

Totems and rituals on global stage

The performance of the Canadian identity at the Vancouver Winter Games

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Foreword

After my semester abroad at McGill University in Montreal in 2011, Canada has kept my interest and fascination. The beautiful nature and the friendly people overwhelmed me. I was surprised to notice both the big differences and the many similarities with the United States. Both countries know an interesting and quite ‘short’ history. The fact that Canada has its own flag since 1965 made me realise that Canada is still ‘growing up’. The creation and composition of Canada’s national identity and heritage is part of this growing up. I was astonished by the documentary I saw within the scope of the course ‘Quebec studies’ that showed the disadvantages the Canadian Aboriginals have to deal with. It showed the development of the government-owned corporation Hydro Quebec. It showed how water of original indigenous land is used to provide energy for the whole province whereas the natives now have to walk many miles further in order to even get some drinking water. Was this really happening in Canada? The country where all people were so nice and where helping me with my suitcases and with finding my way around the city?

Both my experience and interest in Canada, my interest in the creation of (national) stories and my interest in sports are combined in this thesis. I found it really interesting to examine how Canadian stories are founded and how they are reaffirmed and re-enacted throughout such an event as the Olympic Games.

During my work, I have encountered various examples of the performance of national identities on global stage and of the challenges that accompany this performance. This really motivated me and confirmed me that my research is really up-to-date and can be an interesting addition in the discussion on national identity.

I would like to thank my supervisor Laura Braden. She was a good support and always motivated me. In the beginning my ideas and plans for this thesis were kind of vague and unclear but with her help I have made the chaos, which always accompanies the start of a thesis, into a cohesive and scientific research. I want to thank her for that. With her enthusiasm and help, she made it more pleasant to work on this sometimes difficult but always really interesting project.

Next to Laura, I would like to thank my parents, Jasmijn, and Alex for the support during this thesis and in general for the support I receive from them in everything I do.

Overall, I am very content with the final result. This thesis was a very interesting and instructional project on which I have worked with a lot of pleasure.

1. Introduction

As one can already read in the texts of Emile Durkheim published a century ago, people are always looking to be a part of something and searching for the feeling of belonging to a community. Durkheim examined religious communities. In my thesis I look at nations as communities, for which I have used the theory of Benedict Anderson (2006 [1983]). He is describing nations as imagined communities. The borders of countries are not based on natural or geographical facts but on inventions and conventions. Therefore, one can state that the concept of a nation is an invented one, created over time and history. This, however, does not mean that the research on nations can be taken less seriously or that national identity can be written off as fiction, for as *“the very fact that it [national identity] has been used to define the situation of states makes it real in its consequences”* (Lechner, 2007, cited in Van Hilvoorde, Elling & Stokvis, 2010, p. 91). This citation explains why I can use national identities and imagined communities as a stable research object in this thesis. The fact that this invention has real consequences for states and its citizens makes the concept of national identity an interesting research object to examine.

National identity is a booming business nowadays. Even though we have become more familiar with concepts of the world as a global village (McLuhan & Powers, 1992 [1989]) and of the world getting smaller and smaller, these consequences of the globalisation have their impacts on national feelings as well. The other side of this increased globalisation is namely that countries are searching for and focusing on their national identity (Tomlinson, 1999a+b). In our ‘global village’ nowadays, countries are looking for something that binds them together as a nation. Jackie Hogan, professor in sociology at Bradley University, states this as well in her article about discourses on gender and ethnicity in the portrayal of national identity in Olympic Opening Ceremonies: *“At the same time, the cultural and political dynamics of globalization have created perceived threats to national self-determination, which in turn have sparked vigorous assertions of national identity in locations around the globe”* (2003, p. 103). In this quotation, Hogan states the interrelation of the rise of globalisation and the emphasis on national identity. Consequently, issues of national identity and cultural heritage are an increasingly important upcoming issue and research field in this time of globalisation.

Nowadays, people are less connected with each other. People are spending more time in front of their computer and television. A survey of Statistics Canada in 2005 pointed out

that the spare time of Canadians was mostly filled with watching television and other passive leisure. This way of spending leisure time occurred 12% more than the leisure time spend on socializing. Nowadays, socializing is more happening over the Internet. Facebook and other social media create new communities online and are very popular these days. However, in a study on Facebook, Franck Dumortier, researcher at the Research Centre for Computer and Law at the University of Namur in Belgium, describes the simplification of the social relations on these social media. He also states that an average user has approximately 120 ‘friends’ on Facebook (2010). So the number of friendships people can have on Facebook often exceeds the number of friendships one could possibly maintain in ‘real’ life. Through these developments on the Internet, one can be connected with people and issues worldwide without really knowing them or maintaining the relationship. These issues can contribute to the feeling of constant expansion and fragmentation of society. Through this feeling of expansion and fragmentation, it can be difficult to experience feelings of belonging and connection with the community in which you live. This concern to belong to a group, however, is not a recent development. The creating and importance of distinctive communities is a phenomenon that can be seen in all different groups of people throughout history and worldwide. As Durkheim’s research points out, also in Aboriginal tribes, people were creating communities and groups to be part of with their own rituals and habits (2008 [1912]). In earlier times, however, communities were limited by languages, history or culture. In the increasing global and multi-cultural society one lives in nowadays, these are less accessible binding factors. According to Durkheim, this modern society has lost the traditional social links. Religion, for example, provides no longer its social binding function. Also common language and ethnicity are disappearing in most societies nowadays. This is why people are searching for other ways to guarantee the social cohesion (Leezenberg & de Vries, 2007).

I have examined an event that tried to create and reaffirm this feeling of community and belonging to a nationality: the Olympic Winter Games of 2010 in Vancouver, Canada. Canada is a particularly interesting case study for examining the performance of national identity as the nation has a history of past and current struggles to determine and define an independent and clear identity (McDowell, 2011). This leads to the research question of this master thesis:

Which aspects of the Canadian identity were portrayed and how did Canada, a country struggling with its identity, perform this on a global stage at the Olympic Winter Games of Vancouver in 2010?

I tried to answer this research question with the help of answering sub questions. These sub questions are:

1. How is the Canadian identity portrayed throughout the bidding process and the organisation prior to the Vancouver Games?

This part of the thesis focuses on the presented self-image of Canada.

2. How is the Canadian identity portrayed throughout the Opening Ceremony?

This part of the thesis focuses on the portrayal and performance of the Canadian identity.

3. How is the Canadian identity portrayed throughout the Closing Ceremony?

This part of the thesis focuses on the portrayal and performance of the Canadian identity.

4. How is the Canadian identity portrayed throughout the commemoration of the Vancouver Games today?

This part of the thesis focuses on the remembrance of specific aspects of the Canadian identity, which were portrayed and performed during the whole event of the Olympic Games and are found in the data on commemoration of the Vancouver Games nowadays.

I will describe these different sub questions more comprehensively in the chapter about the data I used.

A mega-global event, such as the hosting of the Olympic Games, can increase both the domestic and international awareness of a city and a country (Brent Ritchie & Smith, 1991; Glynn, 2008). Such events can function as an affirmation of national identity as well (Hogan, 2003). In my thesis I examine such a global event to understand how a country presents its national identity both to itself and to the rest of the world. To this end, I examine the Olympic Games.

Nations willingly choose to organise the Olympic Games, vying against other cities and countries to have the honour. Cities have to apply to the International Olympic Committee for the organisation of the Games and, hereby, have willingly chosen to organise this big event and to broadcast their nation in front of the world. The Games function as a global stage for the national identity of the host country. As Hogan also stated, "*the modern Olympic Games, as both a product and promoter of economic, cultural, and political*

globalization, exemplify tensions between globalism and localism and provide fertile ground for articulations of national identity” (2003, p. 103). The modern Games provide, like Hogan states as well, a paradox between globalism and nationalism. They encourage on the one hand the assembling and unity of nations and exchange of cultures at the Olympic Games. The Games are, on the other hand, a competition between different nations against each other. This can evoke feelings like national pride and belonging and these national feelings basically exclude other nations. This makes the Olympic Games an international stage for different separate national identities. This international stage for nations is a recent phenomenon while the modern Olympic Games are only about 120 years old. The Olympic Games can therefore be a good study to examine the emerging focus on national identity, which one can see occurring through the rise of globalisation. *“In order to experience nationality, one needs exceptional events, celebrations, rituals and ceremonies”* (Van Hilvoorde et al., 2010, p. 90). One can find these all at the Olympic Games.

2. Theoretical framework

The increasing globalisation can impact national identity and culture (Friedman, 1994; Tomlinson, 1999a+b). The world gets smaller and smaller through the increasing developments and improvements in travel, communications, and technology (Smith, 2009). Countries are more connected and interrelated with each other and, therefore, also start to resemble each other more and more. *“The current era of globalization, with its unprecedented acceleration and intensification in the global flows of capital, labour, and information, is having a homogenizing influence on local culture”* (UNESCO, 2012 June 20-22). Next to this, the English language is becoming dominant as a world language and also cultures are more influenced by American or Western European lifestyles, ideas, and cultures (Smith, 2009).

Countries are more influenced by global aspects, which can have homogenizing impacts on diverse communities. This does not mean, however, that people nowadays identify themselves more or better with these global aspects. The globalisation does not largely contribute in a way that people see themselves as global citizens more than they see themselves as citizens from their own country. A global identity *“lacks the vital ingredients of common historical experience, a sense of temporal continuity and, crucially, shared memories. There are, he [Adam Smith, globalisation researcher] argues, no ‘world memories’; at least those that there are – of colonialism and world wars – are not recommended to produce feelings of global unity”* (Tomlinson, 1999b, p. 101-2). This makes global culture difficult to identify with and contributes to the search for more local and national identities to identify with. My research examines the emergence of national identity, which can be seen in relation with the emergence of globalisation. In the next section, I will examine the modern relation between national identity and globalisation by using the theories of Emile Durkheim and Benedict Anderson.

2.1 Durkheim and his use of rituals and totems

Emile Durkheim, the father of sociology, wrote about the importance of the feeling of belonging to a community. This can give the individual something to hold on and feel connected to and creates a feeling of support and security. Next to these pleasant feelings of support and safety, people also achieve much more when they are living together. Without society, there would be less knowledge transfer and, therefore, less development. Every generation should ‘start over’ again. Through this structured community, one can build on and

improve its ancestor's achievements. We can, for example, profit from railways and buildings made by other people of the community and benefit from the specialities and talents of others. Durkheim even states that individuals only can survive by grouping together (2008 [1912]). People are always trying to survive and living together raises the chances of surviving more than living alone.

The social cohesion and feeling of belonging to a community is not a restricted and given thing, however. The feeling has to be occasionally reaffirmed. "*According to Durkheim, the societal need for historical continuity results in the crucial signification of periodic commemoration, which allows the society to 'renew the sentiment which it has of itself and its unity' "*" (Durkheim, 1971, as cited in Misztal, 2003, p. 125). This is also how national identity and feelings of belonging to a group 'survive' and can be transmitted over time and space. Nations and cultures need a separate identity to define themselves and to distinguish themselves from other nations and cultures (Durkheim, 2008 [1912]). With specific rituals and totems groups can clarify their borders. "*Rituals are ways of acting that are generated only within assembled groups and are meant to stimulate and sustain or recreate certain mental states in these groups*" (Durkheim, 2008 [1912], p. 11). These rituals consist of characteristic customs and habits that are recognizable or typical for the society and, therefore, members of this community can identify themselves with them. An example of a ritual is a celebration of a national holiday. A totem is an object, which bears no specific meaning in itself. The meaning that the object embodies is formed and given throughout special (mostly historical) events or occurrences for the community. The totem captures a particular characteristic or feeling that is shared by members of the group. An example of a totem is a national flag. The flag functions as an emblem and a symbol of a specific group. With the special features of the flag, it differentiates itself from other nation's flags. By carrying the flag or painting it on one's face, one shows that it is part of this nation. An examination of the rituals and totems of a community can clarify and explain who and what is included and excluded within this community.

In this thesis the Olympic Games in Vancouver is seen as a reaffirmation and re-identification of national identity. This research makes use of Durkheim's work by examining "*how societies celebrate symbols of themselves in rituals that serve to sustain the vitality of a community's sacred beliefs and understandings*" (Misztal, 2003, p. 125). Durkheim is in his work focusing on religious rituals and totems of communities; in my thesis I use this theory for national rituals and totems. Durkheim explains that through the celebration of the society the feelings of belonging are reinforced. This can, for example, be a celebration of the

community's characteristics like culture, people or important events in the past. It is important that this ritual happens in the co-presence of the members of the society. The Olympic Games are an ideal stage for the celebration of different communities. Different nations are participating and this creates the feeling of nations as different teams who are happy for their own national success but competing against other nations. The Olympics can be seen as a place where these national communities are celebrated and, therefore, representing and reaffirming themselves on a global level. This celebration of nations consists of different national rituals and totems, for example, visible at the Parade of Nations at the Ceremonies, at the medal ceremonies and the national anthem that is played for the winning country after a each sport item, or on the national sportswear worn by the athletes or the national fan-wear worn by the members of the national community. Using the Olympic Games as occasion, these specific rituals and totems of the participating nations are performed and represented. This re-establishes the feeling of a distinguished community both in front of the 'own' citizens and for the rest of the world. It is like Durkheim stated: these commemorative rites bind and unite people from a society and connect them with something that is larger than themselves (2008 [1912]). This gives the members feelings of belonging, support and security.

2.2 Anderson, imagined communities and the performance of national identity

In my research case, the performing of rituals and national unification are happening on a global stage. I have chosen the Olympic Games for such a global event because this provides a good opportunity to examine countries as 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 2006 [1983]). Benedict Anderson argues in his book of 1983 that nations can be seen as imagined communities. The concept of a nation is based on invented conventions. The fact is that the idea of borders is not a natural phenomenon but an agreement between people. Borders are constructed and structured by history, people, culture, language, and geography. Also the sociologist Ernest Geller refers to the invented and imagined characteristic of national feeling when he states that "*nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist*" (1964, as cited in Anderson, 2006 [1983], p. 15). Citizens of a nation have the same illusions about themselves as citizens and 'their' nation (Francis, 1997). No citizen will ever know all the members of his nation, will discuss national issues with them, will celebrate national holidays with them, or will even be aware of their lives, "*yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion*" (Anderson, 2006 [1983], p. 6). Because the concept of nations is a concept that depends on these illusions and

agreements, it is in that way not a stable concept. This explains why nations are looking for a national identity that binds the country together and with which people can identify. This identity needs to be reaffirmed and regularly performed to stay powerful and meaningful (Durkheim 2008 [1912]). In this way one could compare this with the concept of the performance of the identity of a person. This identity is also not a given fact; one creates an identity. An identity has to (re) produce and perform itself in order to exist and keep existing. In this case I will use the performativity of gender identity as an example.

The French philosopher and feminist Simone de Beauvoir stated that one is becoming a woman and is not born as one (1986, as cited in Butler, 2004). This insecurity of the process of gender clarifies the importance of repetition in the gender act. Repetition is important to establish certain values and conventions. We give a baby girl pink clothes or she will wear pigtails in her hair to make sure that the audience, the society, does not take her for a boy. The gender act gets its confirmation through this repetition. One could say this counts for national identity as well. No one is born with the knowledge that he or she is Canadian. This is a feeling that is created through experiences and rituals. Durkheim also emphasises the importance of reaffirmation of these rituals for a community: “*no society can exist that does not feel the need at regular intervals to sustain and reaffirm the collective feelings and ideas that constitute its unity and its personality*” (2008 [1912], p. 322). Through the performance of identity, this identity is created and re-established. Therefore, one could speak of an interrelationship of performativity and identity.

