to create the Alberta Sport Council was the result of an extensive policy process. This drew attention to explanatory factors related to the organization of the Alberta government and possible rationales for creating a Crown corporation. At this level the most significant factor was the decision to fund sport with the profits from lotteries. This decision introduced severe constraints on the type of system that could be used to administer sport development. Once the decision to increase sport funding via lottery profits was made, only two possible mechanisms for distributing these funds could be considered without violating the government's own rules regarding the use of these funds. At the level of political economy it was discovered that Alberta's recurrent economic instability played a role in government decision-making particularly with regard to their decision to allocate lottery profits to sport development.

Chapter Six

A Glimpse and Assessment of the Impact of the Alberta Sport Council

The discussions contained in the previous chapters have examined the circumstances that led to the creation of the Alberta Sport Council. This was done in order to understand why the Alberta government decided to use a Crown corporation to oversee the province's sport development. In concluding this examination of the Alberta Sport Council, this chapter focuses on the Alberta Sport Council's impact on sport development in Alberta. This study was particularly concerned with determining if this unique approach to sport development was having a distinctive impact when compared to other modes of sport development employed outside the province of Alberta.

The following discussion of the impact of the Alberta Sport Council compares the responses collected from interviews with discussions of the characteristics of sport development put forward in similar studies of state intervention in sport development. The discussion begins with a brief description of the structure and organization of the Alberta Sport Council during its first few years of operation. This description is followed by an examination of the organization's impact on sport development. The data suggest the Alberta Sport Council has created new opportunities and new constraints in the area of sport development that are consistent with the characteristics of federal government sport intervention. The Alberta Sport Council may be unique in terms of a few aspects of its organization; however, when compared to the federal government it is not unique in its approach or intentions.

Structure and Organization of the Alberta Sport Council

The structure of the Alberta Sport Council is depicted in Figure One. The minister of Alberta Recreation and Parks sits at the top of the Alberta Sport Council's organizational hierarchy. Directly beneath the minister is the second tier of the Alberta Sport Council. This tier has three components. The first

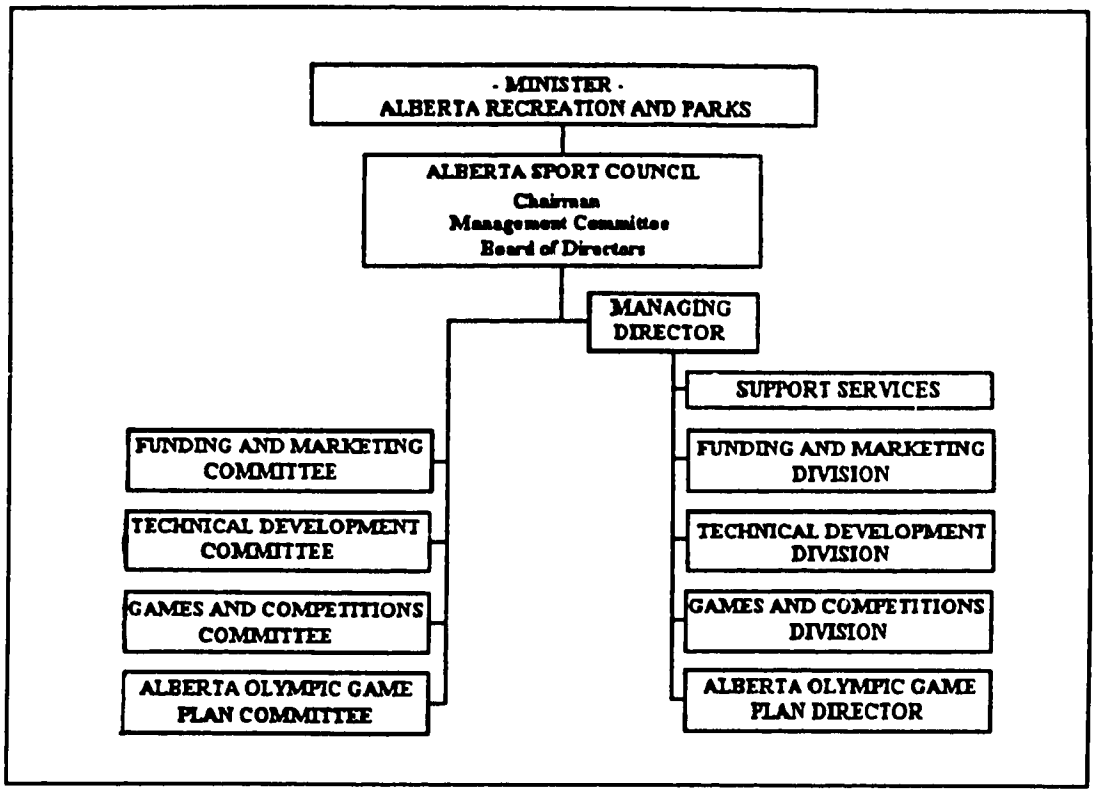

Figure One: The Structure of the Alberta Sport Council

component is the "Chairman" of the board of directors who is the "Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation" and who is "responsible for directing the affairs of the Corporation" (Nowicki, Van Vliet, Elliot, Bernatzki, Gibb, & Monaghan, 1984 p. 14). The second component is the management committee which consists of at least three members including the chairman and at least one government employee and the "chairmen" of the four standing committees depicted in the lower left two-thirds of Figure Five. The third component of this second tier is a 16-member volunteer board of directors which also includes the overall chairman of the board. The third and final tier of the Alberta Sport Council has two parallel components. One side of this third tier is made up of four standing committees: the funding and marketing committee, technical development committee, the Games and competition committee and the Alberta

Olympic Game Plan committee. Each of these committees has the authority to establish subcommittees as required in order to accomplish specific tasks. The other side of the third tier consists of employees responsible for program service and delivery. This tier is led by a managing director who is responsible for overseeing four divisions (a) support services, (b) funding and marketing, (c) technical development, (d) games and competitions and the Alberta Olympic Game Plan director.

During their interviews representatives of the Alberta Sport Council and others discussed some of their personal feelings regarding its operation. The most common and consistent concerns focused on the following areas: the composition and role of the board of directors, overlaps with Alberta Recreation and Parks, empire building and inefficiencies with Alberta Sport Council and a lack of internal co-ordination. Although it was not the intent of this study to examine the day-to-day operation of the council in any great detail, the concerns that were raised about the operation of the council were seen to be relevant to its impact on sport development and will be discussed briefly in this section and in more depth later under the heading "Empire Building."

(1) Board of Directors: Business versus Sport Experts

Inasmuch as the Alberta Sport Council's board of directors is responsible for guiding the council's affairs, its members have the capacity to influence sport development by means of the programs and policies they choose to advocate and implement. Individuals who spoke out against establishing the Alberta Sport Council were concerned that the people appointed to the council's board of directors would not be creditable representatives of the sports community and sport interests. The appointments that have been made since the council's inception have not quieted this concern.

Interview candidates were asked to provide their assessment of appointments that have been made to the council's board of directors. Most of those interviewed were aware that the appointments were made by the minister of

Recreation and Parks. Few people, including the board members who were interviewed, were able to outline any specific criteria that were used to determine who would be appointed by the minister. Peter Trynchy and Dwight Ganske (of Alberta Recreation and Parks) indicated that appointments were made after considering a list of nominations submitted by Albertans. They noted that there is no limit to the number of nominations that can be submitted and that these nominations can be put forward by MLAs or anyone else. The names are summarized and reviewed by the minister with input from MLAs and the chairman of the Alberta Sport Council. According to Ganske, during the review process several factors regarding representation such as sport background, business background and geographic location are kept in mind when making appointments. Of these factors, geography was identified as being the most significant inasmuch as it was important to the Alberta Sport Council that all zones be represented[20]. Appointments are then made from a final list of candidates through an order in council.

Many of the individuals expressed concern that the people who have been chosen to serve on the Alberta Sport Council have not been truly representative of individuals who participate in amateur sport. Many individuals, including board members themselves, indicated that they believed many of the appointments made by the minister were political. Gwen Smith, who was among the first group of people to be appointed to the Alberta Sport Council, made the following comments in this regard:

> At the beginning I thought, these were political appointments and then I thought they don't know whether I'm a Liberal or a N. D. or whatever. They had no idea whether I'm a Conservative or whatever because I just never declared what I was. And so I thought, maybe I'm the oddball on this board I was the only female on the board for years maybe I'm the token female on the board or whatever. I really felt on the first board we

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[20] The Sport Council has divided Alberta into eight geographical zones that are used to ensure that programs and opportunities are spread equitably throughout Alberta.

> had there were really good, sharp people, but I didn't feel there were enough people on that 16-member board at the start that knew enough about amateur sport. They knew a lot about business. I knew zip-all about business, but I did know amateur sport and I felt, gosh, there's not a good balance here. These guys can work out budgets in the millions which is just fine and dandy, but they don't really understand or have any empathy for what amateur sport is all about.

Smith's concerns were also shared by Dr. Trevor Slack, former president of Sport Alberta and researcher in the area of sport administration, who commented:

> When they first appointed the Council, guys were on it like Gerry Glassford, Tom Humphreys, Gwen Smith. Those were at least three, but there were more people who I would say who knew about sport. Tom Humphreys had been a school principal and president of the Alberta Schools Athletic Association. Both Gerry and Gwen knew sport. They had been involved in different ways, in different levels. They understood sport. There were some other Tories who didn't. It seems to me that the number of the Gerry Glassford, Gwen Smith and Tom Humphreys type people has diminished.

Finally, the Alberta Sport Council's managing director, Max Gibb, commented that the nature of appointees changes depending upon the minister in charge:

> The initial ones [appointees] were very prestigious business and sport people: Dr. Van Vliet; Don Skagen; Ron Elliot managing partner of Deloitte Touche; those kinds of people. We had a new minister and that minister wanted grassroots people brought in. You know, I can see most of their philosophy and that is, by the way, one of the things that has amazed me in terms of the political change. Getting back to the political change, the ministers will appoint people based on some criteria: sport, business, grassroots, whatever. But the minister, himself or herself, sort of appoints the kind that they feel are important. Though, the chairman has some input. It has been more of a political input for the last 5 or 10 years and we're getting less of a heavyweight and more of a grassroots. Now I think that is starting to change again with the new minister. But we have sort of gone through a couple of cycles, usually politically friendly, though they haven't all been Conservative in fairness. We have had some noted non-Conservatives. But the ministers have sort of related to what they think is important. This has had an impact in seeing a change in board members.

A cursory examination of the backgrounds of the first slate of Alberta Sport Council board members indicates a strong bias towards members of Alberta's business elite. All members of the inaugural board of directors with the exception of Mrs. Smith, Mr. Moore and Mr. Humphrey appear to have held high-ranking positions within the organizations that employed them. The chief executive position on the board was given to Don Skagen who, at the time of his appointment, was also the chief executive officer of Mohawk Oil, former chairman of the Alberta Games Council, chairman of the Alberta Canada Telecommunications Group, vice-chairman of Northland Bank (ranked 59th among all banks in Canada with respect to assets) and the Niagara Institute. He was also a director of the Calgary Stampeders Football Club and had interests in several professional sports teams in the Vancouver area. Mr. Skagen has also been identified as a close friend of Peter Lougheed, who was the premier of Alberta at the time of Skagen's appointment.

The Sport Council's vice-chairman was then and still is Sherrold Moore. Moore is also the vice-president of production for Amoco Canada (in 1984 ranked 11th among all of the corporations operating in Canada with respect to profit). Mr. Moore is a close personal friend of then Premier Peter Lougheed and was a member of the Alberta Games Council and the Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Foundation. At the time of his appointment Moore was also acting president of the Alberta Swimming Association which was, at that time, considered by many to be the most successful sport governing body within Alberta. He was also one of the key organizers in recently elected Premier Ralph Klein's leadership campaign.

Mr. Ron Elliot, the financial member, was a managing partner of the accounting firm Deloitte, Haskin and Sells. He also has been part of at least 14 different private and government committees and task forces and a former member of the Alberta Games Council. It should also be noted that when Mr. Elliot's tenure on the board of directors expired he was replaced by another managing partner from Deloitte, Haskin and Sells.

Mr. Don Sprague is the son of Walter Sprague, who is a very prominent figure in the Edmonton community. At the time of his appointment Mr. Sprague was vice-president of Edmonton Northlands (his father was past president) and also sat on the Calgary Olympic Board, Universiade '83 Board, the Western Canada Lottery Foundation and the Board of Chembiomed, a chemical company pioneering medical research. Sprague is also a past president of the Mayfair Golf and Country Club.

The strong ties to business and key politicians characteristic of the five individuals described above were also characteristic of at least four additional members of the inaugural Alberta Sport Council board of directors. At least 9 of the 16 (56 per cent) inaugural board members can be described as political appointees and/or as individuals with questionable experience in the area of amateur sport. Some individuals have suggested that the bias towards appointing business leaders has decreased: however, they also pointed out that this has not meant that recent appointments have been any more qualified or any less political.

Several board members believed that in order to be appointed to the board it was necessary to engage in a significant amount of politicking. One of the board members interviewed gave a detailed description of how it was necessary to actively lobby through personal friends and to reach the ears of several ministers, as well as the ears of several other influential people, in order to gain an appointment. Other individuals cited additional activities that included writing letters, attending Progressive Conservative Party barbecues and running as a Progressive Conservative candidate in provincial elections as being helpful.

One interviewee claimed that he knew someone who, after an unsuccessful bid to become a Progressive Conservative MLA, was appointed to the Alberta Sport Council. During a conversation with the interviewee this appointee allegedly remarked, "I didn't even know what the hell the Sport Council was, but I was asked if I would sit on the board and I said sure." "This," commented the

interviewee, "pointed out right off the bat that, sure, we have very good people involved, successful businessmen, but their involvement in sport was very limited."

The characteristics of the first appointees to the Alberta Sport Council reflect the corporatist strategy that the Lougheed government had employed throughout its tenure. They also demonstrate that the social and political structure of Alberta is in many ways consistent with that of Canada as a whole and that of most other capitalist states where alliances between political leaders and government officials are the norm (cf. Clement, 1975; Miliband, 1973; Mills, 1957). As Miliband (1973) and others have noted, these alliances have enabled the interests of business to significantly influence economic and social policy. This is also true of Alberta.

The type of people who have been appointed to the Alberta Sport Council suggest the alliance between the Conservative government and Alberta's business elite was being extended beyond the management of the economy to areas of social policy and service delivery that could be run by quasi- and non-governmental agencies rather than directly by government itself. It was up to this board, with the support of the legislature, to promote a businesslike approach to sport delivery. In this regard a senior Alberta Sport Council employee noted that the Alberta Sport Council chairman had instructed him to "run the Sport Council as a business first and as a sport organization second" and to ensure that the Sport Council took "all the hits in terms of the decisions and policies that are negative and give all of the positives to the government."

(2) Empire Building: Sport Council's Burgeoning Bureaucracy and Overlaps with Alberta Recreation and Parks

The implementation strategy that was developed as a guide for the structuring of the Alberta Sport Council emphasized two principles which were deemed to have a direct impact on the staffing system of the council:

1. "The Sport Council should ensure that maximum resources are available for program development."

2. "The Sport Council should operate on a cost effective basis" (Nowicki et al. 1984, p. 57).

Guided by these principles the implementation committee concluded that the administrative needs of the Alberta Sport Council could be fulfilled by 15 employees, occasionally aided by a small number of temporary contract staff. Within two years, however, the Alberta Sport Council would employ almost 60 individuals. This is how one former employee described this rapid growth:

> In 1984 the organization was set up to be responsible to the minister of Alberta Recreation and Parks through the managing director. There were standing committees established in the implementation strategy. They called for games and competitions, technical and a marketing standing committee. Further on, then, they have added eight sort of zone committees. And then there was supposed to be three sections: games and competitions, . . . technical development section which disbursed the lottery dollars and then a fund-raising and marketing. That was the organization: one, two, three, four management staff, more or less. By the time 1986 rolled around we had a managing director; we had a manager of fund-raising or whatever other title you want to use; we had a zone sport director; we had a games and competitions director; we had a technical manager; we had a local sport development director; we had a provincial high-performance director; we had an Olympic Game Plan director. One, two, three, four, five, six, seven there is one more I am missing there somewhere. I don't know who it is. So what's happened is everybody who was given a title was also cut out a little piece of the pie to pursue. And this is what they did. They pursued their own initiatives. So games and competitions was given a standing committee called games and competitions, but they also had a cultural advisory committee and many other ones. Within technical, they were provided with the technical development committee. Zones had eight zone committees and then were provided with one overall zone committee. And then marketing had their marketing committee, and their Alberta Olympic Game Plan had their own Alberta Olympic Game Plan committee. And then there were a couple of subcommittees on Journal Game Plan. Then the Sport Hall of Fame came in and they had their standing committee. All of these kinds of activities were as a result of what was perceived to be a natural growth of the organization. But the problem was that there was no focus. And it was never brought to the board of directors through the managing director.

The rapid growth in staff and the bureaucracy associated with sport development in Alberta caused some people to be concerned about the Alberta

Sport Council's top-heavy administration. These people questioned the necessity of the positions that had been created. They were concerned that funds which should have been passed on to assist provincial sport associations were being used to pay unnecessary salaries. This concern was summarized by then-board member Gwen Smith, who commented:

> I guess away back in the early '80s the ideal of number of staff required to put on the programs that we were doing, counting the different games, winter and summer and so on, was about twenty to twenty-five staff, necessary, full-time staff. Well, for some unknown reason we got up to forty-four staff. At every board meeting for about two years I said, 'are we finished hiring?' Because every time you hire somebody . . . you learn something. You've got to bring in all the support staff, plus the desks and the cubicles and the furniture. The whole thing snowballed. . . . It got so top heavy with administrative costs, it really upset me. Now the minister's come in; he said 'Listen guys, I've done my homework. It said way back. when that twenty-five people could run this whole thing. So what are you doing with forty?'

These feelings were also echoed by Dick White, former President of Sport Alberta, who accused the managing director of empire building:

> It [the Sport Council] has done some good in the fact that a lot of money has gone into the sports community. One assumes that and that's good. And I am sure a lot of that money is being used well. So if it got money into sport, that's a plus. I think it could have been done a lot differently, probably a hell of a lot cheaper. You know what has happened with the council is that somebody has built an empire. Max Gibb has built this huge empire: as I say, up to sixty people at one time. And obviously some of those people have done really good stuff for sports. I think some of those people are interested in sports and there has been a lot of money going to sport so that is sort of the positive side of it. As I say, I think the organization could have been a lot more streamlined. They have bodies all over the place.

Those who questioned the rapid growth of the Alberta Sport Council's professional staff also drew attention to this growth's impact on the efficiency of the Alberta government-sponsored sport delivery system. The main concern in this regard had to do with duplication of services performed by the Alberta Sport Council and the Department of Recreation and Parks. Employees of the Alberta

Sport Council suggested that Alberta Recreation and Parks provided many services that the Alberta Sport Council could and should be providing. Similarly, Alberta Recreation and Parks employees suggested the Alberta Sport Council was providing many services that Alberta Recreation and Parks could and should be providing.

Several individuals suggested that the duplication of services can be traced to the Alberta Recreation and Parks staff's reluctance to pass any aspects of their role in sport development over to the Alberta Sport Council. According to one senior manager of the Alberta Sport Council:

> The staff from the department felt threatened by the establishing of the Alberta Sport Council, who were kind of a thrust on them. They thought that way, I think. They had no idea of what the roles were or what the reaction was going to be. They didn't know whether their department was going to be swallowed up by the Sport Council. There was some speculation that this may have been the case. They didn't know how much authority the minister would give the council.

Another senior manager noted:

> Many of the ministers thought that the Sport Council would take all the work. But the department responsible really didn't want to let it go the bureaucrats. And it has caused some confusion. So there is really, in a sense, a dual delivery system which causes and creates some confusion. The government departments tend to never really want to give it up. They, in many cases, keep wanting to take back territory.

The Alberta Sport Council's mandate was to be limited to areas related to developing the technical aspects of sport in Alberta. Technical development areas included things such as coaching development, talent identification, training camps, special competitions, etc. The Department of Recreation and Parks was to limit its involvement to developing the administrative aspects of sport development in Alberta. Administration development areas included things like planning meetings, board meetings, executive director salaries, newsletters, etc. Unfortunately these tasks tended to overlap because technical initiatives require administrative support, while administrative functions like planning and financial control involve things like training camps, etc. Further, as was pointed out over and over

again in the interview data, there have been numerous grey areas where distinguishing what is technical from that which is administrative was difficult. Many technical programs had administrative components for which associations sought government assistance. Having separate organizations for the technical and the administrative was never practicable and the associations often found it difficult to determine which organization would be the appropriate one to approach for funding.