The purpose of this thesis was to study which aspects of the Canadian identity were highlighted and performed throughout four different periods of the Vancouver Games. Especially the both Ceremonies can literally be seen as a stage for the performance of Canadian identity. The estimated budget of the Olympic Games as stated in Vancouver’s Bid Book also shows the efforts made for this section of the Games. It shows that even though the Olympic Games are a sport event, most money is calculated for the Ceremonies. The table on the next page indicates the budget planned for the Ceremonies.

9.11.2 BUDGET

EXPENDITURE BUDGET	\$US
Ceremonies	3,999,000
Human Resources	3,364,000
Marketing and Administration	3,545,000
Sport and Operations	9,227,000
Transportation	4,047,000
Village	3,363,000
TOTAL	27,545,000

Figure 1

In this research the Ceremonies have pointed out to be an important part in the performance of national identity throughout the Olympic Games. “*Olympic opening ceremonies in their current form are elaborately staged and commercialized narratives of nation*” (Hogan, 2003, p. 102). The Ceremonies exists of different elements both fixed Olympic traditions as specific dedicated cultural performances by the host nation (Hogan, 2003).

Next to this, the viewing figures show that these portrayals are also watched by large amounts of people both domestically and worldwide. The Vancouver Opening Ceremony broke the Canadian record of people watching: around 23 million Canadians watched some parts of the Opening Ceremony. This is about two third of the Canadian citizens. Also in the United States TV-records were broken. With 33 million people watching, the Vancouver Opening Ceremony was the most watched non-U.S. Olympic Ceremony (Strachan, 2010, Feb. 14).

The Olympic Games can therefore be seen as an ultimate occasion for the performance and reaffirmation of national identity and can, therefore, ideally contribute to national feelings in the imagined community that a country is while it is a global staged event with a lot of domestic and international audience.

2.3 Why the Olympic Games?

The centuries old fundamental need of belonging to a society and the recent development of having a clear identifiable national identity in this global world will be examined through a big sport event. Prior research indicates that national identity is formed and influenced by such big global sport events (Falcous & Silk, 2010; Van Hilvoorde et al., 2010; Mock, 2012). Next to this, “*sport offers a rich source of stories that can in many ways function as a direct mirror of national identity*” (Van Hilvoorde et al, 2010, p. 90). The feeling of national belonging is not a constant present feeling. Stories and occurrences like sport successes,

extraordinary athletes, teams, or games can bring these national feelings and pride to the forefront (Van Hilvoorde et al., 2010). Sport is therefore an interesting aspect in national identity.

I have chosen the Olympic Games instead of, for example, an international soccer tournament because the Games “*have a great potential in terms of ‘narrative capacities’*” (Van Hilvoorde et al., 2010, p. 98). The Olympic Games know many different elements: there are various sports, there are individual and team sports, there are men and female athletes, there are national teams from all over the world and there are the extensive Opening and Closing Ceremonies. All these different elements have the potential to provide multiple and various stories and to create special memories. The various elements make the Games also accessible for a larger public than, for example, a soccer tournament. A soccer tournament is focused on one particular sport, hereby excluding people who are not fan of this sport. Next to this, such a tournament is more focused on the one country that eventually wins the cup. The Games know multiple winners and not just one country, which is the case in a soccer tournament. “*The Olympic Games are much more fragmented; medals, victories and ceremonies accompany the whole event*” (Van Hilvoorde et al., 2010, p. 98). Every Olympic day there are various medal ceremonies, so countries have also multiple chances to participate, to win, or to surprise. Every country gets the opportunity and the stage to present itself.

However, the host country is mostly the biggest star. This country portrays itself throughout the whole organisation of the Games. “*The Olympic Games in this sense are by no means a mere arena for athletes, but also an amphitheatre of disparate countries and diverse cultures, as the games exert pertinent effects on the domestic and international politics of the host countries*” (Liu & Hong, 2010, p. 103). This citation argues that hosting of the Games can therefore be seen as an important occasion for the representation of the host nation. Also other researches are stating that the Olympic Games increase both the international and national awareness of the hosting country (Brent Ritchie & Smith, 1991; Glynn, 2008). This means that both the international and domestically retrieved image of the nation is tied to the representation of the nation in the hosting of the Olympics. Therefore, the organisation of the Olympics asks for a well-thought-through image of the nation and this asks for discussions about and (re-) interpretations of the country’s identity. This is an event that encompasses a whole country and places individual citizens in a bigger, national, and international perspective. You are not just Josephine or Tommy; you are Canadian, just like the other 34,1 million people in Canada. Just like Durkheim, Steven Mock (2012) also describes this

emerging feeling of bonding with something larger than the individual self and the need of reaffirming this feeling in his article about the meaning of ice hockey in Canada: “*Humans crave constant reaffirmation of the stable and unified character of their otherwise dynamic and heterogeneous societies*” (p. 220). Mock is comparing the act of this reaffirming with a ritual, another important theme in Durkheim’s theory (2008 [1912]). In my thesis I examine how Canada is using the organisation of the Olympic Games as a ritual in which totems and other collective representations are used to perform and reinforce a national identity. This identity only gets reinforced when it is enacted and performed by and in front of people from the society. In this way the national identity maintains its strength and stays able to create a common feeling throughout the society. As I stated before Durkheim acknowledges that a common feeling of belonging throughout society needs an active reaffirmation. “*It is through common action that it [society] becomes conscious of itself and affirms itself; it is above all an active cooperation*” (2008 [1912], p. 313). Society needs to re-enact such common actions from time to time to reinforce and confirm itself and its culture. The organisation of the Olympic Games is a good opportunity for this reaffirmation of the community.

2.4 Why Canada?

Canada makes an interesting case study for issues of national identity construction and presentation because it is a Western nation struggling with its identity. Different aspects are contributing to this struggle; for example, Canada’s history of sovereignty issues with both French and English stakeholders in the colonial times and the struggle to become an independent country from the federation of Canada in 1867 on. It was not until the Canada Act of 1982 that Canada ended the British authority and that it formed its own constitution. Canada is, however, nowadays still a member of the Commonwealth, a mainly political alliance between multiple (mostly former colonized) sovereign countries and Great Britain. The dividedness in the country that is created throughout this history is still an important topic today. A part of Canada’s nationality emerges thus from the colonial struggle with both France and Great Britain.

Next to this struggle, Canada knows an indigenous community and culture. Even though indigenous tribes were the first inhabitants of the country, nowadays they are not always treated as a part of the Canadian society.

“Frideres (1988) describes the culture of indigenous people as a ‘culture of poverty’, and gives the example of the socio-economic characteristics of indigenous Inuit people in Canada as having higher rates of unemployment, suicide and incarceration, and

lower income and education levels than non-indigenous peoples” (Smith, 2009, p. 106).

Even though Canada mostly emphasises the well-maintained relationship with the indigenous tribes, there are still inequalities and disunity within the country.

Next to this, Canada knows a high number of immigrants from all over the world. For example between 2001 and 2009, there was a higher amount of immigrants moving to the area of Vancouver than growth of the Canadian-born population: five times more immigrants came in to the country than Canadian babies were born (Statistics Canada, 2009, Nov. 20). This makes it a country with a lot of different cultures living next to each other, which also contributes to the difficulty to speak of a ‘Canadian’ identity.

Furthermore, Canada is an enormous country with a surface area of 9984670 square kilometres. This makes it the second largest country in the world. Even though Canada has this overwhelming surface area, the density in the country is very low. In 2011, Canada had a density of 3,7 people per square kilometre (Statistics Canada, 2013c). The data show that the Canadian population is spread out over the country and is mostly living in the urban areas. This distance provides Canada with a difficulty containing the feelings of belonging and nationality as well. In such a big and spread-out country, a feeling of community can be hard to establish.

Besides these internal differences, it is not helpful for a country with a weak identity if your neighbour is such a big and determining country as the United States. Sardar and Davies state that the U.S. is a country with hyper-power. *“The authors use the metaphor of the ubiquitous hamburger (frequently a symbol of much hated global consumerism) to describe the packaging and presentation of America to the world, implying that even if you take out the bits you don’t like, the influence is still pervasive”* (Smith, 2009, p. 9). In this modern and Americanised world, one can see the influences of the United States in different countries. In 2002, six of the ten more important multinational multimedia were American and through this also the content of these multimedia (Moncada, 2002, January). The influences of the United States are reaching all over the world. It is very hard to keep the influences of this neighbour-country out of the Canadian national identity. Therefore, one can speak of a struggle of Canada with the Americanisation. Through this, Canadians feel a sort of competition with their neighbour, which empowers the feelings of national identity and pride of their homeland (Howard, 1998; Francis, 1997). In a survey on the feeling of Canadian-ness, sociologist Rhoda Howard found some of her participants felt an increased feeling of belonging to Canada through the comparison with the United States. The participants identified themselves

more with Canada and were happier to be Canadian in comparison with the American citizenship. *“Not being Americans—having better qualities than Americans, being accepted in Europe more readily than Americans—was important to them. Indeed, as one respondent put it, being Canadian is 'mainly making sure you're not American'”* (Howard, 1998, p. 138).

This is a good example of the position of Canada towards their big neighbour. The increasing influence of the USA makes a strong and separate Canadian identity even more important.

Overall, one could say, *“conscious and expressed doubts over the nature of Canadian identity have almost themselves become one of the defining characteristics of Canadian identity”* (McDowell, 2001, p. 122). In a nation, which is still struggling with its national identity, feelings of national pride and belonging may act as the binding agent (Durkheim, 2008 [1912]). While Canadians loyalty and patriotism is not doubted by this research, the research is interested in how Canadian national identity is expressed in the Olympic Winter Games 2010.

2.5 Significance of this research

The Olympic Games were a great opportunity for the Canadian Olympic Committee to present their country on a global stage and portray the image they wanted both the world and the Canadians to have of it. As I have previously stated, the concern and importance of national image is an issue that emerges increasingly during this time of globalisation because of the fading communities to feel connected to nowadays (Anderson, 2006 [1983]; Friedman, 1994; Halbertsma et al., 2011; Hogan, 2003; Tomlinson, 1999a+b).

Canadian identity, however, is not cohesive. As I have explained, the country has a divided Aboriginal and colonial history. Next to this, many immigrants live in Canada and are a part of its diverse culture. The population is dispersed over a large geographic area and lies next to the United States, a country that has an enormous influence on the Western culture. The concern of a strong and clear national image is therefore an issue in Canada as well. For example, as one can read in the text of ‘The Social Cohesion Research Program for the Department of Canadian Heritage’, the defining of national identity is an upcoming research field in Canada. It states that the Canadian government is more supporting the cultural industries to help *“forge a uniquely ‘Canadian’ form of cultural expression. Culture is not just seen as promoting artistic enjoyment/expression or economic development only, but also as a tool to help solidify increasingly fragmenting societies”* (1997, p. 19). In this research, I argue that the Olympic Games in Vancouver served as a great opportunity to express this Canadian culture. In the context of the ongoing search for and the struggle with the Canadian

identity, I think it is interesting to examine which Canadian aspects were performed as part of this identity. My master thesis is hereby of scientific relevance because it examines the emergence of national identity and the feeling of belonging to a community, topics that one of the first sociologists, Emile Durkheim, already focused on. It is interesting to make use of Durkheim's theories about communities in a modern context and to examine this theory in the context of a global event.

Research on the expression of the national identity of a country struggling with its identity can be of theoretical social relevance as well, for instance, in the organisation and logistical planning of future events. For example, the Union of European Football Associations is planning to organise the European Football tournament of 2020 in different European countries (UEFA, 2012, Dec. 6), which contrasts with the usual organisation of the tournament in one country or sometimes two neighbour-countries. This case study on the Winter Games in Vancouver can be a useful example of how such an event, where different cultural identities are at stake, can present itself both internationally and domestically.

My expectations were that the Olympic Games can be a constructive tool and can provide a useful (global) stage to perform a country's national identity. I hope this research will contribute to the discourse about the emerging focus on nationality in the light of globalisation and the role big events can play in this.

3. Data and Methodology

For this thesis I have chosen to examine the Olympic Winter Games of Vancouver 2010. I have decided on these particular Games because Canada is a country struggling with its national identity, as I have stated in the previous chapter. This makes Canada an interesting case study in order to examine how such a diverse country is portraying its national identity on a global stage and which aspects of this identity are emphasised and performed. I have chosen for the Vancouver Games because they were held in 2010 and are the most recent Olympics held in Canada. The 2010 Games are also the most recent Olympic Winter Games and, therefore, I could find a lot of information about these Games. Next to this, the Vancouver Games were Winter Games and this suits the Canadian climate that is both internationally and domestically associated with strong winters (Brent Ritchie & Smith, 1991; Francis, 1997; Vancouver Bid Corporation 2010, 2002).

3.1 Data

My data consists of four different significant elements of the Olympic Games. This division can also be found in my formed sub questions for this thesis. I have chosen these elements because these are the particular elements in the Olympics in which the image of Canada is expected to be portrayed. These aspects are:

- 1) The bidding-process for the Vancouver Games
- 2) The Opening Ceremony of the Vancouver Games
- 3) The Closing Ceremony of the Vancouver
- 4) The commemoration of the Vancouver Games

Taken together, these aspects provide a complete image of how Canada performed itself during the 2010 Olympics. As this is an inductive research, I examined the data without a pre-conceived coding scheme. Rather, my codes and theory emerged from the textual and visual data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). I will describe the methodology used more comprehensively later on in this chapter.

The Paralympic Games

I have decided to leave the Paralympics out of my research. The Paralympic Games are an event held after the Olympics have finished and cover the international sport games by

disabled athletes. Since 2002, the Paralympics are always following the Olympics and held in the same city. The Paralympic Games are another discipline and the organisation of those Games asks for other focus points. Therefore, they have their own organisation committee, divided from the IOC. Also in media coverage, they are dissimilar. For the Vancouver Winter Games there were “2,803 Olympic and 483 Paralympic accredited written and photographic press and non-rights holding broadcast organizations” (LA84 Foundation, 2011, p. 65). This quotation shows that the Paralympic Games got less media attention than the Olympic Games.

The ice hockey victories of both men and women and Canadians

I wanted to include the ice hockey victories of both men and women as data as well. At the Vancouver Games both the Canadian male and the female team won the Olympic gold medal in the final against the United States, the other big ice hockey nation. Ice hockey is often studied as an important part of the Canadian identity (Bunt, 2009; Francis, 1997; Howard, 1998; Izquierdo, 2012; Jackson & Ponick, 2001; Mock, 2012; Wong & Trumper, 2002). Steven Mock describes ice hockey “as national totem” of Canada (2012, p. 206). Mock makes use of the theory of Durkheim to explain that ice hockey can be seen as a symbol or an emblem of specific characteristics of Canada and the Canadians. This is why I thought that ice hockey would be an interesting data source. Unfortunately, while working on this section I noticed that my data on these victories were not comprehensive enough to use it as a separate chapter. However, I did use my coding on ice hockey as an important theme in the chapter on the Canadian sport culture. The same counts for the Canadian citizens. I thought about making this aspect of Canada a separate chapter as well. However, I did not find enough portrayal of this part of the Canadian identity in my data. Therefore, I incorporated the most characteristic features of the Canadians founded in my data in the other chapters.

Next, I will describe my data I have used for this thesis, which consist of four different significant elements of the Olympic Games.

1) The bidding-process for the Vancouver Games

During the bidding-process, different countries state their reasons and arguments in order to obtain the organisation of the Olympic Games. Faloutsos and Silk (2010) describe in their article about the British Olympic bid how one can see this process as a good starting point for research as the bid includes the candidate country’s/city’s motivation for hosting the Olympics. This motivation has to be coherent and clearly stated, as the bid determines the jury’s first impression of the candidate

The text and presentation of the bid can tell much about the reasons why a nation wants to organise the Games and the way the nation wants to present itself. I have analysed the entire Bid Book. The Bid Book is a very detailed document in which the country explains the motivation and reasons for applying for the organisation of the Games. The Bid Book of Vancouver consisted of three volumes and contained subjects like finance, marketing, environmental protection and meteorology, venues, medical and health service, security, and Olympism and Culture. The Bid Book contained the text both in French and English and covered around 450 pages. The Bid Book was handed in to the IOC in 2002. I have coded this document in different categorisations.

This part of my data focuses on the presented self-image of Canada.

2) *The Opening Ceremony*

The Opening Ceremony can be seen as a performance of national identity both externally on the global stage and internally for the citizens of Canada. Thus, an image of Canada is portrayed throughout the Olympics to perform the Canadian identity to the world and to create a sense of national unity in the country (Falcous & Silk, 2010). One could see here the parallel between performing aspects in the Ceremony and the theory about performance and theatricality in real life (Butler, 2004). Just as in theatre, in real life people also perform acts and play the role to convey the image they want people to have of them or that is expected of them in certain situations. Also social reality is constituted this way: it is not a natural fact but a historical and cultural situation that needs to be reaffirmed by the repetition of performed acts (Butler, 2004). One can state the same for countries. Countries also need to perform and enact their national identity. Just as a theatre play, this identity needs to be rehearsed and repeated to stay meaningful and of current interest. “(...) *social action requires a performance which is repeated. This repetition is at once a reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established*” (Butler, 2004, p. 160). Most nations already exist for many centuries. However, to create a notion of nationality for the current citizens, this national identity needs to be repeated and, therefore, regularly performed. Performativity plays an important role in the construction of an (national) identity (Butler, 2004). The Olympic Ceremonies can be seen as a performance of national identity.

I have performed an inductive content analysis of the registration of the Opening Ceremony and coded this performance in different categorisations. After my initial coding, I analysed additional literature about the field of national identity in order to ground my interpretation of the coding results in literature and theory.

This part of the thesis focuses on the portrayal and performance of the Canadian identity.

3) The Closing Ceremony

The Closing Ceremony is an extension of the Opening Ceremony. The Closing Ceremony could be seen as a last performance of Canadian identity during the Games. I have analysed the registration of the Closing Ceremony and coded this performance in different categorisations. The methodology and the literature used were the same as I used for the analysing of the Opening Ceremony because the two Ceremonies had similar goals and were therefore analysed at the same way.

This part of the thesis focuses on the portrayal and performance of the Canadian identity.

4) The commemoration of the Vancouver Games

This part of my research examines how the Winter Games in Vancouver are remembered. I believe that commemoration data show the overall portrayed image and remembrance of the Canadian Games. This shows which elements of the Canadian identity are performed and are stuck in the collective memory on the Olympics 2010. Also Durkheim explains why commemoration is an interesting topic to examine. This use of collective memory is which binds a group of people: *“Through [commemoration] the group periodically renews the sentiment which it has of itself and of its unity”* (Durkheim, 1965, as cited in Wagner-Pacifici & Schwartz, 1991, p. 379). For this reason I will be looking at *“commemorative rites and symbols”* (1991, p. 379) specifically composed by Canadian institutions, drawing on the work of Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz in their seminal research on symbols of remembrance.

For the previously stated data parts I could make use of cohesive materials, where for this part of my data I have a more fragmented combination of sources:

- An article about the legacies of the Games, written by VANOC in 2012
- The video clip ‘I believe,’ composed by CTV (Canadian Television, 2010, March 9)
- Pictures taken for the commemoration book ‘With Glowing Hearts’. This book could not be found in Europe. This is why I decided to code the pictures especially taken for this book which the photographer Sterling Lorence placed on his website.

This part of the data focuses on the remembrance of specific aspects of the Canadian identity, which were portrayed and performed during the whole event of the Olympic Games and are found in data on the commemoration of the Games.

3.2 Methodology

In my thesis I have made use of inductive content analysis. Before I started with the collection of data, I studied literature about the methodology I needed to use for this research. I have used the literature about grounded theory and inductive research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Hodkinson, 2008; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Next to this, I have drawn upon the methodological literature of Alexander (2008) and Rose (2012) about visual analysis. For literature about textual analysis, I have made use of the article ‘Grounded Theory and Inductive Research’ written by Paul Hodkinson (2008).

Inductive analysis makes both quantitative and qualitative results possible to determine. However, in this thesis I have searched for qualitative results. A study of the performing of (Canadian) identity through a big sport event has not been done inductively before. Hodkinson also describes that an inductive approach is the best approach for qualitative research (2008).

Following this approach, I started with collecting my data inductively. After the first examination and transcription of data, I have looked for literature and theories that supported, contrasted, or noticed my findings. This made my initial large data collection shrink. Through this shrinkage, the information became more directed and conducted into specific themes and parts to study. This decreased and more focussed collection of data into specific themes made it possible for me to first examine if there was enough and sufficient literature about these themes for me to make use of. In this way it would also have become clear if I had needed to search for more data. The following figure this described approach “*of interplay between analysis and data collection*” (Hodkinson, 2008, p. 86).

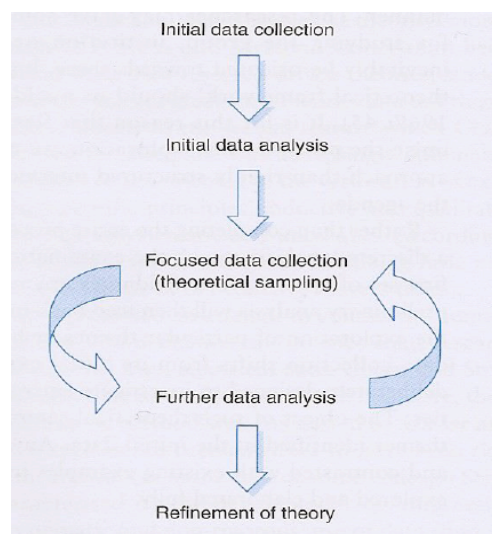


Figure 2

The next step was that I coded the collected data. This means that after I chose and collected my data, I interpreted, categorised and, finally, found patterns and relationships in this data. I began with detailed coding schemes and patterns from which I worked on to a broader interpretation and categorisation. During this process I realised that my preliminary findings came to fit in a larger theoretical framework. The figure beneath shows how my methodology is constructed.

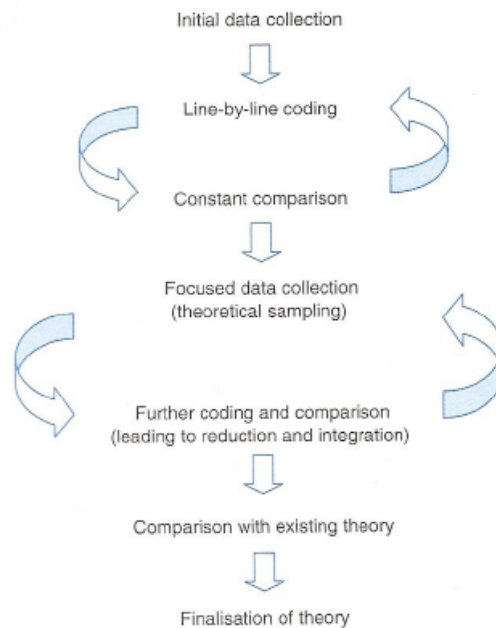


Figure 3

After I categorised my findings, I started comparing my results with existing theories, which one can see as the penultimate step in the graphic above. *“Delaying the use of literature until this point is intended to ensure that existing theory is consulted and used in a manner that fits in with the patterns and processes already independently identified in the data”* (Hodkinson, 2008, p. 90). In the previous theoretical framework and the chapters that state my results, one can find which literature I found to expand my findings with. Finally, I used my findings and interpretations compared with already existing theories to construct my conclusion.

Visual Analysis

For visual materials I used the same methodology as I have described above. I made an inductive analysis of already existing visual materials, such as the recordings of the Opening and Closing Ceremony of the Vancouver Games. I have looked at these materials with the reflection theory in mind, which believes that visual materials embody and mirror something about society (Alexander, 2008). I examined the data to find out which characteristics of

Canada these visual documents were representing. Making use of semiotic analysis, I looked at the use and meaning of symbols, the relationships between these symbols, and their meanings in a bigger perspective (Alexander, 2008; Rose, 2012). In this process, I have tried to encode the signs as good and extensively as I could. However, visual analysis is always more difficult to justify because of the multivocality of images and their possibility to embody different meanings (Alexander, 2008). To make my coding more objective and scientific I have always tried to accompany the visual data with textual information and facts (Alexander, 2008). When I found something interesting to code, I searched for literature and studies that could explain the meaning of my founded data to substantiate my findings. Next to this, I have made a preliminary coding of the Opening Ceremony to see if my data were sufficient and representative. My thesis supervisor, Dr. Laura Braden, has checked this coding of visual data for me as well as some randomly chosen parts from the coding schemes of the different data sections that I constructed.

For this thesis I have used inductive content analysis to try to develop a new theory that has emerged out of my collected data and is substantiated through already existing theories and studies. My coding schemes are included in the appendix of this thesis. My coding schemes are very extensive and, therefore, I have put this document as an appendix on a CD.

4. Findings

For this thesis I examined which aspects of the Canadian identity were highlighted and performed throughout four different periods of the Vancouver Winter Games in 2010. Especially the both Ceremonies can literally be seen as a stage for the performance of Canadian identity. The performances at the Ceremonies are therefore a beautiful chance to enact ‘the’ Canadian identity for a large amount of spectators.

Throughout the both Ceremonies, even fixed Olympic traditions and elements were giving a Canadian spin. “*Although the basic content of these elements is dictated by Olympic Charter bylaws, in practice, participating nations inflect these standard rituals with nationally specific meanings, thus domesticating these universalist moments*” (Hogan, 2003, p. 106). For example, the bearers of the Olympic flag or the singing of the Olympic hymn were all done by famous Canadians, which can be seen as representatives of Canada. Through these decisions and the images that these Canadians represent, the official and traditional Olympic parts were also ‘contaminated’ with Canadian-ness.

4.1 The awareness of a global stage

As stated, the Olympic Games can function as a high-viewed global stage. The awareness of this watching world can be seen in various statements throughout my data. It was articulated various times that Canada invites the world and that the Canadians are honoured and pleased to be a host to the world: “*Let us all be reminded that the world is indeed watching*”, John Furlong, CEO of the Vancouver Olympic Committee, said in his speech at the Opening Ceremony (Olympic Broadcast Service, 2010, April 11, time: 2:28:11).

Next to this, it was stated in different ways that Canada wants to cooperate on a global level and bring different people worldwide together, just as the Olympic Games are aimed to do. The Olympic Games are based on three Olympic values: excellence, respect, and friendship. The IOC describes the Olympic value ‘friendship’ as follows “*meeting of others, welcoming differences, and showing of tolerance*” (Olympic Museum, 2011, p. 13). These were also points on which the VANOC had focused. Furlong articulated that everybody was welcome, from whatever country you are; Canada is “*a country with a generous heart*” (OBS, 2010, April 11, time: 2:27:48). He also stated that during the Olympic Opening Ceremony everybody would be one team (OBS, 2010, April 11). The participation of and cooperation with other nations was portrayed a lot, just as Olympic rituals and totems. This also shows the

awareness of an international stage. All the Olympic traditions were implemented and there was a high amount of the portrayal of the Olympic rings. For example, big Olympic rings were presented on a kind of raft in the harbour of Vancouver and enlightened at night, so they were good visible from the city. Also along the sport tracks, big Olympic rings were standing.



Figure 4

The Olympic rings became part of the skyline of Vancouver

The Olympic rings are a symbol for the inclusion and unity of the different nations, a desired goal of the Games. This frequently used portrayal of the Olympic logo indicates the awareness of the international Olympic stage. Also the Bid Book articulated the Canadian awareness of its role and position in the Olympic history.

“This consistency of time-honored ideals married with a new and compelling voice provides each Host City with a place and role in Olympic history. Vancouver 2010’s vision is to share with the world the unique spirit and culture of our nation, and our respect and affection for the Olympic Games” (2002, Vol. 3, p. 113).

The global platform that the organisation of the Olympic Games offers provided a good stage for the Canadian identity to shine. However, in this way the national Canadian identity presented was not only broadcasted for the world but also as a reaffirmation for Canadians.

“Ethnicity is often recognized at the breach. It is only when they are away from Canada that Canadians begin to realize that they have a particular way of life, a particular way of looking at things, that they share with other Canadian but not with foreigners” (Howard, 1998, p. 138). The organization of the Games can also provide this realisation. The global awareness could in this way also be used to improve the Canadian’s awareness of their nation through

this international perspective. Canadians were watching the global representation of their country. While broadcasting its identity internationally, Canada simultaneously focuses on the differences and the uniqueness of their country compared with other countries.

In this thesis I focus on the portrayal of this unique Canadian culture. I examined the cultural performances of Canada, mostly found in the Ceremonies, but also in the Bid Book and data on the commemoration of the Games. The interpretation of my coding schemes, which I constructed from my data analysis, demonstrates interesting different aspects of the Canadian identity. Even though Canada is not an easy country to capture because of its diverse population, history, and cultures, the VANOC did highlighted different national aspects to portray (which I refer to in this thesis as) the Canadian identity. In this thesis I address the VANOC as the stakeholders and as the creators and designers of the 2010 Games. The VANOC is described as a “*not-for-profit organization, incorporated under the Canada Corporations Act. Supported in part by the Government of Canada and the Government of British Columbia, VANOC is responsible for the planning, organizing, financing, and staging of the Games*” (Government of Canada, 2009, Dec. 15). The organisation is directed by a board of directors that contains twenty members which are directed by “*the Government of Canada, the Province of British Columbia, the City of Vancouver, the Resort Municipality of Whistler, the Canadian Olympic Committee, the Canadian Paralympic Committees and local First Nations*” (Government of Canada, 2009, Dec. 15). The artistic director and executive producer of the both Ceremonies was the Australian David Atkins. He was also responsible for the Olympic Ceremonies in Sydney in 2000. Together with the VANOC, he designed and organised the Ceremonies.

In the following chapters I present the findings of my data analysis, through which I examined the performed image and characteristics of Canada that were created by the VANOC.

5. Canada as a multicultural, diverse, and inclusive country

Canada is a country that knows many different cultures living next to each other. On the website of the Canadian government one can read:

“In 1971, Canada was the first country in the world to adopt multiculturalism as an official policy. By so doing, Canada affirmed the value and dignity of all Canadian citizens regardless of their racial or ethnic origins, their language, or their religious affiliation. The 1971 Multiculturalism Policy of Canada also confirmed the rights of Aboriginal peoples and the status of Canada’s two official languages” (Government of Canada, 2012, Oct. 12).

This citation shows that multiculturalism is an important characteristic of the Canadian society and that the Aboriginals and the bilingualism in Canada are contributing to this multiculturalism. As I have noticed in my data, this makes diversity and inclusiveness consequently a part of the Canadian identity. In the Opening Ceremony this notion of Canadian-ness is also addressed. Parts of the poem ‘We Are More’ written by the poet Shane Koyczan from the Northwest Territories covers this aspect as well. Koyczan recited a compilation of his poem at the Opening Ceremony. Parts of this compilation focused on the diversity of Canada and Canadians. The poem states that: *“We are cultures strung together then woven into a tapestry and the design is what makes us more than the sum total of our history”* (OBS, 2010, April 11, time: 2:16:35). He is emphasising the many cultures that one can find in Canada and that this diverse combination is what makes Canada what it is. The poem states that Canada gives people the freedom to live the way they want to live: Canada is *“a country that is all the ways you choose to live, a nation that can give you variety because we are choices”* (OBS, 2010, April 11, time: 2:17:44). A similar statement can be found in the information at the ‘Citizenship and Immigration’ section on the website of the Canadian government. *“Multiculturalism ensures that all citizens can keep their identities, can take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging. Acceptance gives Canadians a feeling of security and self-confidence, making them more open to, and accepting of, diverse cultures”* (2012, Oct. 12). This tolerance and inclusiveness and the diversity that it creates appear to be characteristics of Canada. It was said that twelve thousand Canadians from over one thousand communities held the Olympic torch on its journey throughout Canada (OBS - Opening Ceremony Vancouver 2010, 2010, April 11). Such Canadian characteristics make it possible for many cultures to live next to each other without losing their authenticity or

identity and even to be part of Canada.