The duplication of services has, according to some individuals, placed a strain on the Alberta Sport Council's relationship with the government. Other individuals felt that, although problematic, the duplication of services was merely a growing pain that would be overcome as time progressed. Nonetheless, the duplication of services created considerable confusion among provincial sport organizations. As one senior Alberta Sport Council manager noted:

> There is some program overlap. Part of that, I think, is still protection of turf, so to speak. One example, for example, is the hosting program. Alberta Recreation and Parks have hosting programs to provide dollars to events that are hosted in Alberta, mainly national championships. Their programs still do provide for international championship events. The Alberta Sport Council has a program for hosting events that involves international events, North American events, western Canadian. So there is some confusion out there as a result. There is some confusion from program point of view. There is duplication with regard to dealing with associations.

The technical director of a provincial sport association suggested that from the point of view of provincial associations the duplication between the Alberta Sport Council and the Department of Recreation and Parks was counterproductive:

> No, it [the relationship between the Alberta Sport Council and Alberta Recreation and Parks] is not constructive at all. I think it's very poor and I think it's costing the people a lot of money and it's a waste of time and a lot of people sense this. I think it needs to be combined. I don't see any purpose to have both there. I would like to see somebody at some point in time say, 'Yes the council can talk for the administration.' I mean, it's stupid to say we're going to give you money for this and this and this, but we can't give you money for, for instance, an executive director's type of

> position, you know, because that's not our mandate. But then the department says, well, they don't have the ability to deal with that or whatever. So then you ask, who does? Who deals with this greater area of administration which is basically the foundation of everything we do? I mean, if we don't have administration, we have a problem. . . . I only want to deal with one person. I don't want to have to deal with one [person] on one thing and one [person] on another, and have to co-ordinate it. I would rather deal with the one that's got obviously most of the money because they tend to understand your program more, because they had to pursue it more, discuss it more.

In addition to concerns about overlap and inefficiency, the rapid growth in the sport bureaucracy that followed the implementation of the Alberta Sport Council raised concerns about the role of volunteers in sport development and the nature of the relationship between state agencies and sport delivery organizations. The criticisms that were raised with regard to these two areas are very much like those discussed by Macintosh and Whitson in their discussion of sport development at the national level. Macintosh and Whitson illustrate that the increased professionalism of high-performance sport has led to new debates about the relationship that should exist between volunteers and professionals involved with sport development. These debates have focused on topics related to defining the types of volunteers that should be recruited to administer sport and redefining the roles that volunteers and professionals should play in sport development.

The data collected for this study indicate that debates over the extent to which sport organizations should be directed by professionals also exist at the provincial level. The people interviewed for this study were asked to comment on the Sport Council's impact on the role of volunteers. There were some individuals, as in the Macintosh and Whitson study, who did not see the professionalization of sport development as problematic and actually encouraged it. As the following quotation illustrates, they believed that the bureaucratization of the Sport Council was necessary and that the problems of overlap associated with it would be overcome as time progressed:

> I know Trevor and some of his students have looked at the national situation and make a case for the bureaucratization of sport. And if

> coming [of age] of sport means that you have more employees and, therefore, when you have larger organizations they take on different characteristics, I guess that's true. That is a statement of fact. If bureaucratization means some of the inferences regarding attitudes and that, that's not necessary. I think what has happened is, yes, sport has grownup. There are professional staff where there were no professional staff before. Any not-for-profit organization that moves from a period where the volunteer does everything to where the volunteer supports professional staff or vice versa, then you have to get into an exercise of role clarification, understanding who does what. I don't think it has to be negative, or is negative if it is managed appropriately.

This was the opinion of a senior civil servant who went on to suggest that in organizations, sport or otherwise, the members of the volunteer board are the people who create and implement policy and who then influence program decisions. It was up to the professional staff to carry out the day-to-day operations of management and programming within the scope of the policies. This person believed that volunteers would continue to play an important role in programming because "you will never have enough professional staff in the programming." As far this individual was concerned more professionals meant progress because:

> You start doing more programs, bigger programs, then you are going to have professional staff and it can be done more or less effectively. That's what we have seen. And some people have come to the judgment that it's all bad for whatever reasons. And I would say, well, you better look at how you managed it and whether or not you did all those kinds of things [to manage relationships] and if you didn't, sure, you're gonna have unfortunate circumstances.

In direct contrast some individuals were concerned that volunteers were unable to give the same amount of direction to sport development as they were prior to the implementation of the Sport Council. In this regard some individuals were particularly concerned about the relationship between the volunteers on the Alberta Sport Council's board of directors and the professionals who were hired to administer the Alberta Sport Council's day-to-day operation. A former employee of the Sport Council provided several examples of how professional

staff implemented initiatives without first consulting the volunteer board of directors:

> The board of directors was never providing the kind of direction that it should have provided. But you have to look beyond that and look at the ethical responsibilities of the professionals that work for the organization. And as a chief executive officer, or whatever your title is, you have a responsibility for distinguishing what's a policy or directional decision, which is your board of directors, and what's an implementation decision. There was never in the Alberta Sport Council a decision made in that vein that applied across the board in all situations.

This person also indicated that in many instances managers used their "expertise" to manipulate members of the standing committees to support their initiatives which in many instances had a bias towards to high-performance sport:

> All of the bosses, you see, everybody in the Sport Council had or has a title and they were all allowed and given free hands to pursue their own individual agendas. In games, you saw the creation of the concept of masters games, seniors games. You saw the creation of zone games. You saw the creation of zone camps. You saw the Games themselves change from a participation base, a recreation base, to Game Plan Sports, the developing athlete. So the Alberta Games focus on 13 to 17-year-olds, generally speaking, in Game Plan sports[21]. This was the new Games concept. A concept that changed from a recreation base to Game Plan Sports and the developing athlete.

The former employee noted that this led to a significant change in the atmosphere surrounding the Alberta Games. The festival atmosphere that had been associated with the Games was lost as participation was no longer open to adults. "The new Games concept changed the Alberta Games from a recreation base all age groups etc. to 13-17 year olds, the developing athletes and to Game Plan Sports. These became the focus." When this person asked if this was Max Gibb's area,

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[21]The term "Game Plan Sports" refers to sports that are part of the Olympic Games. Its origin can be traced back to the early 1970s when the federal government introduced Game Plan, a program to provide financial assistance to athletes and sport organizations that were preparing for the 1976 Olympic Games. Under the Game Plan program only sports that were part of the Olympic Games were eligible for funding.

the reply was, "It sure as hell wasn't the board of directors, I will tell you that." This person also stated that:

> The new Games concept, zone games, zone camps, those three were staff initiatives and while they played games with the standing committees, they were never formally addressed other than through budget by the board of directors of the Alberta Sport Council or by the minister of Alberta Recreation and Parks. The people that were responsible for making those kinds of decisions.

The characteristics of the relationship between volunteers and professionals that exists within the Sport Council itself have much in common with those of the relationships between volunteers and professionals involved with sport at the national level. This has occurred despite the hope that the Alberta Sport Council would provide volunteers with an increased role in sport development. The interview data indicated that since the implementation of the Alberta Sport Council there has been a trend towards redefining the role of volunteers in the areas of decision-making and policy formation in provincial sport organizations. The technical director of one provincial sport organization noted:

> I think that both Parks and Rec and Sport Council deal mostly with the professional staff now. When I first started we used to go on these public meetings wherever they are, from year to year when they go through the profile of applicants of Sport Council. These used to go on at night and it used to be almost all presidents. The staff use to sit there, because the letters all went to the presidents, and ask all the questions. But the presidents were there and the presidents were the ones who in essence were talked to. Now the staff meetings are held in the afternoons because basically it's all staff that go to it. Presidents don't go. They have no interest in it. And the staff are the ones who do most of co-ordination of it. And I just think that's just the change from more professional staff being in place as well. The only presidents I noticed that still tend to go to them are ones with new staff or young associations.

The increase in the number of professionals involved in sport development is in part due to the fact that the Alberta Sport Council provided the money that was necessary to hire more sports professionals. This provision of funding does not, however explain why there is a similarity in the relationship between volunteers and professionals at the provincial and national levels. The work of

Macintosh and Whitson (1990) suggests that the professionalism of sport is a consequence of an ideological reconstruction of physical education in which the production of sporting performance is the purpose of sport organizations. This purpose is seen to be more effectively accomplished by knowledgeable professionals than by volunteers. This, Macintosh and Whitson note, created a new set of professional roles and careers for graduates (and post-graduates) of university physical education programs.

Macintosh and Whitson (1990) note that the professionalization of sport has had several implications at the national level. These implications concern the role of democracy in the area of sport development and the question of whether or not public participation processes and public institutions exist in order to solicit and respond to citizen input and opinions or whether they exist simply to facilitate the implementation of solutions and policies already decided upon by the "experts" employed to administer them. The quotation on page 117 suggests that professionals within the Alberta Sport Council have used their expertise to implement and define program initiatives without, at the very least, consulting the board of directors about whether these (e.g. the reorientation of the Alberta Games) were in the direction which provincial sport organizations wanted to move. Furthermore, as noted in Chapter Five, the entire process that led to the creation of the Alberta Sport Council has been criticized as being undemocratic in view of the disparity between the proposal put forward by sport interest groups and the proposal that was implemented by the Alberta government.

An important characteristic of this professionalism and the associated ideological reconstruction of physical education is the promotion of expert knowledge, the pursuit of performance and excellence. This ideology, according to Macintosh and Whitson (1990) partially explains why the dominant emphasis of national sport programs is high-performance. High-performance sport initiatives correspond well with the state's ideological goals of competitive capitalism. Excellence is also very marketable and appealing to corporations who can often be convinced to provide money to sports in exchange for having their name associ-

ated with that sport. The extent to which this ideology has been extended to provincial level is discussed in the following section which examines the structure of the Alberta Sport Council's sport development programs.