My data contains various different statements in which Canada emphasises on the variety of people and cultures that can be found in Canada. One can see this aspect as a part of the Canadian identity, which is portrayed throughout the Olympic Games. The following fragment in the Bid Book stated that too: *“Canada (...) has made it one of its objectives to hold the most inclusive Games ever”* (2002, Vol. 1., p. 29) Even though this inclusiveness is a positive trend for a country, for this thesis it is both an interesting and a difficult aspect because one can state that everybody and every culture can be Canadian seen from this point of view. This is especially difficult because the statements from the Bid Book are rather vague and only highlight that there are many cultures, but do not focus on any specific cultures or immigrants for example. The speech of Michael Fox, a Canadian actor, demonstrates this well:

“But it doesn’t really matter where you live or where you’re born, Canada is a big tent. (...) Even you, the Olympic athletes, (...) you came to Vancouver, you spent time among us. You competed on the world stage here in Canada and that makes you Canadians too. Yes, Canada is my home and now it is your home too” (OBS – Closing Ceremony Vancouver 2010, 2010, March 16, time: 2:17:42).

Canada is accepting and embracing all people and cultures. This is apparently the image that the country wants people to have of it. To shrink this notion of Canadian-ness a bit, I looked at specific parts of this variety of people and cultures that they focused on the most.

In his speech at the Opening Ceremony John Furlong, CEO of the VANOC, again described the many different Canadians: *“This journey has not been about the few but rather the many, all Canadians: Aboriginal Canadians, new Canadians, English Canadians and Francophone Canadians, and the merit of cultures, micro-cultures, languages, and peoples that make Canada Canada”* (OBS, 2010, April 11, time: 2:25:35). Even though Furlong addressed all Canadians, on one group of Canadians was a particular focus throughout the Games: the Aboriginal people of Canada. The educational kit on the Vancouver Games also recognises this emphasis: *“The Opening and Closing Ceremonies are the main celebrations held during the Olympic Games. They provide a chance for the host city to convey the messages it wants to put across. This year, the focus is on Canadian diversity, whether linguistic or cultural; the indigenous groups in particular will be featured prominently”* (2009, p. 11). This educational kit provided by the Olympic Museum was meant to teach schoolchildren about the Vancouver Games and contained different important facts about the 2010 Winter Games. Also this educational material was explaining that the Ceremonies can be seen as celebrations of the

host country and was emphasising the prominent focus on the Aboriginals of Canada in the Ceremonies. Therefore, one can state that this focus is seen as a very important one that also needs to be taught to children.

5.1 The Aboriginal people and culture in Canada

Canada knows a rich indigenous culture of Aboriginal people who were living in the country before the Western colonizers came to North America in 1534. Relationships between settlers and Aboriginals are known to be difficult and mostly violent as well, both in Canada as in countries like Australia and the United States. The Olympic Games in Vancouver were, nevertheless, a celebration of the indigenous culture and acknowledged this culture and the Aboriginal people as an important part of Canada. In the Bid Book one can find this awareness of the indigenous culture of Canada in the following quotation:

“In 1982, Canada became the first country in the world to constitutionally entrench the rights of Aboriginal peoples. Section 35 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms states ‘the existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed’ (...) Through treaties or treaty-like agreements First Nations are negotiating the power to govern their own affairs and interests in their traditional territories while participating fully in Canadian national life” (2002, Vol. 1, p. 17).

With these citations, the Bid Book emphasises the open and tolerant interrelations with the indigenous people in Canada as stated in the Canadian ‘Charter of Rights and Freedoms’. In line with this stated interrelations and the agreements in today’s Canadian society, VANOC compared and resembled their recognition and consideration of the indigenous interests in the organisation of the Games.

The big role of the indigenous culture and people in the organisation of the Vancouver Winter Games can also be seen in the decision of the logo of the Games. This logo is an Inuit symbol called ‘Inuksuit’. The Inuit is an Aboriginal-Canadian tribe living mostly in the province Nunavut, which lies north of Quebec.



Figure 5

The Inuksuit is a statue out of rocks that helps the Inuit people to orientate and find their way back to safe haven (Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, 2002). Nowadays it also stands as a symbol for hope, guidance, friendship, cooperation, and hospitality: a symbol that fits the Olympic ideals and, because of its origin, also refers to the native population. This purpose is also described in the educational kid of the Vancouver Games: *“The choice of the emblem helps to value Aboriginal culture. It is a way of involving the indigenous populations in the Games at a symbolic level”* (2009, p. 13).

This symbol was also used frequently in the video clips shown at the Closing Ceremony. The clips showed a summary of the Games, focusing on the highlights and the medal winners of each day. Clips announced every day or every new section as follows:



Figure 6



Figure 7

The ‘A’ was replaced by the Inuksuit. At figure 7, an indigenous totem is shown as well.

As I have stated, the indigenous culture of Canada was portrayed various times throughout the organisation of the Games and, hereby, performed on a global stage. The design of the gold, silver, and bronze medals that the athletes received after winning was also inspired by indigenous patterns. In this way, not only Canadian athletes but athletes from all over the world carried this pattern with them. The images on the next page show a good example of this.



Figure 8
Australian snowboard athlete Torah Bright



Figure 9
Patterns used for the medals

The emphasis on indigenous culture was portrayed less in the data that I examined on the commemoration of the Games. In this data a specific focus can be found on sustainability and the Canadian sport culture. Throughout the rest of the data, and especially in the Ceremonies, the indigenous culture was portrayed more than all other cultures living in Canada. Next to this, the Aboriginal people were present at the Ceremonies in the Games. The chiefs of the four First Nations on which territory the Games were held were invited for the Ceremonies and welcomed with an enormous applause. They were seated in the skybox between all the important guests, world leaders and members of the Olympic committee. It was also for the first time in the history of the Olympic Games that the indigenous people were acknowledged as members of the Official Party (O' Bonsawin, 2010a).



Figure 10
The leaders of the First Nations are seated in the skybox as members of the Official Party, which includes the Head of State and other important politicians of the host country, the president of the IOC, and other important members.

Also in the cultural performances at the Opening Ceremony a lot of the Aboriginal people were present to perform and broadcast their culture. At first, representatives of the four First Nations were entering the stage. Then, the most important tribes were represented on stage by members of these tribes. They enacted their cultures and lifestyles by wearing traditional clothes and attributes and were singing, dancing and drum ruffling. Beside the use of the two official languages, they were welcoming the world in their own language too.

With the entering of each different group, the symbol of this tribe was projected on the ground, which one can see on the figure below. One can also see the portrayed welcome poles, a costume that was mostly used by the indigenous group known as Salish people. These poles were standing at the entrance of a village or along the beach. When the arms of the statures were raised, it meant that the arriving visitor was welcome. Also at the Opening Ceremony the arms of the welcome poles were raised, welcoming everybody to the Vancouver Games.

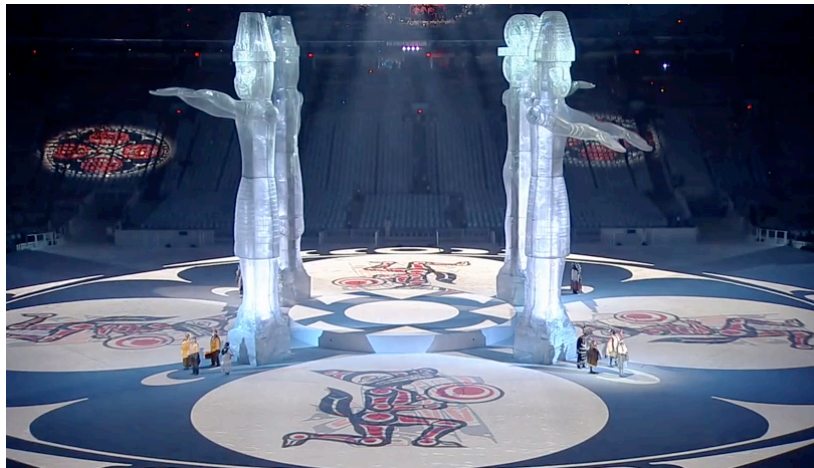


Figure 11
The portrayed symbol is the symbol of the Tsleil-Waututh,
one of the four First Nations.

After this entrance, the Parade of Nations was scheduled. This is an Olympic ritual where all the participating athletes are welcomed into the stadium. This part of the Opening Ceremony was announced with the following words: *“Ladies and gentlemen, on behave of all Canadians, the Aboriginal people welcome the athletes of the 21st Winter Games”* (OBS, 2010, April 11, time: 25:56). This shows that Aboriginal people were portrayed as representatives of the Canadian population. They were getting the honour on behalf of all Canadians.

The four First Nations were thanked frequently in the Bid Book and during the

Ceremonies. Next to this, especially in the Bid Book, it was frequently stated how good the communication and cooperation between the VANOC and the four First Nations had been and that everything was organised with the interests and the legacies of the Aboriginal people in mind. The Olympic Games portrayed a rich indigenous culture and a peaceful relationship between this culture and its people and the rest of Canada. In the Opening Ceremony of the Olympic Summer Games of Sydney in 2000 the Aboriginal culture of Australia was performed as well. Hogan explains the different symbolic layers that were provided through this performance. *“On one level, the scene symbolized reconciliation between indigenous peoples and White Australians and a national pride in cultural diversity. At the same time, the sequence established an ancient pedigree for an otherwise young nation, thus extending the discourse of national identity back through time immemorial”* (2003, p. 112). I think one can see these layers in the presentation of the Canadian indigenous people in the Ceremonies as well. It shows the history of a relatively new nation. History is a good basic for the creation of national identity. History shows how the country has become to what it is and binds the people through this shared ‘experience’ (Francis, 1997). *“The stories we tell about the past produce the images that we use to describe ourselves as a community. If we are not telling ourselves the right stories, then we cannot imagine ourselves acting together to resolve our problems”* (Francis, 1997, p. 176). It can be more difficult to connect or identify yourself with very violent and brutal ancestors. So, the way that history is told and remembered is important for the feeling of community. Therefore, this performance is supposed to show how harmonious the relationship is with the indigenous people and how diverse and inclusive Canada is. The Games were a good opportunity to recreate and enact this image in front of the watching world and Canada itself.

5.2 Canada’s immigrants

Canada is a country that knows a lot of immigrants. As I already have stated in the theoretical framework, between 2001 and 3 there was a higher amount of immigrants moving to Vancouver than the percentage of the birth of Canadians (Statistics Canada, 2009, Nov. 20). In the previous section, I noted that Canada wanted to perform its multiculturalism throughout the Olympic Games. From this point of view immigration could be seen as an important influence and consequence of this multicultural Canada. One would expect this aspect of multiculturalism that is characteristic for Canada also to be affirmed in the data I have examined. But mostly multiculturalism is named in the data without noting specifying

particular cultures; the main focus lay on indigenous culture and, for a smaller part, the French-Canadian culture.

In the Bid Book immigrant information is highlighted: “*Halfway between Asia and Europe, Vancouver is a multicultural bridge, a city of immigrants that opens its arms to the peoples of the world*” (2002, Vol. 1, p. 42). However, besides the observation that some minorities were filmed during the Ceremonies, there was during the Olympic Games no special attention for or references to immigrants of Canada. The only reference to immigration was a citation of the testimonial of Joseph Schlesinger depicted at the Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 Museum in Halifax. Schlesinger was a journalist born in Austria who immigrated to Canada where he finished his education and worked as a journalist. His quote was narrated by the Canadian actor Donald Sutherland and says: “*I came to Canada as a refugee. Forty-five years later, for me, Canada is a refuge still*” (OBS – Opening Ceremony Vancouver 2010, 2010, April 11, time: 1:33:13). In this quotation the characteristics of Canada as an open and hospitable country are named. However, the amount of immigrants, the origins of the immigrants moving to Canada, and all the different cultures this brings Canada were not specifically addressed in the data I have studied.

5.3. The French language and the Quebec culture

Canada knows an extensive colonial history. In 1534, the country became a French colony. Great Britain was, however, also interested in including this country to its colonies after discovering the profits possible from the fur trade with the Aborigines. After the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759, Quebec, the capital of New France, was conquered and Canada was inaugurated in 1763 as a British colony. Canada was a colony until the British-North American Act of 1867 when the nation became a federation. It was not until the Canada Act of 1982 that Canada ended the British authority and that it formed its own constitution. This colonial history is still noticeable today. The most important example of this is the bilingualism of the French and English language still present in Canada, which will be detailed in the next section.

5.3.1 Bilingualism in Canada

Officially, Canada knows two languages: French and English. This bilingualism has a difficult history of laws and bills. The Official Languages Act was adopted in 1969, giving equal status to English and French, while at the same time guaranteeing the freedom of choice in education. The Official Languages in Education Program was introduced in 1970 to

encourage the Canadian provinces to offer language courses in both French and English. French is the official language in the province Quebec since 1974. In 1977, the Quebec National Assembly adopted Bill 101, in French ‘la charte de la langue française’. Bill 101 was developed from the ideology that the French language was the most important aspect of the Quebec identity and, therefore, it should be the only language and there should be no bilingualism in Quebec. Even though these ideas were popular among a large part of the Quebec population, the Supreme Court of Canada declined some sections of Bill 101 because they were against the official bilingualism in Canada and the freedom of Canadian people to choose their language. However, these kinds of ideologies and sovereign movements in Quebec have their influences till this day. In the referendum in 1995, a small minority of the Quebec population voted in favour of the indecency of Quebec and the separation from Canada: 50.37% of the Quebecois voted against a separation from Canada. This was a very close call. In 2012, the Parti Quebecois, a political party that mainly stands for the separation of Quebec, won the provincial electives. This shows that Canada is still struggling with its Francophone and Anglophone culture and population nowadays. It is interesting to examine if the Quebec or French-Canadian identity is portrayed as a part of the overall Canadian identity in the Olympic Games. One way to study this is to examine the use of both the English and the French language throughout the Vancouver Games.

The bilingualism in Canada was performed in different aspects of the 2010 Olympic Winter Games. The complete Bid Book was written in French on the one side of the page and English on the other side. All the official documents according the bid and the organisation can be consulted in both languages and there are official reports focussing on bilingualism in the Vancouver Games. In ‘Canada’s goals’ for the Games 2010 one can also read: *“Recognizing Canada’s unique opportunity to promote its linguistic duality through the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games, the Government of Canada is strongly committed to ensuring that our two official languages are fully incorporated to the organizing and hosting of the Games”* (Government of Canada, 2010).

During the Ceremonies, official announcements were first made in French, then in English. Next to this, also other Olympic traditions in the Ceremonies were done in both languages, parts like the Olympic oath, the Parade of Nations, the singing of the national anthem and the Olympic anthem. Anderson explains how, for example, an anthem can contribute to a feeling of community:

“There is a special kind of contemporaneous community which language alone suggests – above all in the form of poetry and songs. Take national anthems, for

example, sung on national holidays. No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this singing an experience of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: unisonance” (2006 [1983], p. 132).

Also the English-Canadian prime minister of Canada, Stephen Harper, was singing along with the French part of the Canadian anthem. The prime minister of Canada is one of the highest powerful positions in Canadian politics and, therefore, he can be seen as the representative of Canada. The fact that he sings along with both the English and the French lyrics of the anthem shows that he recognises both languages. This can contribute to a feeling of belonging throughout all Canadians, no matter if their first language is English or French. This national moment was accompanied by the visual presentations of the Canadian flag, which is another ritual and totem through which people feel connected with their country.

Another case where both languages were celebrated was the official theme song of the Games, ‘I believe/ J’imagine’, made by the TV channel Canadian Television (CTV), which was recorded as two versions. At the Closing Ceremony, both the English as the French version was fused into one song, which was performed by three young and diverse Canadian pop stars: Nikki Yanoski, a teenage singer from Montreal, Derek Miller, an Aboriginal artist, and Eva Avila, French-Canadian singer who won the television program ‘Canadian idol’ in 2006. This song was also used for the commemoration video clip made by CTV to honour the Canadian athletes. However, the French part of ‘I believe/J’imagine’ was left out here and only the English text was used. Through this, the commemoration clip was mainly addressing the English speaking Canadians and excluding the French-Canadians.

Another song written and composed especially for the Olympic Games was the song ‘Bang the drum’ performed at the Opening Ceremony by the famous Canadian musicians Nelly Furtado and Bryan Adams. This song was completely in English. Besides ‘I believe, J’imagine’ there were two more songs in French, all the other songs performed at the Ceremonies were in English. Some artists and performers like the singer Avril Lavigne and the actor Michael Fox were greeting and thanking the audience in both French and English. This was the only French spoken next to the official bilingual announcements and the bilingual speech of Jacques Rogge, the president of the IOC. Rogge is from Belgium and, therefore, a native French speaker. He addressed the audience with an equal amount of both languages.

It was an interesting coincidence that in Vancouver the official languages of the host country were the same as the two official Olympic languages, which are French and English

as well. Also in other Olympic Games, for example those in Beijing and London, both languages were used in the Parade of Nations in the Opening Ceremony. A nation was announced first in French, than in English. However, the nations arrive in alphabetical order of the language of the host nation, so, for example, in Greek (2004), Italian (2006), Chinese (2008), and English (2012). In Vancouver, English was chosen, as this is the main language of the host province (Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, 2002). Therefore, the nations were presented in English alphabetical order, where the announcements of the nations entering the Parade were first done in French and then in English, as in Olympic tradition.

Besides the official announcements and a few exceptions, the main part of the Ceremonies was in English, with French subtitles on the big screens in the stadium. In some of the cases where both languages were used, the French part was mostly shorter than the English part or only important words were translated in French. John Furlong, CEO of the VANOC, held his speech in English but tried to implement a few words in French in his speech as well. He said, for example: “*We are, as we have been, one team, une équipe*” (OBS – Opening Ceremony Vancouver 2010, 2010, April 11, time: 2:29:50), or, “*from whatever continent you have come, we welcome you to Canada, a country with a generous heart. We love that you are here. You are among good friends. Vous êtes parmi amis vous amis*” (OBS, 2010, April 11, time: 2:27:42). This part was, however, badly pronounced French with a strong English accent. Besides the bad pronunciation, Furlong made a mistake in his language usage as well. He said ‘vous êtes parmi vous amis’ but it has to be ‘vous êtes parmi vos amis’. Here one can see the emphasis of the Canadian spokesman to pay attention to the bilingualism of Canada, even though he did not pay attention or had the ability to speak correct French. This example can be seen as both an inclusion and exclusion of the French language to the Canadian identity. It can either show that Furlong tried to incorporate the French language and, therefore, that he did his best to include Quebec to the Canadian identity. On the other hand, it could also be seen as negligence to not make an effort to pronounce the words correctly and, therefore, as ignorance towards the French language and its importance for Canada. The speech of Furlong at the Closing Ceremony did differentiate from his speech at the Opening Ceremony. At the Closing Ceremony Furlong started the first two sentences of his speech both in English and (again very poor) French. After this, he continued his speech completely in English, even without French words in between. Furlongs speech took 10 minutes and contained statements like: “*I believe that we Canadians tonight are stronger, more united, more in love with our country and more connected with each other than ever before*” (OBS, 2010, March 16, time: 1:46:29). Even though he was addressing all

Canadians in general, by not speaking French he was (indirectly) mainly addressing the Anglophone speaking part of the population.

This shows that language can both affect inclusiveness as exclusiveness which Anderson states as well: “*Language is not an instrument of exclusion: in principle, anyone can learn any language. On the contrary, it is fundamentally inclusive, limited only by the fatality of Babel: no one lives long enough to learn all languages. Print-language is what invents nationalism, not a particular language per se*” (2006 [1983], p. 122). Even though the French language is supposed to be included in the Canadian society, one can notice that this is not everywhere the case at the Vancouver Games. Despite the official bilingualism and the many bills and laws, people in Canada have the freedom to speak their own language and to decide not to learn another language (Cardinal, 2011). Statistics of the government of Canada show that in 2006 30,7% of the Canadian population is stating to be able to conduct a conversation in French. In 2011, this number declined to 30,1% of the Canadians (2013b, Jan. 9). Therefore, there are many Anglophone Canadians who cannot speak French. This percentage is higher than the Francophone Canadians who cannot speak English (Statistics Canada, 2013a, Jan. 9). So, even though Canada is officially bilingual, less people speak French than English. This had its consequences at the 2010 Games towards a dominant usage of English and, therefore, an exclusion of the population of Canada that only speaks French.

5.3.2 The French-Canadian people and their culture

Next to the French language, I have looked at the depiction of French-Canadian culture during the Vancouver Games. Again, most of these examples are drawn from examples of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies. During the Ceremonies, there were some references to and performances of famous Quebecers. For example, Koyzack referred in his poem ‘We Are More’ to ‘The Rocket’. This is the nickname for Maurice Richard, a famous ice hockey player from Quebec. He was an important example and point of pride for the French-Canadian people.

Different French-Canadian artists did perform during the Ceremonies. The French-Canadian singers Nikki Yanosky, Eva Avila, Garou, and Marie Mai, the French-Canadian pantomime-actor Yves Dagenais, the French-Canadian actor William Shatner, the Quebec band La Bottine Souriante who are specialised in Quebec music, and the band Simple Plan from Montreal were performing during the Ceremonies. Also Céline Dion and Cirque du Soleil were asked to perform at the Olympic Games but unfortunately they could not make it because of their busy schedules. This was a great miss for the province because Céline Dion

and Cirque du Soleil can be seen as world-famous representatives of Quebec. At the Opening Ceremony the Canadian actor Donald Sutherland narrated a quote from a poem from the French-Canadian poet Francois-Xavier Garneau who was an important figure in the Quebec literature and who was against the assimilation of Quebec with the English part of Canada (Fyson, 2011). This quote was, however, translated in English.

Beside the presences of French-Canadian celebrities, there could also be seen some references to the French-Canadian history and culture. A part in the Opening Ceremony was a reference to *La Chasse-Galerie*, a French-Canadian folk tale about a flying canoe. An article in the newspaper *The Vancouver Sun* explained that this feature in the Ceremony could be seen as a tribute to Quebec because it makes use of a French-Canadian folk tale (Hume, 2010, Feb. 18). However, even though a Quebec folklore story was used, there was no explicit reference to the province made in the performance. In the newspaper article it is also made clear that this reference could have been made more explicitly: “*The canoe was an allusion to one of the most important folk tales from Quebec, although if you had no cultural reference points you might easily wind up confused about what it meant. CTV did an abysmal job of explaining or providing context*” (Hume, 2010, Feb. 18). Figure 12 on the next page provides a picture of the flying canoe from the Opening Ceremony.

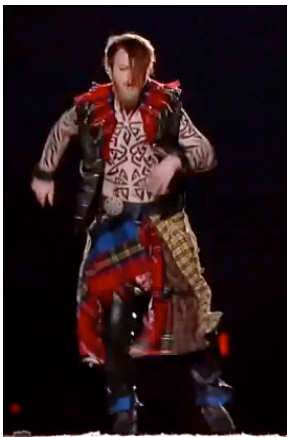


Figure 12

Because no extra information was given about *La Chasse-Galerie*, people who did not know the story could not tell from the performance at the Opening Ceremony that this was supposed to be a representation of a French-Canadian story.

Besides the limited portrayal of this French-Canadian folk story, Quebec was not really represented through this performance. The man who was performing is a fiddler from the province Nova Scotia and he was wearing an outfit referring to the Celtic culture. Apparently, the story of *La Chasse-Galerie* has ancient Celtic origins and it probably reached New-France

through the arrival of Scottish colonists in the 17th century (Hume, 2010, Feb. 18). This can be the reason why the whole performance had more a Celtic than a Quebec atmosphere through the fiddle music that was performed, the dancing which was a combination of tap-dancing and river dancing, and the costumes of which one sees an example at the figure below.



The costumes of the performers consisted of Celtic kilts and Celtic symbols which one can see here at the breast and arms of the dancer.

Figure 13

In this part of the Ceremony, there was made limited use of French-Canadian heritage. An aspect of this heritage was taken out and the rest of the performance was more referring to and a celebration of Celtic culture. This part of the Opening Ceremony tried to focus both on the French-Canadian and Celtic heritage of Canada. This Celtic heritage is especially celebrated in the Canadian province Nova Scotia, translated New Scotland. In the late 1700s and 1800s, a large number of Scottish immigrants moved to this part of Canada. Still nowadays in Nova Scotia the largest ethnic group is from Scottish origin (Statistics Canada, 2009, July 28). I think that the part with the flying canoe was used as a performance of both the heritage of Quebec and of Nova Scotia. Therefore, it includes both cultures to the Canadian identity. This performance can be seen as an emphasis on the multiculturalism of Canada and not so much as solely an emphasis on the French-Canadian culture.

Another part that referred to French-Canadian heritage was seen at the Closing Ceremony. At the end of the 'Made in Canada' Parade voyageurs came on stage in canoes. This referred to the French colonial history where French colonists, called voyageurs, travelled along the Canadian rivers in their canoes and traded fur with the Aboriginal people. At the Closing Ceremony these voyageurs were depicted in canoes with a French lily on the brow. Again, a part of the French-Canadian culture was portrayed without any background information.



Figure 14
Voyageurs enter the stage in their canoes

On the official tourist website of Quebec one can find an explanation describing the meaning of the lilies, which are also depicted at the Quebec flag. It states that the lilies can be seen as a legacy of the French sovereignty in Canada when France dominated the continent (Bonjour Quebec, n.d.) This performance of the voyageurs and the portrayal of the French lily were references to the French colonial history of Canada and not so much to the current situation and position of Quebec in Canada. This was only stated by the French-Canadian actor William Shatner who said that he was proud of McGill university in his hometown Montreal, and the fact that he could say “*je suis Canadien*” which I think one can see as a portrayal of pride in the French language of Quebec (OBS - Closing Ceremony Vancouver 2010, 2010, March 16, time: 2:10:16). After this, a lot of people in the audience cheered and applauded.

This pride of Quebec and the diversity and uniqueness that this province brings to the country was not portrayed extensively throughout the Olympic data I have studied. It was more seen as a fact and not as a contribution to Canadian society or as a diversity to be celebrated. This can be seen in the fact that no part of the Ceremonies was specially dedicated to Quebec, even though the province had contributed money to be included in the Olympics and as an assurance that their heritage would be celebrated and portrayed. However, most of the songs were English and, as far as I have studied, French subtitles were not displayed during these performances. On the other hand, when a French song was performed English subtitles were provided on the screens. This shows that English is taken as the main language, even though the two languages have the same legal status in Canada. Also the official speeches were not always translated in French. The official speeches of the Opening Ceremony began with the sad message of the death of the Georgian athlete. This (relatively short) message was done completely in English. Even though the speech was held by the

Belgian (and, therefore, French speaking) president of the IOC, the first introductory words before the official opening of the Games were only spoken in English.

From the speeches of the famous actors and actress in the Closing Ceremony, only one was mentioning the French part of Canada. The poem ‘We Are More’ was not mentioning Quebec at all, even though he was mentioning the multiculturalism that defines Canada. His poem starts with the line ‘define Canada’ and is addressing the Canadians with ‘we’ and ‘us’. However, the French province was not addressed in the poem.

Previously, I described the part of the flying canoe in the Opening Ceremony. This French-Canadian heritage was not provided in a context through which it was not clear that this part contained Quebec heritage. This was also the case with the presentation of the voyageurs in their canoes at the Closing Ceremony. No explanation on this historical phenomenon was given, so for outsiders it was probably not clear that these parts had something to do with French-Canada. Next to this, the Quebec actor William Shatner and the few other Quebec artists were the only reference to modern Quebec.

One can state that, even though an effort had been made to portray a part of the French-Canadian culture, history, and its people within the Canadian narrative of its identity, the performance of this part of the Canadian identity can be seen as limited. Professor Brian Davies of the Cardiff School of Social Sciences explains the exclusion of minorities in terms of the stabilization of national unity:

“The ‘foreigner’ whose expulsion is a precondition of national independence, or the ethnic minority whose pretensions threaten national unity are the functional counterpart of the symbolic and material mechanisms of forging national cohesion, present in most historical processes of nation building” (1997, as cited in Garratt, 2010, p. 137).

Maybe this exclusion of minorities in terms to the stabilization of national unity could be the case in this example about the interrelations of Quebec and the Canadian identity as well. The French-Canadian province is from time to time still struggling with their position within Canada. The globalisation impacts the feelings of separation. *“By cutting the benefits of integration and by reducing the obstacles to independence or the various forms of autonomy, globalization and regional integration promotes Quebec sovereignty”* (Lachapelle & Paquin, 2003, p. 14). Through the globalisation, Quebec has developed its economy in an independent and strong economy on the world market and is, therefore, less dependent of the Canadian market (Lachapelle & Paquin, 2003). Besides this, Pauline Marois became the leader of the Parti Quebecois in 2007. She is a defender of the Quebec struggle to achieve sovereignty and

is promoting separatist achievements. These developments show that the Quebec identity is not a stable one within the Canadian identity and, therefore, can be seen as a threat. Instead of focussing or paying a lot of attention to this ‘threatening’ part of the national identity, there is more performance of stable parts within the Canadian identity like the focus on broad themes such as multiculturalism and diversity.

5.4 Women

Jackie Hogan (2003) studied the portrayal of women in Opening Ceremonies of different Olympic Games. I have drawn from Hogan’s study in my own work in order to examine the data from the 2010 Olympic Games. I have concluded that overall the portrayal of women were equal to the portrayal of men. In this point, Canada is showing their inclusiveness and equal treat of women. For example, both of the Canadian flag bearers during the Opening and Closing Ceremonies were women. The flag bearers are chosen, mostly because of their athletic accomplishments, to carry the flag as representative of the national athletes’ team during the Parade of Nations at the Ceremonies. Next to this, also both famous male and female Canadians performed at the Ceremonies. In the Bid Book this inclusiveness was also stated: “*The Vancouver OCOG will continue to promote and support Canada’s progressive policy on women in sport. Sharing successes and best practices from our women’s strategy with the global Olympic community will also contribute to the international effort in advancing the role of women*” (2002, Vol. 2., p. 19). Canada positions itself as an international example in the protection of the interests of women (Government of Canada, 2013, April 30). I did not notice any difference in the treatment and presentation of women, but from one case. This case contained the ice hockey victories, where more attention and interests could be noticed for the male ice hockey players and their winning finale against the USA. I will describe this case more comprehensively in the part about the counterparts towards the performed Canadian image.

5.5 Conclusion

One can see the performance of a Canadian identity that highlights multiculturalism, diversity, and inclusiveness. However, these characteristics were especially found in the textual material of the Bid Book. In the performances at the Opening Ceremony there was a main focus on the indigenous culture of Canada. Next to this, there was a small amount of French-Canadian culture. Even the official bilingualism was not consequently performed in the Ceremonies. It was a coincidence that the official Olympic languages were the official

languages of Canada as well. Next to the official parts and Olympic traditions, French was not included in the Ceremonies as much as it was in the Bid Book. Besides these features of indigenous and Quebec culture, no other cultures were portrayed or celebrated. Therefore, no contribute was made to the many different immigrants Canada knows.