Sport Council Policy and Programs: New Definitions and Foci for Sport Development

With the creation of the Alberta Sport Council there was a major increase in the amount of money available for sport development and as a result it absorbed many of the sport funding roles previously occupied by other government agencies such as Alberta Recreation and Parks and the Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Foundation. The approach to sport development funding taken by the Alberta Sport Council was quite different from that taken by these other agencies. A funding scheme with many new program areas which had not been specifically addressed before was introduced. Very strict guidelines placed new limitations on how sport organizations could spend the grant monies they received from the Crown corporation.

Initially the Alberta Sport Council made funding available to provincial sport organizations through twenty-one programs. Of these twenty-one programs all but four had a high-performance emphasis that, in many cases, extended to international competition and sports included in the Olympic Games. In direct contrast to the programs of funding agencies that preceded the Alberta Sport Council, these new programs did not provide any means for sport organizations to access funds that could be used at an organization's discretion for initiatives, such as adult-oriented programs, that did not fit within the new funding categories. The members of the Alberta sports community were critical of the programs and their limited focus. The objections that were voiced by the sports community were twofold. People objected either to the strict emphasis on high-performance sport and/or the narrow restrictions that were placed on how money could be spent in various program areas.

The Alberta Sport Council's approach to funding reflected a very narrow definition of sport that reduced the number of organizations that could access grants. Mike Apps, former President of the Alberta Soaring Association and member of Sport Alberta's board of directors summed up the new approach this way:

> The Sport Council is very rigid in the programs, extremely rigid if you have a very clear idea of your target group and that's fine. If your target group is Olympic sports they have met their goal. But they claim they are looking out for the real interest of all sports, but, in fact, they are telling me in my sport how I have to operate and I have got to fit into their programs for money and support. That means I'm equal to the other sports but not quite as equal.

According to individuals interviewed in this study and those interviewed in a related study by Gordon, strict spending restrictions were established in order to ensure that the Alberta Sport Council would be able to provide the auditor general with a detailed account of how lottery funds were being disbursed. Distrust of provincial sport associations was also mentioned as a factor. The technical director of a provincial association recalled that:

> The other thing is, in the first few years, when they came on, I noticed a real lack of trust. I don't know why that was. But there was a real, maybe just general, I don't know, but there was a real lack of trust of people being able to account for their funds.

Notwithstanding the need to ensure accountability, the way in which the programs were defined made it quite clear that for the Alberta Sport Council sport developmentmeant high-performancedevelopment. The strict guidelines that sport organizations have to meet have meant that in order to receive funding provincial sport organizations have had to give priority to programs that promote the development of high-performance or do without financial assistance. This trend is underscored by changes in how provincial sport organizations approach program planning. These changes were observed by this researcher in his role as planning consultant to provincial sport organizations immediately prior to and immediately following the introduction of the Alberta Sport Council.

Prior to the existence of the Sport Council, sport governing bodies within Alberta were able to receive financial assistance from the provincial government without having to "fit" their programs and goals into any preset rigid parameters. Planning meetings were conducted with an emphasis on determining an organization's objectives as based on the desires of its membership. Having developed these objectives the sport governing bodies planned their programs and then submitted their plans to the government agency for evaluation and approval. Since the creation of the Alberta Sport Council there has been a reversal in the process these organizations use to plan. Sport organizations began to plan according to the programs outlined by the Sport Council rather than according to the needs articulated by their membership. For many organizations the planning process is no longer driven by questions that focus on, "what do we want to do?" and "How might we get the money to do it?" Sport organizations have, instead, begun to base their planning on the answers to the question, "What programs do we have to run in order to get some funding?"

The sports community has been very vocal in its criticism of the Alberta Sport Council's approach to funding sport organizations, arguing against the narrow scope and spending restrictions of the council's programs. It has also been critical of the council's apparent reluctance to discuss and negotiate changes to its approach to sport funding. Comments made by Alberta Sport Council officials interviewed for this study indicate that the council has made some effort to respond to these criticisms. For example, Alberta Sport Council employee Gary Tomick commented:

> I think that when the Sport Council started there wasn't a lot of knowledge about provincial sport associations from where I am speaking from. There wasn't necessarily a lot of knowledge of staff, of the provincial sport association. How they worked, what they did on a per association basis, how they were organized, how healthy they were, what kind of programs they ran, how much money they had and that type of thing. So in providing lottery dollars to amateur sports through the provincial sport associations, the Sport Council was very cautious as to how the dollars were being provided, on what basis they were provided, what programs were being provided, how they were being accounted for, and how the dollars were

> being accounted for, that type of thing. As a result of this discussion with the sport groups, that kind of control over the programs that should be operated, or that we felt should be operated has really been lessened. And that doesn't mean that there is no controls at all and that council is just throwing money away. It doesn't imply that at all. But at the same time, trust has been built up between council and the associations and as a result of that the associations, I believe, will have a lot more flexibility in utilizing lottery dollars. They can utilize them for programs based on their needs as opposed to saying this is the program that we have to spend the dollars in and these are the dollars that they fund and that type of thing. . . . I would have to say definitely in the first three or four years that council was involved in planning with the associations. The associations were not planning for themselves, they were planning to get dollars from council. And hopefully as a result of this dialogue that is changing. So I think, definitely the dialogue has improved from a flexibility point of view; better utilization of time, volunteer resources, hopefully better utilization of dollars.

As this study was being conducted the Alberta Council was in the process of introducing a new block funding approach. Through block funding the council hopes that provincial sport associations will find they have more flexibility in the way in which they are able to spend the funds provided by the council. Alberta Sport Council funding is now divided into two general areas of athlete and leadership development. It is also hoped the new approach will reduce some of the administrative paperwork that has come to be associated with applying for funding. While block funding is likely to give sport associations more flexibility when it comes to spending their grant money, this flexibility is still limited to the framework of allocating money directly towards the development of high-performance athletes.

The Alberta Sport Council's continuing emphasis on promoting high-performance sport has received criticism from inside and outside the council. Critics argue that the council's failure to employ a broader approach to sport development reflects a paternalistic attitude towards those involved with sport delivery in Alberta. In this regard a consultant with the Alberta Sport Council noted that:

> The council made a bold decision last year and went to block funding to provincial sport associations. So it gave the provincial sport associations significant flexibility in how to address and utilize the funding. But the paternal relationship continues to exist and proliferate and I use that phrase because it is a we know best attitude. We know how to develop sport better than you do and that is a perception in the sport community and you can document that from shooting sports to synchronized swimming to athletics to water polo. When you deal with the technical people in those sports whether they are volunteer or professional staff they will tell you that their perception when they work with the Sport Council is that paternal attitude, we know better.

People outside the Alberta Sport Council are concerned that this paternalism has grown to the point where provincial government institutions have completely taken over control of sport development. It was noted that sport groups no longer have an adequate means through which they can legitimize their own objectives in the area of sport development, let alone influence the Alberta government's sport policy agenda. For many years Sport Alberta and the Intersport conferences it organized provided an arena through which these things could be accomplished. Sport Alberta no longer exists and the Department of Recreation and Parks and the Alberta Sport Council have taken over the administration of Intersport and in so doing they have changed the event's focus. Dr. Gerry Glassford provided the following assessment:

> It became evident that there was not enough substance for Sport Alberta by itself, there just wasn't enough in role responsibility. And then I think its days were numbered. But it left sport without a true opportunity for a non-politicized voice structure because, you [the interviewer] were right to point out that there is a very close linkage between the government and Alberta Sport Council. Now you have a conflict of interest because you have another group of people who don't necessarily want to deal always with the policies of government. They may have other visions but they don't have an easy way to discuss those visions and to try to create the pressure we created in the late '70s and early '80s to see a change in the policy and the acts. They are not getting heard. I'm not sure it is not that they are not getting recognized but I think that there is a good level of sensitivity, well there was, by Alberta Recreation and Parks and by the Alberta Sport Council. But, it is not easy for the Alberta sports community to get together and talk about the things that we used to talk about. The Intersports are still very good and they are still powerful. We tend to be

> structuring them more and more to the needs of the Alberta Sport Council and the needs, perhaps, of government than to the needs of the sport delivery system itself. In other words he who drives the agenda drives the nature of the meeting, or she.

The Alberta Sport Council's approach to facilitating sport development shares a significant number of similarities with the approach that has been taken by the institutions that other governments across Canada have employed to oversee sport development. The Alberta Sport Council's unique Crown corporation status has not made it immune from what Macintosh and Whitson (1990) have described as a tendency for provinces "to reproduce the same emphasis on high-performance sport" that they have described in National Sport Organizations "with the same neglect of community and recreational sport" (p. 125). The Alberta Sport Council has also promoted the professionalization of sport which has contributed to the fact that volunteers and other "non-professionals" involved in sport are losing their ability to speak to governments on their own behalf.

Recommodifying Sport in Alberta

The Alberta Sport Council's approach to sport development also mirrors the federal government's attempts to recommodify sport. As was noted in Chapter Two, the history of federal government involvement in sport development has been characterized by periods in which the government has decommodified and later recommodified sport. Harvey has linked periods of sport decommodification and recommodification to the overall history of welfare state development in Canada. Sport became decommodified during a period in which the Canadian government felt it had an obligation to provide sport-related services and opportunities in a non-market form so that these services and opportunities would be available to all members of Canadian society and especially members of disadvantaged groups. This trend was later reversed in the face of

fiscal crisis as the Canadian government sought ways to recommodify sport (return sport to the marketplace) as part of its efforts to address its fiscal crisis.

The Alberta Sport Council's Crown corporation status has enabled it to pursue the recommodification of sport more aggressively that other government institutions that have a mandate to oversee sport development. This section outlines some of the characteristics of the Alberta Sport Council's strategy for recommodifying sport and a key secondary contradiction that has emerged as a result of its efforts.

The first goal of the Alberta Sport Council that is outlined in the Alberta Department of Recreation and Parks *Sport Development Strategy: Executive Summary* is funding and marketing. The strategy states that goal #1 of the council is "To solicit financial contributions, services, and other resources from individual organizations, businesses and corporations to assist in the operation of the programs of the council" (Alberta Recreation and Parks, 1984b, p.5). This goal is part of the provincial government's priority of creating a stable and diverse financial base for sport by providing operational funds and generating revenues from the private sector and lotteries. Everyone who was interviewed for this study agreed the most important advantage of the Alberta Sport Council was that, as a Crown corporation it was able to provide a stable financial base for sport. They also agreed that most of this stable financial base was due to the council's access to lottery funds.