In the speeches and written texts, there was another image created of Canada than throughout the cultural performances on stage. Only the inclusiveness of women was described and performed likewise. Overall, rather broad and vague themes as multiculturalism and diversity were performed as Canadian characteristics. I think one can say that the performance of these characteristics was done without giving much depth and explanation.

6. Canada as a sport-minded and sport-loving country

Throughout the data I examined there was a frequent performance of Canada as a sport-minded and sport-loving nation. In the context of the Olympic Games this is not a surprising focus. The Olympic Games are a major sport event, so the hosting country must have the facilities and the motivation and enthusiasm to embrace this sport event. For example, Canada had to describe its sport culture in the Bid Book. Sport is the occasion and, therefore, the overall theme of the Olympic Games. This made that I was able to examine the portrayal of the sport culture of Canada throughout all the different data sections I decided to use.

Also with Durkheim's theory in mind, sport is an interesting aspect to look at. Sport binds different people from a community and could be seen as a ritual for or celebration of this community. Supporting a professional sports team or athlete can create the feeling of belonging to something bigger than oneself, just as for example, culture, history, or language can reinforce this feeling.

“If residents invest themselves in favor of their local athletic teams, it is partly because those teams are exponents of a community to which they feel themselves somehow bound... A local team is not only an expression of the moral integrity of a community; it is also a means by which that community becomes conscious of itself and achieves its concrete representation” (1977, Schwartz & Barsky, as cited in Mizruchi, 1985, p. 508).

Schwartz and Barsky explain in this citation as well that in some cases sport can be seen as a representative of the community and that the supporting of one team can reinforce feelings of community.

Next to this, sport matches and/or events can create narratives around an athlete, a team or a specific match or country. People can identify themselves with this sportsman or -woman, team or country because of this story that is created around it. Through such a big global sport event, a lot of narratives can be provided: *“There are not many events that are comparable to the Olympic Games in terms of the amount of stories that are (re)told. Many of these may be told as individual stories, but may function as an expression of nationality as well”* (Van Hilvoorde et al., 2010, p. 94). These narratives can show which aspects are seen as important or to be worthy of notice. An example of national stories portrayed through the Games can be found in the decisions of which Canadian athletes received the honour of being

the flag bearers in the Ceremonies and the way these athletes were portrayed.

6.1 Canadian athletes

In the Opening Ceremony the Canadian flag bearer was Clara Hughes, a female athlete who is nowadays living in Quebec. Hughes is both participating in summer and winter sports and this makes her a unique athlete. Also on her website, Hughes' career is described as a Canadian sport story: "*She's one of the biggest stories to emerge in Canadian sports*" (clara-hughes.com, n.d.). It is also noticed that she won six Olympic medals already and that Hughes is the first and only athlete that has won multiple medals at both Olympic Summer and Winter Games. She is an example of what exceptional and unique sportsmen and –women Canada has. The uniqueness of Hughes and her achievements made her the representative of Canada at the Parade of Nations and this decision can be seen as a portrayal of their national pride. "*Each country cultivates specific victories or medals that have much expressive value, and in some respects a greater capacity to fuel a sense of national pride*" (Van Hilvoorde et al., 2010, p. 94). Hughes gives Canada a uniqueness on which Canadian citizens can be proud and which can reinforce feelings of national belonging: 'look at what great athletes 'we' have'.

The story behind the flag bearer at the Closing Ceremony is a different one. It focuses more on the strength and the perseverance of Canadian athletes and through this of Canadians in general. Figure skating athlete Joannie Rochette received the terrible news that her mother passed away just a few days before her performance was scheduled. Instead of deciding to go home and to quit the Olympics, Rochette participated, finished third, and won the bronze medal. "*It is not the medals themselves that create a sense of belonging, but merely the stories related to some of the outstanding performances*" (Van Hilvoorde et al., 2010, p. 99). This performance re-established the image of Canadians as strong and determined people. The Canadian actress Catherine O' Hara also addressed this statement in her speech at the Closing Ceremony. She said that Canadian athletes are known for their icy determination and courage (OBS, 2010, March 16). These aspects are found in the achievement of Rochette as well. Maybe that is the reason why this story became such an example for people and created feelings of national pride and belonging. On a blog on the Internet, a Canadian expresses her thoughts about this performance:

"I am so proud to be a Canadian. I have always been proud to be a Canadian, but watching all our athletes give their all during these last 16 days has cause my heart to practically beat out of my chest! Joannies Rochette's courage and her grace in what was surely a most difficult time has been the most inspiring of these games" (Reaction

of Faye on Straight.com, 2010, Feb. 28).

Such thoughts are showing how Rochette's achievement is remembered and how this story goes into the collective memory of Canada.

Great Canadian sportsmen and –women were also chosen to carry the Olympic flag and the Olympic torch into the stadium at the Opening Ceremony, another Olympic tradition. There was a special focus on the unique achievements and results managed by these Canadian athletes. Also a basketball player participated in this part. Even though basketball is not an Olympic winter sport, Steve Nash was invited to carry the Olympic torch. Through this, Canada wanted to show that it also has a successful basketball player. In his announcement he was introduced as “*a two time NBA's MVP [most valuable player] and all star basketball player*” (OBS, 2010, April 11, time: 2:59:56). Apparently the Canadian pride recognised in his achievements was high enough to invite, next to all the available successful Canadian winter athletes, a basketball player to the Olympic Winter Games. In the previous Winter Games mostly the decision was made to let one torch bearer light the official Olympic torch in the stadium. Vancouver decided to give four athletes this honour. Next to Steve Nash, these were Catriona LeMay Doan (speed skating), Nancy Green (alpine skiing), and Wayne Gretzky (ice hockey). Wayne Gretzky also got the honour to light the cauldron outside. That Gretzky got this honour is not surprising when one thinks of the status he has as ‘the Great One’: “*As hockey is intricately involved in the construction of Canadianness, so is Wayne Gretzky. (...) he has long been recognized as an ambassador of the game, but moreover, he is a representation of Canada, claimed by the nation because hockey is the nation's game*” (Wong & Trump, 2002, p. 185). The person of Gretzky can be seen as a symbol of Canadian-ness. This shows the sense of national belonging ‘claimed’ through grandiose individual achievements.

Next to these individual stories, the Canadian Olympic team was overall successful. Canada broke the record of winning the most gold medals at an Olympic Winter Game. Next to this, Canada won more medals than the country did ever before. This made the Games very successful and extraordinary for Canada. The achievements of the athletes are directly linked to the image of the country as a successful sport nation.

“As Hargreaves (1992) vividly described, competitors in the Olympics are selected as part of a national team rather than as individuals; the opening ceremony involves marching of national teams in serried, uniformed ranks, decked in national colours, with each team preceded by its national flag. At an awards ceremony, the gold medallist stands on the top level of the dais above the nearest rivals, visible in

ubiquitous national colours. When the gold medal is placed around his or her neck, the national flag is raised, and the winner turns to it as the national anthem is played, then waves to the crowd where co-nationals applaud vociferously. All this indicates that national identification and the Olympics go hand in glove" (Liu & Hong, 2010, p. 105).

Olympic accomplishments are thus seen in a national context rather than as a mainly individual performance. In this way people who feel connected with the athletes are therefore connecting themselves with their country, a concept bigger than individuals and individual achievements. Freestyle skier Alexandre Bilodeau was the first athlete to win an Olympic gold medal in Vancouver. This was also the first Olympic gold won during a Canadian hosted Olympic Games. In the examined data this victory is portrayed as if Bilodeau did this for Canada and that he brought Canada its first gold medal. Furlong addresses his victory as follows: "*Alexandre, your first gold gave us all permission to feel like and behave like champions*" (OBS Closing Ceremony Vancouver 2010, 2010, March 16, time: 1:48:24). His achievement is hereby placed in a bigger perspective. It was not only his victory but also a victory celebrated by all Canadians. His victory belongs to Canada. One can therefore state that the feeling of belonging to a nation can be provided through sport. Sport, and especially success in sports, is an important part of the national identity. It can be used as a ritual to connect people with the community that a nation is. Sport can be seen as a spectacle that serves the social function that, for instance, theatre or religion had earlier; it provides the community with a shared experience (Van Hilvoorde et al., 2010). In the commemoration video clip made by CTV, there were mainly clips from winning Canadians and their celebrations and receiving of the medals (2010, March 9). It was said that the clip was made to honour the Canadian athletes. However by honouring them, the national awareness and pride of Canadians was also raised. One can notice this at the different blogs and reactions left on the Internet. For example, 'rocker85675' stated "*this brings a tear to my eye every time. THUMBS UP IF YOU LOVE BEING CANADIAN!!!*" (Reaction of rocker85675 on clip of CTV, 2010, March 9). The individual victories are ascribed to Canada and could therefore be claimed by all Canadians.

This shared experience gives people a feeling of belonging. In this way one can see sport as a kind of ritual that Durkheim describes. This ritual can create a feeling of community every time it is reaffirmed. In the Vancouver Games this reaffirmation through sport was done with every Canadian victory. The victory was accompanied by a medal ceremony where the national flag was raised and the national anthem was sung. This can all be seen as

rituals through which people feel themselves connected with their nation and feel proud to be a part of this community. These feelings are also reported in an article found on the website of the Canadian Olympic Committee about the Olympic legacy one year after the 2010 Games. The most remained feelings towards the Vancouver Games were national pride. Next to this, Canadians connected the Winter Games with Canada more and that they see this as a property where Canadians have the most interests in (Canadian Olympic Committee, n.d.).

Such statements as these are regularly found in the data and demonstrate that (winter) sport plays an important role in the Canadian identity. Through sport, Canadians feel themselves united with their country. An important part of this Canadian sport culture is ice hockey. Ice hockey plays a significant role in the national identity while it connects a lot of different themes that are important for this identity as well. In different literature I have studied it is stated that ice hockey is creating a sense of national identity in Canada and this sport can be seen as a Canadian ritual (Bunt, 2009; Francis, 1997; Howard, 1998; Izquierdo, 2012; Jackson & Ponick, 2001; Mock, 2012; Wong & Trumper, 2002). This is why I especially have looked at the portrayal of ice hockey as a Canadian sport throughout the Olympic Games in Vancouver.

6.2 Ice hockey – The Canadian sport

The advertisement of Coca Cola ‘he shoots, he scores’, which was broadcasted in advance and during the Vancouver Games, showed different hockey fans and ice hockey players. At the end of the advertisement the following text appears: “*Lets make sure everybody knows whose game they’re playing*” (Coca Cola, 2010, March 1). After the Olympic gold ice hockey medals at the Games, the text of the advertisement was adapted to: “*Now, they know which game they’re playing*” (Coca Cola, 2010, March 1) Apparently ice hockey can be seen as a game that belongs to Canada. Ice hockey is seen as “*one of this country’s most significant collective representation – a story that Canadians tell themselves about what it means to be Canadian*” (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993, as cited in Francis, 1997, p. 167). Here again is spoken of a narrative that is told through sport. In this case ice hockey is used as a story about different aspects of Canada. The sport appears to be something that bounds Canada together as a nation. The function of collective representations in Durkheim’s point of view is that they “*express collective realities*” (2008 [1912], p. 11). As I have previously stated, Canada can be seen as a very diverse country with a lot of different cultures living both, closely together in the cities, as wide spread in the countryside. To find a national identity with which all these different groups can identify is therefore a very difficult, if not an impossible, quest.

However, in different literature I have studied it is stated that ice hockey is creating a sense of national identity in Canada (Bunt, 2009; Francis, 1997; Howard, 1998; Izquierdo, 2012; Jackson & Ponick, 2001; Mock, 2012; Wong & Trumper, 2002). Apparently ice hockey appeals to Canadians more than any other sport. *“To virtually everyone who has ever written about the game, hockey expresses something basic about Canada. It is ‘Our Game’ the ‘Home Game,’ ‘the game of our lives,’ our ‘national religion,’ our ‘national theatre,’ the ‘Canadian metaphor’ ”* (Francis, 1997, p. 167). I was wondering which elements of this game make ice hockey such a Canadian sport. I have examined these elements through my data section and found different Canadian themes that are embodied in and enacted through ice hockey.

6.2.1 Canada’s cold climate and geography

“Like nothing else, hockey allows us to celebrate our nothernness” (Francis, 1997, p. 167). In his book on the creation of myths and memories throughout Canadian history, Daniel Francis examines the icon of ice hockey within the Canadian culture. This icon is created and formed over centuries. The ascribed origin of ice hockey lays in Canada. Canada is a country known for its extremely cold winters. Next to this, the country has large surfaces of water, big lakes that are freezing over in the winters. Out this combination of geography and climate, the ice hockey game is invented. It is for Canadians a way to survive their cold winters and to adjust to their country. It can be seen as the basic on which ice hockey got its existence. From this point of view, ice hockey is seen as a nation-bound sport that arose out of these Canadian conditions. *“According to Barthes (2007 [1960]), a national sport is a sport that rises out of the substance of a nation, out of its soil and climate. About kids that are playing ice hockey, Barthes writes: ‘The children seem to be fighting, but they are merely learning to inhabit their country’ (p.47)”* (Van Hilvoorde et al., 2010, p. 91). Through this national sport, children are getting acquainted with the characteristics of their country and are connecting with its climate and nature.

So from this perspective, one could say that ice hockey and winter and therefore the Winter Games are related to each other. Ice hockey is strongly attached with Canada because it embodies the winter season, *“Canada’s season”* (Francis, 1997, p. 167). Ice hockey is what makes Canadians survive the winter. It is their answer to the extreme cold climate they experience each year.

6.2.2 Battle against other nations

The Olympic ideals are those of a peaceful and harmonious event. The IOC hopes that sport can connect and bind people from all over the world. On the other hand, at the Olympic Games nations are competing against each other and athletes are fighting for a medal. Even though this might not be in line with the Olympic ideals, this creates a feeling of us against the other. This can strengthen the feeling of national belonging. Competition between nations in sport is able to arouse strong emotions and to create and reinforce feelings of national belonging and pride. This is especially the case in national sports (Van Hilvoorde et al., 2010). In the NHL, the National Hockey League, one can find these confrontations more against each other. Canadian teams are playing against other Canadian teams and this consequence in a more established supporting culture of local clubs. The Canadian national team, however, provides a binding of all Canadians with one team, no matter which regional club one is normally supporting. Through the competition against other nations, sport can then unify a whole nation.

6.2.3 Battle against the USA

As stated previously, to be Canadian is also described as expressively making sure that one is not mistaken for an American (Howard, 1998). Canada is thus aware of its position next to its big neighbour and wants to distinguish itself from the USA. Therefore, a clear Canadian identity is necessary. Ice hockey is seen as an important part of this identity.

The meaning given to (success in) sports is different in every country. In the article of Van Hilvoorde et al. (2010) examples are given of the rivalry of New Zealand with Australia and Ireland with England, which plays an important role in the perceived sport success. If we look at the case of ice hockey nowadays, one can state that this embodies the struggle between Canada and the United States. Ice hockey gets more and more commercialised and the competition has grown out to ice hockey clubs in tropical Florida and Los Angeles as well. In 2009, the finale of the NHL was between the Pittsburgh Penguins and the Detroit Red Wings. In the quarterfinals, there was only one Canadian team left. The Vancouver Canucks lost in these quarterfinals, leaving the semi-finals and the finals with only American teams. The feeling of the increasing Americanisation is also an issue in the culture of ice hockey: *“now even the Americans are getting proficient at our game and we fear that someday hockey will be like basketball: invented by a Canadian but assimilated by the Americans”* (Francis, 1997, p. 169). A situation that portrayed this feeling as well was when the best ice hockey player of Canada, Wayne Gretzky, was transferred to the Los Angeles Kings in 1988. Newspaper

articles and sport magazines were writing about ‘a mourning nation’ and how the Americans took their best player. “*The best hockey player in the world was ours, and the Americans flew up from Hollywood in their private jet and bought him . . . It wasn’t the Canadian heart that was torn, it was the Canadian psyche that was ripped by an uppercut to the paranoia*” (Taylor, as cited in Wong & Trumper, 2002, p. 186). The Americans took something that belonged to Canada away and with this stole an important part of the Canadian identity.