The data collected for this study could not be used to provide a clear assessment of the extent of the Alberta Sport Council's success in soliciting funds from corporate and private donors. Several respondents noted that the council had experienced limited success in this area and that there was room for improvement. The financial statements included in the council's annual reports of the fiscal years 1984-85, 1986-87, 1987-88 and 1988-89, show that income from donations has averaged about four per cent of its total budget. It should also be noted that these annual reports indicate that up to and including the fiscal year 1988-89 the amount of money received from donations has increased annually.

The 1988-89 annual report indicates that over 400,000 dollars were received through various donations. Although the data did not make it possible to comment on the success of the Alberta Sport Council's efforts to secure private donations for sport development, it did reveal two issues that have emerged as a result of the council's efforts to attract private-sector donations and other efforts to commodify sport.

First, the data indicate that in order to attract sponsorship the council has had to develop creative ways of selling many of its programs to the private sector. This has meant that in many instances sporting events have had to be reshaped and packaged into a form that will attract sponsorship. This has, in many instances, threatened the integrity of many of the programs offered by provincial sport associations that are co-sponsored by the Alberta Sport Council. The largest and most visible program of this type is the Alberta Games. Members of the provincial associations who were interviewed for this study indicated that from a program point of view their associations were not satisfied with the way in which the Alberta Games was administered. Here are two examples of how the technical director of Athletics Alberta described this dissatisfaction:

> And Alberta Summer Games is a prime example where the associations were really unhappy with a lot of things that were coming out of the [Alberta] Games and [Alberta Games] camp proposals. None of the associations were happy. Ninety per cent of them have probably rejected it. It was even in a report and yet it was still approved because there were political sensitivities and that sort of thing. You're a board who should be listening to your constituents, such as your associations. You should have said okay there is a problem. Alberta Summer Games and the Alberta Summer Games camps and zone games are a real thorn in a lot of association's sides. Because they feel they have not been listened to. They have been almost forced to do them without wanting to do them. That is a real concern and the associations still have that kicking around back there in their minds.

Second, individuals pointed out that the Alberta Sport Council played a key role in undermining the efforts of provincial associations to secure donations from private business. The Alberta government has consistently stressed that

provincial associations must do a better job of soliciting private funding for programs that fall outside of government's and/or the council's funding parameters. However, in their efforts to gain corporate support provincial organizations are having to compete with the Alberta Sport Council. In this regard a staff member of the Alberta Volleyball Association commented:

> The council is approaching the same people that we approach to raise funds and we reasonably often, let's say one in every five or six approaches get the answer back that the company has already given to Alberta sport through the Sport Council and hence isn't going to support any individual, event or association in addition to that. So they have taken away from our ability to raise funds directly for our association activities. At the same time I realize the mandate of the council is to raise funds for sport. I am not aware of any amount of money that the council has raised through fund-raising, corporate fund-raising sponsorship that has gone to sport through sport association. Now I know that it has gone to support the operation of the council and the council programs such as the Alberta Summer Games and that is what they say is money being raised for sport. You know, I can see that to a certain extent, but they're not distributing the money they've raised to the provincial sport associations which to me is the fundamental basis for sport system in Alberta, not the Sport Council. What they are doing is raising funds from the corporate sector so they can increase their profile and visibility in the direct provision of (high-performance?) sport. And from one point of view there is nothing wrong with that, but why should they be involved in the provision of sporting opportunities when the provincial associations are the ones that they [government] are supposed to support the activities of [*sic*]. So those are two problems I see with the fund-raising that comes to us. One, we don't see a penny of it and we have no idea how much they raise or where they spend it. Two, they're hindering our activity but that's why they have all those lawyers and accountants and oilmen on the board.

The Alberta Sport Council's aggressive involvement in activities that promote the recommodification of sport is perhaps the most unique aspect of the role it has played in sport development in Canada. This clearly sets it apart from the approach that other state agencies have employed in their efforts to promote the recommodification of sport. It is primarily because the Alberta Sport Council is a Crown corporation that it's able to aggressively seek out and promote corporate involvement in sport development. Gary Tomick noted:

> The Alberta Sport Council has been able to involve the corporate sectors more than the government department has. I think definitely there is more that could be done in that area but at the same time there is more going to be done from a corporate point of view. The corporations have been more receptive to it [the Alberta Sport Council], I think, than to the Alberta Recreation and Parks, an actual government department. They see the Council as being separate from government from a corporation point of view and I think that's fine.

It is somewhat ironic, however, that this approach has hindered the recommodification of sport since in the face of stiff competition from the Alberta Sport Council provincial sport associations are finding it increasingly difficult to obtain corporate donations.

The promotion of the recommodification of sport is linked to the Alberta government's interest in promoting capital accumulation and economic activity within the province. Several individuals noted that emphasizing the economic benefits of sport has been an important part of gaining public and political support for the Alberta Sport Council and it programs. People have drawn attention to the fact that the Alberta Games, like other sport festivals, can promote significant economic spin-offs for the communities that host them. They have even gone so far as to suggest that the Games were used for political patronage purposes when Stettler was granted the opportunity to host the Alberta Games. This opportunity followed on the heels of a crucial Progressive Conservative byelection victory in which the residents of Stettler elected Don Getty to the provincial legislature. To maintain his status as Premier, Getty needed to win the Stettler byelection in order to obtain a seat in the legislature after he failed to win a seat in his home riding.

Summary

There are few if any characteristics to be found in the structure of Alberta Sport Council's approach that would set it apart from that of any other government's in Canada. Debates persist about local versus high-performance sport development, conflicts between volunteers and professionals have become

an issue etc., and there is a pervasive emphasis on marketing and selling amateur sport to the public. Notwithstanding these similarities Alberta's sport development system emerged out of a unique set of historical events and it is these events that explain why the government of Alberta had to employ a unique system in order to achieve the same objectives as other governments in Canada. As a conclusion to this study Chapter Seven reviews the account of the development of the Alberta Sport Council that has been presented, comments on the way in which this investigation has contributed to our understanding of the development of sport in Canada.

Chapter Seven

Politics, Society and Sport Development: Some Concluding Remarks

This study has examined the events that have led to the creation of the Alberta Sport Council and the impact that this institution has had on sport development in Alberta. The events that led to the birth of this institution took place over a period of almost twenty years. During that time, individuals interested in promoting sport in Alberta sought to create an institution that would, with the assistance of the provincial government, foster the development of sport in Alberta. Beginning in 1967 the Alberta government, in which the Social Credit Party held a majority, sponsored a number of discussions that led to the creation of Sport Alberta in 1970. Sport Alberta was the first organization with the mandate of supporting the interests of sports groups throughout the province. During the 1970s the Progressive Conservatives were elected to government. This party implemented a unique approach to government that transformed the nature of politics in Alberta. The Progressive Conservatives also, as this study has shown, transformed the way in which sport interests were represented in Alberta. Interpersonal and intra-organizational conflict combined with the corporatist ideology of the Progressive Conservatives and a rapid downturn in the economic growth of Alberta to foster the creation of the Alberta Sport Council. The Alberta Sport Council is a Crown corporation. The Alberta government claims that this Crown corporation is representative of a truly unique approach to sport development in which government intervention is held at arm's length.

The observations made in this study indicate that despite its so-called unique characteristics, the Alberta Sport Council's approach to sport development mirrors that of other governments which have directly intervened in sport development. The Alberta Sport Council's Crown corporation status has not left it immune to the criticisms that have been hurled at other state sport development institutions such as Sport Canada. In Alberta critics have drawn attention to the council's overwhelming emphasis on elite (read Olympic) sports to the detriment

of grassroots (read local and community) sport development. They have also raised concerns about the increased bureaucratization of sport delivery and the changing and, in some cases, shrinking role of the volunteer. Most significantly, critics have also challenged the Alberta government's claim that the nature of the Alberta Sport Council ensures that it is free from government influence. Vicki Barnett, writing in the *Calgary Herald*, argued that the Alberta Sport Council represented a step taken by the government in order to control amateur sports.

Is it surprising this organization, that has been deemed to be so different, has implemented an approach to sport development that has much in common with the state institutions to which it is supposed be an alternative? To answer this question it is necessary to reconsider the observations made in this investigation in the context of the theoretical ideas upon which this study was based. The answer to this question will provide a basis from which it will be possible to comment on what the results of this study imply about the future of state involvement in sport development.

The State, Social Structure, Social Systems and Sport Development

The view of the state as welfare state that has been put forward by Offe (1984, 1985), Giddens (1981) and others is one in which the state is "seen as a set of collectives concerned with the institutionalization of political power" (Giddens, 1981, p. 220). The development of the welfare-state has come about as result of the efforts that various groups have made to secure citizenship/welfare rights which they deem to be essential to everyone's enjoyment of a minimum standard of social life. It is through the political power is that is embodied in the state that various social groups and classes have sought and obtained the sanctions necessary in order to achieve their goals within a society. However, the acquisition of welfare rights has been tempered by the structural contradictions inherent in the structure of capitalism and as a result these rights have only been gained through struggle. In this regard Giddens (1982) points out:

> The welfare state is neither the result of liberal proclivities of government . . . nor the instrument of bourgeois class domination . . . . It is a contradictory formation, entangled in the asymmetrical relations between class division and social or welfare rights. There is, of course, strictly speaking, no 'welfare state' as such: welfare provisions and their relation to state institutions and class relationships, vary quite sharply between different societies. The contradictory character of state welfare institutions, however, helps us grasp these differences as well as whatever similarities might be observed (p. 176).

The observations made in this study illustrate that struggle was an important aspect of the history of sport development in Alberta and that the outcome of that struggle was in part influenced by the fiscal crisis that confronted the Alberta government within the contradictory structure of its capitalist economy. Fiscal crisis has been experienced across Canada and throughout the world. Within the context of Canada, Harvey (1988) and Macintosh and Whitson (1990), have illustrated that, in response to attacks on the welfare state, the federal government has reshaped the character of its intervention towards a contradictory form. This form is one in which the federal government seeks to show that it is concerned that opportunities to participate in sport are available to all Canadians while, at the same time, promoting a recommodification of sport that in effect makes sport less available if not inaccessible to many Canadians. The results of this study indicate that a similar reshaping has taken place in Alberta for reasons that can be traced to the contradictions of capitalism. It is therefore not surprising to discover a strong similarity in the sport development policies of Canada's federal and provincial governments' sport development agencies.

The results of this study also indicate that these similarities are not entirely a consequence of the pressures exerted by the structure of capitalism. Chapter Six noted that Alberta has experienced a growth in the professionalization and bureaucratization of sport that has occurred throughout Canada's sport system. This trend, it was noted, is more a result of the ideological reconstruction of

physical education that has been taking place in universities across Canada than the structural pressures of the capitalist economic system[22].

While the nature of the Alberta government's involvement in sport shares much in common with that of other Canadian governments, the institutional form of its involvement is unique. The Alberta Sport Council is the only Crown corporation with a mandate to promote sport development and the only government institution related to sport that openly boasts of its ties to the business elite. The results of this study indicate that numerous factors such as the role played by key actors, the timing of events such as Alberta's fiscal crisis and the ideologies of its governing political parties are all, in part, responsible for this uniqueness. This observation reinforces Giddens' remark, above, that welfare provisions can vary quite sharply between different societies.

In conclusion, theories of welfare state development provided a useful means of answering the question of why the Alberta government choose to create the Alberta Sport Council as a Crown corporation to oversee sport development. Canada's federal and provincial governments, like many other welfare states, have encountered fiscal crises. Offe's discussion of the development of welfare states indicates there are only a few strategies that governments can employ to deal with fiscal crisis. Laissez-faire privatization of services and corporatism are two of these two strategies. In contrast with the laissez-faire strategy used by the federal and other provincial governments, the Alberta government employed a quasi-corporatist strategy. The use of this strategy significantly influenced the Alberta government's decision to create a Crown corporation. The actions of key individuals in government were also found to play a role in the council's creation.

Insight into the question regarding whether or not the impact of the council has been significantly different from the impact of government institutions involved in sport development elsewhere in Canada was also obtained in this

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[22] A complete discussion of this trend can be found in Demers (1988).

study. The observations made in this study indicate that the Alberta government's quasi-corporatist approach to sport development has had an impact very similar to that of governments who have implemented a laissez-faire approach to sport development. This similarity was found to be a result of an ideological reconstruction of physical education that has taken place across Canada.

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APPENDIX A
Sample Interview and Document Summary Forms

TYPE OF CONTACT: SITE_____

INTERVIEW WITH_____

CONTACT DATE_____

PRESENTATION BY_____

VISIT_____ TODAY'S DATE_____

1. What were the main themes or issues that struck you in this contact?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

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2. Pick out the most salient points in the contact. Number in order on this sheet and note page number on which point appears. Attach theme or aspect in CAPITALS. Invent themes where no existing ones exist. Comments may appear in double parentheses.

_____

3. Possible future contacts.

DOCUMENT FORM

Date Received_____

Date of Document_____

Name or Description of Document:_____

_____

Event or contact, if any, with which the document is associated:

_____

Significance or importance of document:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Brief summary of contents:

_____

_____

_____

_____

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_____

_____

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_____

Any new questions or issues that need to be investigated due to the content of this document.

APPENDIX B

An Adventure in Computer-Assisted Content Analysis

My motivation to use microcomputers to assist in this study stemmed from my personal interest in microcomputers and my familiarity with their capacity to deal with large sets of data, allowing for the use of sophisticated analytical techniques that are impossible with more traditional pencil and paper forms of qualitative data analysis. In my previous involvement with qualitative studies I frequently had to deal with a proliferation of paper and spent considerable amount of time cutting and pasting, filing and re-filing, sorting and re-sorting, and searching and re-searching, instead of actually analyzing the data. A microcomputer used properly, I believed, could significantly reduce the amount of time I spent managing data and consequently enable me to deal with more data more effectively and efficiently.

When this study began software designed specifically for the purpose of qualitative data analysis was not readily available[23]. Even so, the advantages of using microcomputers were being promoted in the literature. Pfaffenberger (1988) cites the following three major advantages that microcomputers have over their mainframe counterparts: (a) "[they] can be taken directly to the field, where they can be used for the *direct entry* of field notes, interview transcriptions, and the like," (b) "a surprisingly wide variety of useful (and inexpensive) application packages are available" and (c) "owing to their low costs, social scientists can afford to own them outright" (p. 22).

Pfaffenberger (1988) is also careful to indicate some of the shortcomings that accompany the use of microcomputers in qualitative research. He notes that using microcomputers to store field notes biases the researcher's note-taking activities against fruitful non-textual activities such as drawing diagrams and sketching. Pfaffenberger also cautions that researchers who employ microcom-

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[23] At present I am only aware of one program, "Ethnograph," designed specifically for this purpose.

puters can often become caught up in the activities associated with becoming adept in the use of microcomputers that have little relevance to the task at hand: analyzing the data.

Nash (1990) has also explored this aspect of microcomputer-assisted research. He indicates that the use of microcomputers is characterized by the emergence of "frittering": playful activities which emerge in relation to the use of microcomputers, but which are not directly productive and substitute for "real work." Nash identifies two types of fritters, normal fritters and pure fritters. Normal fritters are digressions from the primary activities necessitated by the process of using the computer to undertake the activity which, in this case, is data analysis. Examples of normal fritters would include activities like learning new software and performing disk back-ups and other maintenance. Pure fritters are digressions which displace and substitute for real work, such as playing computer games or setting up down-loadable fonts and font paths, in the event that one might someday wish to use an obscure, exotic font.

I compared my own experience with microcomputers[24] with Pfaffenberger's (1988) observations and concluded that the potential benefits of using a microcomputer significantly outweighed any potential disadvantages. I made a commitment to utilize my microcomputer wherever and whenever it was possible. The first step toward this end involved assessing the compatibility of the types of software discussed by Pfaffenberger and the anticipated requirements of my study. Pfaffenberger's evaluation of each type of software was used as a standard to assess the different software packages that were considered for this study. His evaluation pointed out several advantages and disadvantages associated with the three practical types of software options that qualitative researchers can use to create, store and retrieve field notes.

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[24] Gephart and Pitter (1991a, 1991b) provide an account of the experiences encountered when computers were used to assist in an ethnographic analysis of industrial accidents.

The types of software discussed by Pfaffenberger (1988) are: (a) word-processing software, (b) automatic indexing and retrieval programs and (c) text-oriented database management programs. While word processors, the first type, are ideal for storing, organizing and presenting textual data, their use for data analysis and retrieval is limited. The second type, automatic indexing and retrieval programs, has many enhanced search capabilities not present in word processors; however, Pfaffenberger notes this greater capacity for finding data does at a price. The nature of this software makes it very difficult to retrieve meaningful data in a straightforward manner without generating a lot of superfluous data or, alternatively, missing relevant data. Many of these programs also have a tendency to retrieve data out of context, thereby rendering it analytically impotent.

Text-oriented databases are not plagued by the problems associated with word processors and indexing software. Text-oriented databases allow the user to enter notes into any number of user-defined fields designed specifically to handle text. They also allow the user to edit files for extensive revision, rewriting and coding of notes. Data can be stored in fields in a manner that is both meaningful to the researcher and consistent with the way in which it was originally written. Pfaffenberger (1988) points out four drawbacks to text-oriented databases. One drawback is that data has to be contained in one single file which will have a tendency to grow to become very large, consuming several megabytes of hard-disk computer space. A second drawback is associated with the reliability of hard drives. Pfaffenberger notes that hard drives have been known to fail and thus make data irretrievable unless it has been backed up. The process of backing up a hard drive brings an added cost, in terms of time and money, to the research process. A third drawback concerns the fact that many text-oriented databases perform their searches very slowly. A fourth drawback is that many database programs inflict a severe punishment on users who wish to make changes to the headings or the arrangement of fields. Some text-oriented databases require the

user to re-enter data in order to change the field names or other field characteristics.

Of the three types of software evaluated by Pfaffenberger (1988) I was particularly attracted to text-oriented databases. Since my analysis would employ the technique of content analysis, I needed software that was designed to deal with text data and flexible enough to allow data entry without bending the data to fit the software. I also wanted to be able to embed analytical codes in or very near to the raw data. Text-oriented databases as they were described by Pfaffenberger appeared to offer maximum flexibility and capacity for the organization and management of qualitative data that I had in mind.

I spent several months reading product reviews and consulting with other computer users before choosing two text-oriented databases, "Bibliograph" and "askSam". Bibliograph was selected because Pfaffenberger (1988) went on at length about its usefulness and provided several examples of how it might be used to aid qualitative data analysis. Bibliograph was designed to automate the generation of bibliographies. I felt that if it turned out to be too problematic for data analysis I could still use it to generate the bibliography for this and other papers. While reading up on Bibliograph, I came across a review of a product called askSam.

The reviewer of askSam was impressed by several features that overcame many of the limitations normally associated with text-oriented databases. AskSam was free from the limitations of the text-oriented database software evaluated by Pfaffenberger (1988). AskSam could do many things: search and retrieve text stored in any number of files (individually or in a group), perform very quick and efficient searches, store data in structured fields or without structured fields depending on the user's needs and accept changes to field names or any other field characteristics without severely penalizing the user. The reviewer identified only one significant drawback to askSam. AskSam was difficult to learn. Users who were not familiar with computer programming techniques could expect to encounter some difficulty. Otherwise, askSam fulfilled all the criteria identified

by Pfaffenberger by combining the advantages of word processing, indexing and retrieval and database software packages without any apparent limitations. As a result, it was chosen to be the primary software tool to aid the data analysis.

The major disadvantages identified in the review of askSam became apparent within a few hours of loading into the microcomputer and doing the tutorial exercises contained in the manual. AskSam was difficult to use partly because of poor documentation and partly because it was able to do things that this researcher had been taught were impossible to do with computers. The difficulty associated with using askSam meant that a considerable amount of normal frittering took place as I spent several months exploring the capabilities of askSam. Once I had become familiar with askSam I used it to perform several tasks in the research process.

My experience with other projects using microcomputers indicated that I should start with small tasks and gradually work my way up toward larger and more complex tasks, the largest and most complex being the actual analysis of data. AskSam was first used to help me with the process of gathering information on key actors. As I identified each actor I entered each of their names into an askSam database. A total of 58 key actors were eventually entered into the askSam database. I gave each actor a numeric identifier. This number added a measure of security in terms of confidentiality[25]. As key actors were identified I also collected some background information about them. This information included their address (in case they needed to be contacted for an interview), a list of relevant organizations with which they had been involved and any biographical data that had been unearthed.