It is thought that ice hockey is over time losing its origins and identity. “*(...) how can it stand for all the things we used to think it stood for when it is so popular in places like Phoenix and Florida, places where the only ice is in your drink, places without winter?*” (Francis, 1997, p. 169). It is stated that ice hockey loses more and more its connection with the Canadian nature and climate.

Seen in this light, the finals of both the ice hockey women and men against the United States were much more than a game. It was a battle for an important claim of the Canadian identity.

6.3 Sport facilities in Canada

Canada performs itself as an established winter sport country. Especially in the Bid Book VANOC is referring to the well-organised major sport events that Canada hosted earlier and the experience Canada has in the organisation of winter sport events in particular (2002, Vol. 2). Also examples were given of successful sport events that took place in Canada.

Next to this, it emphasises the good quality of the winter sport venues. Whistler has proved itself over the years: “*In 1992, Snow Country magazine voted Whistler as the Number One ski resort in North America, and the trend has continued with numerous international publications consistently rating Whistler the top winter sports destination*” (2002, Vol. 2, p. 105). Also in the summarising video clip shown at the Closing Ceremony there was a part dedicated to the winter sport venues and a part dedicated to the technology that emphasised on the modern and well-equipped venues. It showed how much camera’s there were used to provide well-covered footage of the games. It also showed the amount of people and volunteers worked on the preparation and maintaining of the good quality of the venues.

In the article of the VANOC on the legacies of the Games it was stated that the new constructed venues were also built to get more (especially young) people involved in sport. The specially built sport facilities are still benefitting the local community after the Games ended and providing possibilities for people to participate in sports (2012, June 27). This shows that the organisation also thought about sustainability and the legacy of facilities. This

was described comprehensively in the Bid Book. *“The Vancouver OCOG will also support amateur sport in Canada by transferring sport equipment to the appropriate organizations, including local community centres, local, provincial and national sport organizations, local First Nations and others, at no cost, after the Games”* (2002, Vol. 1, p. 71). Such quotes as these are found frequently in my data and portray the importance attached to sports in Canada and the inclusive character of the country.

Next to this legacy, the housing for the athletes in the Olympic village would afterwards be used as housing for the employees of the Whistler area. Another part of the Olympic village would be used after the Games as accommodation for athletes from all over the world who can practice and make use of the facilities of the Whistler area. *“This facility will also be central to Canada’s continuing international sport outreach program, particularly to less developed nations with poor access to winter sport facilities”* (Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, 2002, Vol. 2, p. 197). A part of these facilities would also be made fully equipped for people with disabilities. These statements portray that Canada is aiming for the accessibility of sport facilities for everyone.

The Olympic Games are seen as an opportunity to promote the sport culture of Canada throughout the whole country and to make it accessible for everybody. This was also Furlong’s statement in his speech at the Closing Ceremony. He said that he hoped that the biggest legacy of these Games would be that participating in sport is made accessible for every Canadian child, *“no one left out”* (OBS, 2010, March 16, time: 1:56:32). Here one can see that the sport culture in Canada is not only characterised for its good qualities; there is also the aim to include all people in this sport culture and make these professional and modern venues accessible for everybody. The characteristics of the Canadian sport culture and the inclusiveness of Canada are melting together here, just as the portrayed passion of the Canadians for winter sports and the portrayed Canadian geography can be seen in one line.

6.4 Canadians as fanatic sport fans

Not only the successful athletes, the ice hockey victories and the sport venues were named as characteristics for the Canadian sport culture, also the Canadian citizens and their enthusiasm as sport fans were recalled. Both in the Bid Book, the Ceremonies, and data on the commemoration, Canadians were portrayed as enthusiastic, very hospitable, and helpful in the whole process of the Olympic Games. In the Bid Book it was stated that over 80% of the Canadians were positive about the possibility that Vancouver would get the organisation of the Games (2002, Vol. 1).

In his speech at the Closing Ceremony, John Furlong thanked the volunteers of the Games and honoured them with compliments and a big applause. They were said to be the “undisputed heroes of these Games” (OBS, 2010, March 16, time: 1:50:02). They were praised for their efforts, enthusiasm, and energy. Also the Canadian employees who participated in the organisation of the Games were thanked and praised for their good work that was said to be needful to make the Games to such a big success. Next to these specific operatives, the Canadians citizens were thanked as well:

“Canadians, you joined each other and our colourful international visitors in common celebration, radiant, jubilant, spontaneous, peaceful. For us, you were the wind beneath our wings. You did not just cheer; rather you lived every glorious moment as if you yourselves were competing for gold” (OBS, 2010, March 16, time: 1:47:46).

Throughout different data, Canadians are portrayed as people who are engaging and participating in Canada’s sport culture as if they are athletes themselves. Not only the Canadian Furlong noticed these features, but also Jacques Rogge, the president of the IOC, noticed this support and enthusiasm. Rogge emphasised on the great loyalty of Canada towards the Olympic Games and “the unique celebration of Olympism” by Canadians (OBS – Closing Ceremony Vancouver 2010, 2010, March 16, time: 1:57:43). Journalist Juliet Macur wrote for the New York Times a weblog during the Opening Ceremony and she described the explosion of cheers and support that aroused when the Canadian athletes entered the stadium at the finale of the Parade of Nations (update 10:20 p.m, 2010, Feb. 12).

Also in the video clips shown during the Ceremonies and the video clip of CTV, a lot of diverse Canadian fans were portrayed like little boys and girls, women, elderly people, and people from different cultures.



Figure 15



Figure 17

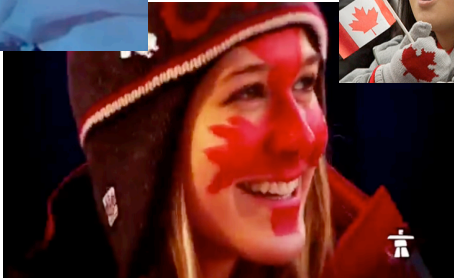


Figure 16



Figure 18

As one can see on the pictures on the previous page, many were included in the celebration of the Canadian sport successes. Different video clips also showed the crowds of Canadians from every age and culture who were cheering along the roads where the Olympic torch was carried before the Games began.



Figure 19

On this screenshot from a video clip about the journey of the Olympic torch shown at the Opening Ceremony one can see a Canadian school class standing in the snow to support and cheer for the Olympic torch bearer.

In my data the cheering Canadians were mostly brought in context with ice hockey. Canadian ice hockey fans were portrayed the most. On the Internet one can find various video clips and recordings that cover the magnificent celebration of Canadians all over Canada when the ice hockey men scored the decisive goal and won the gold medal against the USA. The gold ice hockey medals were the occasion for a massive celebration of many Canadians throughout whole Canada. Also the mayor of Vancouver was wearing a Canadian ice hockey jersey at the official Olympic tradition of the ‘flag handover ceremony’ during the Closing Ceremony.

Figure 20



The mayor of Vancouver is wearing an ice hockey jersey at the official Olympic ‘flag handover ceremony’ while the mayor of Sochi and the president of the IOC were both wearing suits.

The lead singer of the Canadian band Simple Plan that was performing at the Closing Ceremony, was wearing a Canadian ice hockey jersey as well. I recognised that most Canadian fans portrayed throughout films and pictures in the studied data were ice hockey fans. Here again one can underline the performance of ice hockey as an important characteristic for Canadians.

6.5 Conclusion

The Olympic Games are a major global sport event. This is why it did not surprise me that the data I examined showed me that the Games were used as a portrayal and a celebration of the Canadian sport culture. Through such a big event focused on sport I studied the place of sport in the performance of the Canadian identity. Drawing on Durkheim's theory (2008 [1912]), I examined this sport event as a celebration of a community. Sport can be seen as a ritual and a reaffirmation of feelings of unity and national belonging. These feelings were created and reaffirmed by focussing on collective representations that are shared by the community. These representations can be seen in the different aspects on which was focussed, which I will describe in the following paragraphs.

Firstly stated, there was a focus on the success of the athletes of the Canadian Olympic team. Throughout my data I have found various examples of the national pride towards the achievements, characters and medals of the Canadian athletes. These achievements were ascribed to Canada and could, therefore, be claimed by all Canadians.

In the second place, it showed Canada as a winter sport minded nation due to its climate and the geography. The snow, ice, big lakes, and mountains make Canada the perfect place for winter sport. The research of my data showed that ice hockey is appearing to play an important part in the Canadian identity. Ice hockey can be seen as the national sport and it can be used as a ritual through which Canadians feel themselves connected to their country. The ice hockey rink "*is a place where the monumental themes of Canadian life are played out – English and French, East and West, Canada and the U.S., Canada and the world, the timeless tension of commerce and culture, our struggle to survive and civilize winter*" (Dryden & MacGregor, 1981, as cited in Francis, 1997, p. 167). So, this national sport embodies important stories about Canada and the Canadians.

Next to these characteristics of the Canadian sport culture, there was emphasised on the good organisation and facilities of Canada and the modern and well-equipped venues in the area of Whistler and Vancouver. These venues were also designed with the aftermath of the Games in mind. The sustainable planning of the facilities should make them a beneficial

sport legacy for the (local) community. In the data on the legacies of the facilities there was also an emphasis on the inclusiveness in this portrayal of the Canadian sport culture. The notion of inclusiveness was found in this data through the frequent statements to include everybody and to give everybody the opportunity to make use of these facilities and to participate in sport. This was stated as one of the most important legacies of the Games.

Finally, the big enthusiasm and support of the Canadian citizens were portrayed, which was stated to contribute to the success of the Vancouver Games just as the determination and strength of the Canadian athletes did. There was a frequent performance of Canadians as big ice hockey fans. For Canadians ice hockey is said to be a way to survive the extreme cold winters and to adapt to their country (Francis, 1997). Ice hockey and Canada are interrelated with each other. This sport plays an important role in the self-image of the country. With these thoughts in mind, one can imagine that two times Olympic ice hockey gold in their own country was reason for a celebration of a life time for Canadians, just like the whole Olympic event was.

7 Canada as a modern and well-developed country

Next to Canada as a diverse, inclusive, and sport-loving country, one can also find the characteristic of Canada as a modern and well-developed country throughout the Olympic Games. Even though Canada wanted to portray its authentic Canadian identity on the global stage that the Games provided, it also wanted to perform itself as a modern and global country. Here one can see a kind of paradox between the focus on a specific Canadian identity and a focus on a global identity. Canada wants to embody and perform, next to specific Canadian characteristics, terms as Western, modern, global, and sophisticated as well. Canada tried to portray both its global and national characteristics, showing that it is a modern global country however different from other countries through its specific Canadian identity. Here one can see the interrelation of globalisation and nationalism.

The Canadian performance of modernity is examined throughout the data. I have divided these aspects through which Canada portrayed its modernity and development in different themes, which are modern facilities, high living standards, advanced technology, world-famous Canadian celebrities, modern Canadian institutions, and Canada's development and achievements in sustainability.

7.1 Canada, a modern country

Throughout all the data that I examined images can be found of the wide and rough nature of Canada. Big lakes, mountains, snow landscapes, (polar) bears, whales, the Canadian prairies; it was all portrayed in the pictures published in the Bid Book and in the video clips shown at the Ceremonies. However, next to this Canadian nature there were various images and videos of the city of Vancouver. These contained, among others, shots of skyscrapers, the harbour, ice hockey stadiums, the exhibition centre 'Science World Vancouver', highways, and public transportation. It displayed Vancouver as a modern city with a serious skyline. Also during the Opening Ceremony video projections and time-lapses of the skyline were projected during performances.

7.1.1 Modern facilities in Canada

Especially in the Bid Book the available facilities in Vancouver were named and these were portraying that it is a modern Western city. The infrastructure in Vancouver was praised for its efficiency. It was stated that the public transportation in the city is easy to use and provided

with the newest technologies and supplies, which makes it safe and comfortable to make use of. The Bid Book stated that the transportation system in Vancouver's metropolitan area is regarded as one of the best in North America and that this was also noticed in the candidature acceptance report of the IOC. It was also stated that, "*Vancouver is known for cutting-edge research and development of sustainable transportation technologies, and will showcase these technologies during the 2010 Olympic Winter Games*" (Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, 2002, Vol. 3, p. 3). The airport is likewise mentioned in the Bid Book. It pointed to the fact that the international airport of Vancouver can be found in the top 10 of airports worldwide with a high passengers satisfaction rate. This list is assembled by the International Air Transport Association (2002). Also the great accessibility and devices for disabled people were mentioned.

As I have already described in the previous chapter, one can also find the emphasis laid on the good quality of the sport venues in Whistler. In the Bid Book they are also emphasising the fact that the area is very loved and praised by tourists. Canada knows an "*outstanding tourist infrastructure*" (2002, Vol. 3, p. 3) and is therefore a tourist-friendly country.

7.1.2. Living standards in Canada

The living standards in Canada are known to be high and to meet with Western standards. For example, the country is known for its advanced and established health-care system. Health-care is seen as a public good in Canada and, therefore, it has to be accessible for all Canadian citizens. This is in big contrast with the United States where health-care is a privatized privilege. When Canadians are asked what differentiates them from the USA, they mostly directly mention Canada's health care system (Maioni, 2011). Also in the Bid Book one can find this pride of the well-developed service characterised "*with excellent access to the latest technologies and a highly skilled professional workforce*" (2002, Vol. 3, p. 3). Without giving a source for it or referring to a specific research, one can read that Canada is one of the healthiest countries and Vancouver one of the healthiest cities of the world (2002). Vancouver is praised for the professionalism and quality of hospitals and other medical facilities.

Next to these health-related characteristics, Canada is also known for its safety. It has good security services and institutions. This results in the fact that "*Canada has very low rates of crime compared to most other developed countries*" (Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, 2002, Vol. 3, p. 43). Nowadays, safety is an important issue in the organisation of major events because of the increasing fear of terrorism. In the Bid Book one can find all

the security matters that were taken in Vancouver and which were provided to maintain the characterised safety of Canada. Not only was there thought about the prevention of eventual terrorism, eventual natural disasters were kept in mind as well: “*The Vancouver region has some of the most stringent seismic building code provisions in the world (...)*” (2002, Vol. 3, p. 43). The Bid Book also stated that all the new facilities and infrastructure built for the Olympic Games would be designed and constructed to these standards. Also on safety, Canada portrayed itself as a world-leader.

7.2 Technology used at the Vancouver Games

Technology plays an important role in the broadcasting of the Games to the whole world. In the Bid Book the experience and quality of the broadcasting possibilities were emphasised. The Bid Book emphasised that Canada has all the supplies to cover the Games and offer good quality of footage. This was also shown in the part of the summarising video clip shown at the Closing Ceremony that was dedicated to the technology used during the Games. The fact that there was a special part in the video clip dedicated to portray the used technology shows that the VANOC found that the technology was as an important aspect of the Games to portray. The clip portrayed the whole organisation and planning around the broadcasting of the Games. It showed the many people that were working on this and it also depicted the special camera devices that were used to cover the Games from different angles. Robot cameras were hanging on cables above the venues and were manually controlled. It showed cameras attached to a device that looked like a little zeppelin. People were filming on high scaffoldings and in cranes. Cameras were, for example, attached on the front of a bob sleigh, helmets, and riding devices that rode along the ice skating track.