Once this information had been recorded I used askSam to sort it in a variety of ways. For example, when I was scheduling my interviews I was able to generate a list of all actors who were involved with the Alberta Sport Council and

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[25] It should also be noted that askSam provides a password and data encryption as further measures that can be used to ensure confidentiality.

who lived in Calgary. Using askSam, I could also easily identify actors who had similar backgrounds from the biographical information. In addition, I organized document summary forms using askSam. Handwritten information from these forms was easily entered into askSam. As with the actor information, once this information had been entered it was very easy to search and retrieve information.

With the relatively easy task of using askSam to organize actor and document summary information completed, I turned my attention to the more difficult task of using askSam to assist my data analysis. This task consumed a considerable amount of time and effort. It was difficult for me to determine the most effective and efficient means of using askSam to assist me with the analysis of the interview data, even though I believed askSam would enable me to implement an analytical procedure that would yield a very rich yet manageable data set.

I initially approached the data analysis with the intent of closely following the grounded theory approach outlined by Strauss (1987). His approach is very intense and involves several stages of coding and theory development. Coding proceeds through three stages: open, axial and selected. I began with open coding which Strauss (1987) describes as follows:

> The *initial* type of coding done during the research project is termed open coding. This is unrestricted coding of the data. This open coding is done . . . by scrutinizing the fieldnote, interview, or other document very closely: line by line, or even word by word. The aim is to produce concepts that seem to fit the data (p. 28).

In using askSam to facilitate the process of open coding I decided that I would need to discover a way that the raw data and codes associated with it could be viewed together easily and that codes and/or data could also be searched and retrieved easily. My efforts to meet these goals revealed that askSam did have limitations that would make computer-assisted data analysis a bit awkward. I decided it would be best to make notes about my progress, especially with regard to the problems I was encountering and potential solutions for them, because trial and error became the primary means of discovery and progression. I began

making notes on April 10, 1990. The account that follows is based on those notes and my memory.

As I pursued the task of coding the data the first thing I discovered was that it is very easy to convert the interview data that is stored in word-processing files into a form that can be used by askSam and vice versa. This meant I could code the data using my word processing software, "Wordperfect," first and then convert the coded interview to a format that could be read by askSam. Using the word processor to embed codes in the interview data was easier than using askSam because Wordperfect has superior editing capabilities. I was excited by this discovery and quickly pressed on only to encounter several dead-end efforts. I wanted to be able to view chunks of data and the codes associated with them vertically in two columns. I felt this was the most natural way to compare raw data with codes. This was possible with the word processor, but not with askSam. AskSam could be instructed to print data in this fashion; however, it was not possible to edit data in this way. Although disappointing, this was a minor roadblock. Chunks and associated codes could be viewed together horizontally while editing.

A second and more significant set of roadblocks were those encountered as I tried to develop a way to distinguish codes from text contained in the interview data. I decided to structure the data using two fields, one for chunks and the other for codes. Each chunk field contained one sentence from the interview. Each code field could contain as much information as was needed to properly code a chunk. This information would include some commentary as well as words that were specifically designated to be various types of codes. The problem that emerged concerned distinguishing between words as part of a comment and words that distinguished a particular code or type of code. For example, in Figure Two the code field reads as follows: "Sport Council, origins, Intersport, background: the respondent notes that the history of the Sport Council goes back to the early 1970s with the start of Intersport." The words "origins" and "background" were

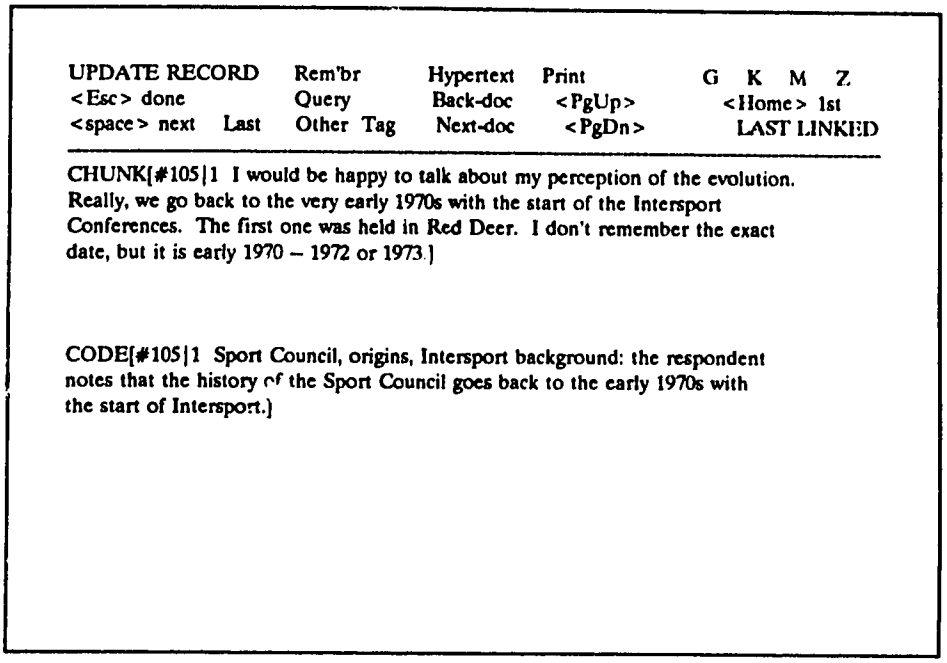

Figure Two: Original coding using diacritical marks.

identified as possible code categories; however, I had to develop a means of signalling this fact.

In pencil and paper methods of data analysis words to be interpreted as codes can be identified by drawing a circle around them or by writing them using a coloured pen or pencil. This cannot be done in the microcomputing environment. Pfaffenberger (1988) points out that this problem can be overcome by using special characters and/or diacritical marks like "*" or "^" to surround the words that signify a code or other special passage. This strategy was not very useful in the askSam environment. Almost every special character and diacritical mark had a special use in the askSam environment and could not be searched for and/or retrieved using askSam. The only exception was the vertical bar character, "|". This character was used to mark words that signified codes, as illustrated in Figure Three.

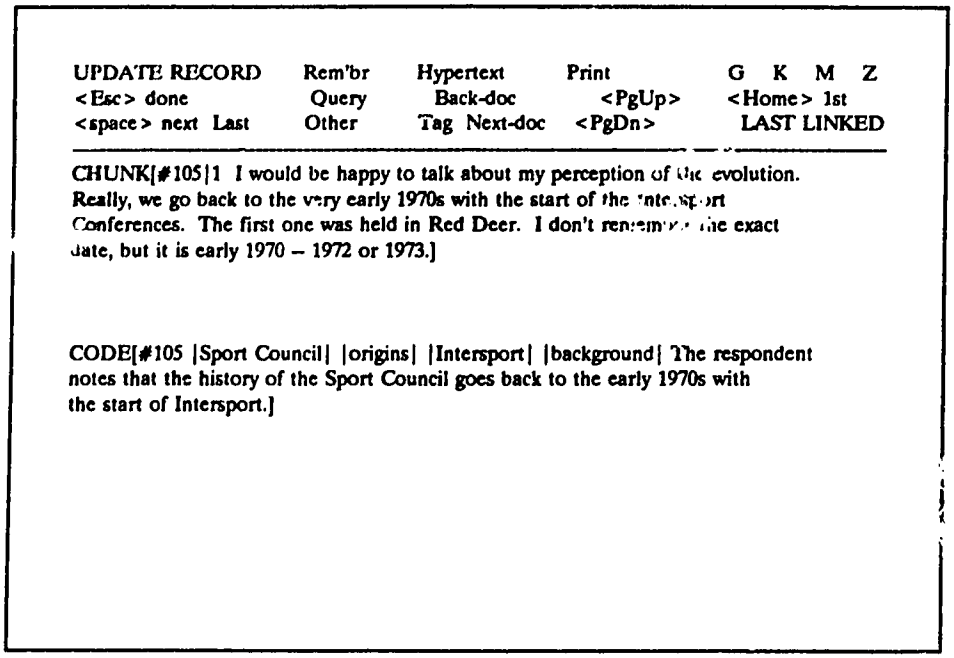

Figure Three: Example of first revised approach to coding.

I coded three interviews in the manner described above. Once I had completed coding those interviews I used askSam to generate a list of all the codes that had been identified in the code field for each coded interview. Coding the data line-by-line was a very time consuming process. The first three interviews contained anywhere from 9,000 to over 10,000 words and it took over a one week to code each one. The first list of codes that was retrieved from a single interview yielded 248 different codes. This was an unwieldy amount of data which did not appear to be very useful so I decided to re-evaluate my approach to the analysis of the data. The following excerpt from my research notes illustrates my assessment of the situation at that time.

March 11 92

RE: Data Analysis and Coding

Since August I have continued to do open coding of interviews. Presently I have produced a list of codes for interviews #105, #139 and #126. These interviews were coded using the database software askSam. From this

software I have generated a list of codes for each interview transcript as well as a cumulative list.

What have I accomplished? Presently I have a list of code phrases which do not have a lot of meaning. Before continuing I believe it is necessary to add more method to this madness. On March 6 I consulted with both Trevor Slack and Bob Gephart as a means of getting some ideas regarding how to proceed with these long lists of what are best called *code phrases*. Gephart has introduced to me an article by Barry Turner that has given me some ideas in this regard.

My coding needs to be made more meaningful. Presently the code phrases I have possess little meaning. They can serve only as flags to indicate where references to specific details can be found. However, there are no references to the context that these details represent. Reading the Turner article suggests that my codes need to be given more meaning in the context of this study and what the respondents are actually saying. I believe that I can still benefit from askSam as a help to this project but I have to organize the system a little differently in order to obtain the results I need.

Recommendations for Future Analysis:

Before proceeding with future analysis I believe the following adjustments should be made in order to "make more sense out of the data."

The next step may require some re-coding and filing of the analysis along lines developed by Turner. Turner uses a system of numbered index cards with code titles, references to field notes and cross-references to other cards. The next step would be to develop a similar system in askSam. This may require a new approach to the treatment of the raw data different from that which is currently being used in askSam. Here is an outline of how I conceive that this can be done.

In completing the step above I should create an askSam file called Codecard.ask and use document mode to create records of each code area. It will likely be necessary to number the chunks so that they can be referred to in the code cards. It may also be possible using hypertext to automate the retrieval of these chunks when necessary.

As indicated by my research notes, I abandoned the line-by-line approach to data analysis and focused on implementing the ideas put forward by Turner (1981). The line-by-line analysis was not a complete failure. As I look back at

my notes during that time I realize doing this helped me to identify key themes and categories of analysis that are discussed in the results of this study. The major fault was the labour intensiveness of this approach and the fact that it yielded too many extraneous themes that, although interesting, were not germane to the context of this study. Turner's approach is less susceptible to these shortcomings and at the same time is oriented towards generating grounded theory.

Turner (1981) adheres closely to the steps of the grounded theory approach developed by Glasser and Strauss (1967) (cf. Strauss, 1987); however, he approaches the analysis of the data a little differently from how I had started. Instead of a line-by-line analysis, Turner:

> deal[s] with the material paragraph by paragraph, numbering the paragraphs for reference purposes. Starting with the first paragraph of the transcript or notes, I ask 'What categories, concepts or labels do we need in order to describe or to account for the phenomena discussed in this paragraph?' When I think of a label, I note it down on 5" by 8" file-card, together with the number of the paragraph and the file-card. I then check whether further cards are needed to note further potentially significant phenomena referred to in this paragraph. I generate cards with titles of categories until I am satisfied with my coverage of that paragraph, until I seem to have noted all of those features which are of significance to me and then move on to the next paragraph (p. 232).

Turner's (1981) approach turned out to be especially suited to the characteristics of the askSam software. It was very easy to transfer Turner's pencil and paper approach to the electronic medium of the microcomputer using the askSam software. The screen representations of data presented by askSam are very similar to that of an index card. Each screen presents a limit of twenty lines of text. Additional text can be viewed by paging to the next screen in a manner very similar to how one would page through a stack of index cards.

Following Turner's (1981) suggestions, I analyzed the transcripts paragraph by paragraph combining traditional pencil and paper methods with my newly developing microcomputer-assisted methods. Each transcript was converted to a format readable by askSam. As I read each paragraph I asked the question suggested by Turner (1981), "What concepts, categories or labels do we need in

order to describe or to account for the phenomena discussed in this paragraph?" The paragraph was embedded in a field called *CHUNK*. Each chunk was given an identifier that included the transcript number and the sequential number (see Figure Four).

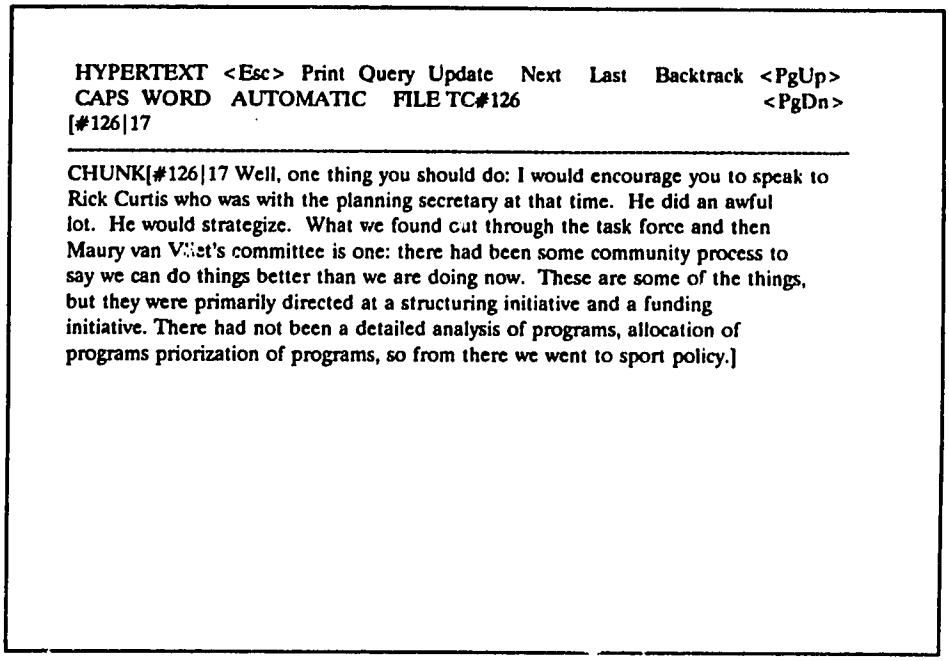

Figure Four: Example of how transcripts looked in the final approach to coding using askSam.

For example, the first chunk in interview #126 was identified by *#126|1*, the second chunk was identified as *#126|2* and so on. A hard copy of each transcript was also numbered in a similar manner as a backup and secondary reference.

Concepts and categories were first handwritten on individual index cards as they were developed. Each category was given a number according to the sequence in which it was developed. After each category had been handwritten on an index card, an electronic category card was produced using askSam (see Figure Five). AskSam has a feature that makes it possible to switch between two files, making it very easy to go back and forth between an interview transcript and

the emerging database of electronic index cards. The first line of each electronic code card contained a card number and a title indicating a conceptual idea. The remainder of the card contained a list of the relevant passages, including the location of each in the transcript and a brief reminder/summary of each passage's content. Each passage was noted on every card to which it was seen to be relevant. At the conclusion of this phase of the data analysis, 113 category labels were identified.

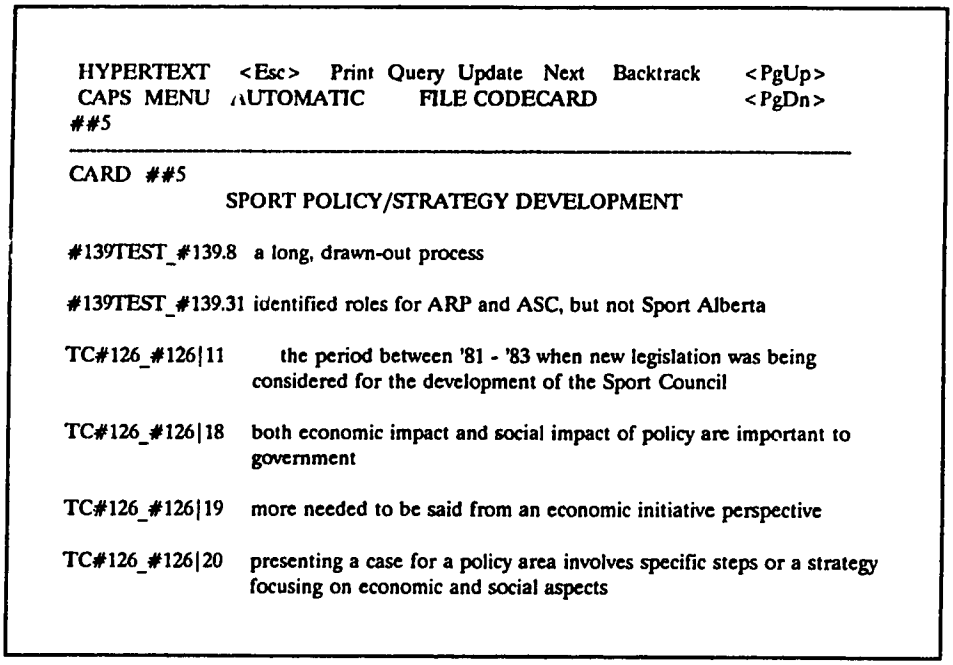

Figure Five: Example of a code card as it appears when using askSam.

From these 113 categories, I identified the topic areas that would form the basis of the discussions included in the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters of this study. For example, the section which discusses Sport Alberta's struggle for legitimacy was written by considering the information that was contained on code card #8, "Decline of Sport Alberta," in conjunction with several other categories, such as "Expertise of the Sport Alberta Board," "Sport Alberta Relationship with Alberta Recreation and Parks," "Intersport Conferences," etc. The accuracy of this

information was verified by considering organizational documents from the time period and information provided by other studies, such as Nicholls's (1982) and Yardley's (1981).

During the analysis process a microcomputer was used to decompress the data summarized on each set of code cards so that the context in which comments were made would be preserved. Several features of askSam make it possible to easily create computer files that consolidate all the data chunks associated with a particular concept or category in their full form. The hypertext feature of askSam makes it possible to go directly from viewing a code card to viewing the source of any paragraph summary contained on that code card. This is accomplished by simply highlighting the location of the paragraph with the cursor and then pressing the "Enter" key. After examining the full description in the transcript it is possible to have a copy of the paragraph appended to a file containing information that is only relevant to a particular concept. This method of consolidation is analogous to cutting and pasting raw data into specific category files; however, the mess associated with an abundance of paper and adhesive is eliminated.

Developing a useful means of electronically storing and retrieving data was a long, frequently tedious and frequently frustrating adventure. However, once a useful system was in place, the system enhanced the data analysis process in a number of ways. My microcomputer-assisted data analysis system made the data very easy to read, re-read, annotate, search and retrieve. This system also ensured that data was less likely to become misplaced and could be stored easily while its accuracy was maintained. As I compiled the results of the study, quotations from the raw data never had to be retyped and this saved some time. Now that my data has been entered I can, if I desire, refer to it again in future research projects.

I had hoped to be able to accomplish more through my use of askSam. My intuition tells me that I should be able to automate some of the procedures listed above by programming the askSam software however; the attempts I have made thus far have been unsuccessful. In the future I hope to gain success. I had also

hoped to electronically scan the documentary data and treat it in a manner similar to that of the interview data. However, scanning equipment was not available and the time needed to accomplish this would have added even more time to an already lengthy research project.

I have spent much time frittering with askSam, but I consider myself to be a computer hobbyist and hence I have actually enjoyed the challenge. Furthermore, I regard my frittering as an investment, since in the future frittering is less likely to occur as long as I continue to employ the same approach without having to make too many modifications. I believe microcomputer-assisted data analysis is valuable. It increases the thoroughness of analysis because it is very easy to go back to the data and scan for terms. The researcher is able to sift through the data over and over again in a way that is more efficient and effective than doing so by hand. Microcomputers also help to reduce the volume of paper produced and handled during qualitative research. In addition to these advantages I would also like to point out that microcomputers cannot accomplish all of the things that can be accomplished using pencil and paper methods or vice versa. For the time being, the best methods of qualitative data analysis will have to combine these two approaches.