Next to the broadcast devices, the telecommunication in Canada is also stated to be well developed. Because of the large geographical distances that needed to be covered across the nation, Canada has evolved itself as a leader in the global telecommunication market. “*The 2010 Games will have the benefit of one of the world’s most developed telecommunications infrastructures*” (Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, 2002, Vol. 3, p. 5). Through such citations and portrayals Canada showed their experience in and use of technology.

7.2.1 Spectacle in the Ceremonies

In the Ceremonies one could see again the great use of technology to make the performances to a spectacle. Four big totems arose from under the stage and raised their arms after the Abo-

original people welcomed the audience. There was a big mechanic polar bear covered in lights. People were flying in the air and lifted up and down from the ceiling. A fiddler in a canoe was declining from the ceiling. There were screens hanging in the stadium on which the registration of the Ceremony could be watched more closely. At some points on these screens French translations were projected as well.

Next to this, the Vancouver Ceremonies made use of the possibilities of video projections more than any other Olympic Ceremony did before. The company that designed and programmed this part of the Ceremony also stated the technical challenge:

“we created a full 60 minutes of video content for the entire stadium floor, vertical 30 metre high screens, 360 degree circular screens, circular podiums and one massive 360 degree draped mountain screen. It was a huge logistical task, not to mention the year of work to get the spectacular content across the line” (Spinifex Group, n.d.).

The Ceremonies were a big technical spectacle. The figures below show some of the technique and video projection used at the Opening Ceremony.

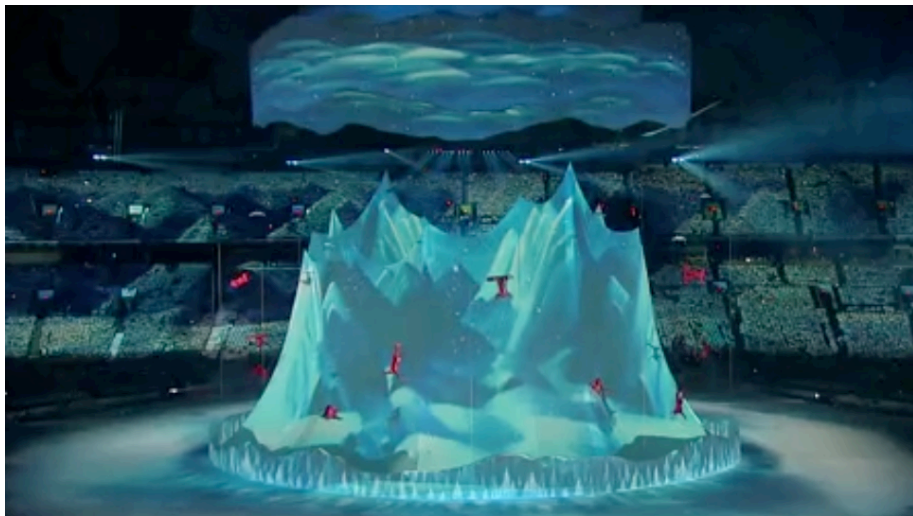


Figure 21

The people in the red outfits are snowboarders and skiers that are pretending to ride down the mountain.

Another spectacular use of projections and technique was used in the part where the floor was portrayed as the sea and whales were coming up and simultaneously spouting water. Then, there was the part where a student from the ‘l’ecole national de cirque’ in Montreal was performing acrobatics while he was flying through the air. Every time he landed and his feet touched the floor, the floor was changing in a square of wheat. The part with the flying canoe had impressive video projections as well. Maple leaves were pretending to falling down and covering the whole floor which one can see on the picture on the next page.



Figure 22

Maple leaves were projected on the floor, the tribunes and the video screen above the stage. This picture also shows the blue flying canoe.

All these parts of the Opening Ceremony were used in the summarising video clip presented at the beginning of the Closing Ceremony. This shows that these spectacular parts of the Ceremony were seen as the highlights. It shows the modern use of technology and the competence to organise and realise such performances. By choosing these parts of the Opening Ceremony as highlights, this modernity and technology is supposed to be linked to Canada, portraying the country as a modern and well-developed country.

Another novelty and innovation was used at the Closing Ceremony. The famous Russian conductor Valery Gergiev was present at this Ceremony and conducting an orchestra in Moscow through a video call at the same time. *“For the first time in an Olympic Handover ceremony, digital technologies connected the audience in Vancouver to Sochi and the Russian capital, Moscow, sharing the celebratory atmosphere across time and space”* (Solomon, 2010, Feb. 28). Again a new occurrence was used in the Ceremonies, making the Vancouver Ceremonies special and unique. Through this Canada performed itself as an advanced nation.

7.3 Performances of famous Canadians

Internationally known Canadian celebrities were invited to perform at the Ceremonies. For example, the people who carried the Olympic flag into the stadium were, among others, Betty Fox (mother of Terry Fox, cancer research champion), Roméo Dallaire (former UNAMIR, United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, commander, writer and humanitarian), Jacques Villeneuve (one of the few Formula One drivers from Canada), and Julie Payette (Canadian astronaut). These Canadian stakeholders show how Canada participates in important global enterprises like medical research, international peace

operations, Formula One, and astronautics. These people portray the Canadian participation in this global world and can be seen as examples of Canadian world success (Wong & Trumper, 2002).

Also famous Canadian singers and actors were invited to perform during the Ceremonies, for example: Nelly Furtado, Bryan Adams, Donald Sutherland, Joni Mitchell, K.D. Lang (performing the famous song ‘Hallelujah’ that is written in Montreal by Leonard Cohen, also a Canadian-born), Neil Young, William Shatner, Michael Fox, Michael Bublé, the band Nickelback, and Avril Lavigne. In their article about national sport heroes Wong and Trumper (2002) examine how athletes are seen as representatives of their country. “*They are important symbols for the nations where they were born and, as such, help to reproduce the nation and make it strong*” (p. 190). I argue that the same counts for famous artists. They can also be seen as representatives of Canada. The feelings of national belonging were reinforced in the Ceremonies through special attributes in the performances of the artists. For instance, the actor Michael Fox finished his speech with “*I am Michael, I am Canadian*” (OBS – Closing Ceremony Vancouver 2010, 2010, March 16, time: 2:18:47), just as how William Shatner and Catherine O’Hara finished their speech. As I stated before, the lead singer of the Canadian band Simple Plan was wearing a Canadian ice hockey jersey during his performance at the Closing Ceremony. Avril Lavigne had a Canadian flag attached to her belt. Michael Bublé was wearing a Royal Canadian Mounted Police outfit. These are all references to their native country and, therefore, these internationally well-known artists were proudly linked to Canada. Celebrities are used to represent Canadian-ness. They “*play a vital role in fostering awareness of societal identity*” (Hiller, 1986, as cited in Bunt, 2009, p. 39). They symbolise, for example, Canada as a country with a developed music and film scene employing good musicians and actors, an impressive sport culture with great athletes, and as a country that knows a rich and diverse culture. The celebrities can be seen as a Canadian product (Bunt, 2009) and are, in a way, an advertisement for Canada.

7.3.1 Canadian institutions

Canadian institutions were proudly addressed as well. An institution that was presented and portrayed various times during the Olympic Games was the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. “*Canadians are the only people in the world who recognize a police force as their proudest national symbol (...) They [the RCMP] project just the right mixture of stern rectitude and pleasant helpfulness which Canadians like to think we all possess*” (Francis, 1997, p. 29). This image of the RCMP is reinforced by the many books and movies in which the police

force is portrayed as such. The RCMP is also seen as something typically for Canada while it would mark the difference with the United States. For example, the treatment of the native people is imagined to be much more violent in the neighbour-country. “*South of the border they wages genocidal war against their Native population. In Canada, we sent the Mounted Police to befriend and protect the Indians*” (Francis, 1997, p. 34). The ‘Mounties’ are a symbol for Canada as a civilised, safe, and peaceful country.

At the Olympic Games, the RCMP was assigned to accompany the traditional parts of the Opening and Closing Ceremony, like the carrying and hoisting of the Canadian flag, the hoisting of the Olympic flag, and the lowering of the Canadian and Olympic flag and carrying them out of the stadium. The members of the RCMP took their part very seriously. Close up of their faces showed how concentrated and serious they were during the Ceremonies. The members of the RCMP were also diverse. I have seen, for example, several women and black men wearing the RCMP uniforms. Therefore, one could state that the inclusiveness and diversity of Canada is in this case also seen in the compilation of the RCMP members present at the Ceremonies.

Michael Bublé and the ‘Made in Canada’ part at the Closing Ceremony also made a tribute to the Mounties. In this part different specific Canadian features were portrayed like moose, beavers, ice hockey players, and the RCMP. Animations of RCMP-men were projected on the screen above the stage, Mounties were projected on the floor, performers wearing RCMP-outfits were marching, dancing, and singing on stage and there were big blown up air balloons of RCMP-officers. Michael Bublé was wearing a RCMP-uniform and afterwards drove around at a huge RCMP-hat. The institution of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police was performed frequently in the Ceremonies. An example of this can be seen in the following figure.



Figure 23

Michael Bublé is performing on a huge RCMP hat, surrounded by various portrayals of RCMP-officers.

In the Bid Book it was frequently stated that the RCMP was equipped with and responsible for the safety during the Olympic Games. The RCMP was described as a sophisticated security force (2002). The institution of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police can be linked with the characteristic of Canada as a safe country.

The image of Canada as a fair country can be seen throughout the statements about doping and the mentioning of the *International Anti-Doping Arrangement, an alliance of governments committed to harmonization and quality control of anti-doping programs worldwide, of which Canada is a founding member*” (Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, 2002, Vol. 3, p. 25). Here one can see that Canada emphasises that it has such a prominent position in the enterprise of fair sports.

Not only sport and safety, but also cultural sophisticated institutions were present and performing during the Ceremonies. The Canadian Youth Philharmonic Orchestra was accompanying the national anthem at the Closing Ceremony. The performance of Michael Bublé was accompanied by the Vancouver 2010 Swing Orchestra. Canadian opera singers were at the Ceremonies to sing the Olympic anthem. These performances depicted the cultural sophistication of Canada and their institutions covering ‘high’ art. On the other side, the performances at the Closing Ceremony of the rapper K-os and different break-dance groups wearing clothes with graffiti-based patterns portrayed the popular and urban culture which can be found in Canada as well.

Canada performed itself as a country with modern and sophisticated institutions and internationally popular artists. Just like sport heroes, the data have shown that also national artists can “*play an important role in the social construction of national identity*” (Jackson & Ponic, 2001, p. 44). These national artists, just like the national institutions, can be seen as Canadian representatives and can, therefore, symbolise certain characteristics of Canada.

7.4 Sustainable Olympic Games

Canada also wanted to portray itself as a country aware of sustainability. With the awareness of global warming and climate change nowadays, countries have to head more towards environmental improvements. This awareness can be found in Canada’s emphasis on sustainability, especially found in the Bid Book and the data on the commemoration of the Games. In the Bid Book it is stated that in all aspects of the organisation the awareness of durability in different reaches has been kept in mind. In the Vancouver Games and the whole organisation around it, one can find the awareness of economic, environmental, social, and cultural sustainability. Also in the Bid Book Canadian sustainable investments and corporations are

mentioned:

“Vancouver is where Greenpeace International was founded, is home to the world renowned David Suzuki Foundation [an environmental charity] and is one of nine metropolitan areas from around the world selected to participate in the International Sustainable Urban Systems design competition, to demonstrate how Vancouver can achieve sustainability by 2100” (Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, 2002, Vol. 1, p. 63).

The awareness of sustainability is something that Canada was emphasising and wanted to embody. It was stated in the Bid Book that there was also thought about sustainable features in the building of the venues and accommodation. The Canadian citizens are also stated to be aware of their environment. *“The culture of our people, and the widely shared knowledge that we live in a naturally blessed yet delicately balanced place, dictate a future that balances economic and social goals with protecting our environment”* (Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, 2002, Vol. 1, p. 63). Canadians make use of modern possibilities to take good care of their natural habitat. One could say that Canadians ‘have mastered’ or have their environment under control; they make use of it but at the same time giving something back. Therefore, Canada performed itself as a leader in durability.

Also in cultural and social perspective Canada performed its awareness of the future. It is stated to negotiate with Aboriginal people and to have introduced laws to make sure that the indigenous culture is not undermined. Traditional cultures should have the possibility to stay true to their origins and to live next to other cultures without losing their uniqueness.

Not only different cultures within Canada, but also nations should live happily next to each other. I have described earlier in this thesis that it was frequently mentioned throughout my data that Canada stated the wish to cooperate on a global level and to bring different people worldwide together. Also the relationship was drawn between peaceful international collaboration and sustainability. *“Vancouver is by nature an Olympic city, devoted to physical and cultural endeavours and dedicated to sustainability. Our program will look to the 21st century, driven by the dreams of a better future and peaceful interaction among nations”* (Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, 2002, Vol. 3, p. 3). Canada portrayed its wish to work together worldwide for a sustainable future various times throughout the examined data.

I have stated earlier in the chapter about Canadian sport culture that Canada was mentioning the great Olympic legacies achieved on the level of sport. Throughout the data on commemoration, one can find that Canada particularly emphasised on the fact that the sport venues are still used and have caused an improvement of people’s participation in sport. This

is not only noticed as a healthy improvement but also as an improvement for the community. After the Games ended, the sport venues were used as community centres and places where people meet each other. So also for the (feelings of) community, the Vancouver Games had great benefits.

Economic benefits were mentioned as well: “*A coalition of Metro Vancouver municipal governments also announced in February 2011 that the Vancouver Games had so far helped to spur more than CAD 300 million in economic development benefits, which had resulted in 2,500 full-time jobs*” (VANOC, 2012, June 27). Next to the rise of employment, the economy of Vancouver also grew with 0,8 per cent due to the Olympic Games (VANOC, 2012, June 27). So also in economic perspective, VANOC showed that they had achieved to organise successful and sustainable Games.

In all different aspects one can see that sustainability was an important focus in the Vancouver Games that was mentioned various times.

7.5 Conclusion

This all shows that Vancouver (and, therefore, Canada) performed its ability to organise an Olympic Winter Game that succeeded in different aspects. The VANOC created modern, safe, sportive, fair, sustainable, and profitable Games. Such success was particularly valuable for Canada given that the 1976 Olympic Summer Games, hosted in Montreal, were unsuccessful due to, among other things, mismanagement and little support of the federal government. These Games ended in debt that Quebecers partly had to pay through taxes. Many Canadians remember these Games as a failure (Kid, 1992). Canada portrayed with the Vancouver Games that it is able to organise such a mega-event and even create cultural, social, environmental, and economic legacies. All of the in this chapter described aspects that Canada emphasised on were also named in the ‘Factsheet, facts and figures Vancouver 2010’ that the IOC revealed in February 2011. The image of Canada they wanted to portray globally can, therefore, be seen as succeeded.

8. Geography of Canada

Next to Vancouver as a modern city with an advanced skyline, the Canadian nature and climate are emphasised frequently throughout the different data. Canadians are very aware of their diverse and rich environment and in the examined material one can notice this awareness and pride. The Bid Book stated that British Columbia has “*one of the most diverse and beautiful natural landscapes in the world, preserved in a significant protected area network that covers more than 12% of the provincial land base. This rich natural heritage is a key element of what defines BC and its citizens*” (Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, 2002, Vol. 1, p. 57). The Canadian nature is seen as an important and unique characteristic of the country. Canada is proud of the useful features that the nature provides and of which the country can make use, for example, the large surface of water. The high quality of the drinking water is mentioned. The watersheds that one can find in the mountains north of Vancouver are maintaining this high quality. This is mentioned different times in the Bid Book. The focus on the rich Canadian nature can also be linked with the focus on sustainability. The awareness of the environment makes that Canada is looking for possibilities to make consciously use of it.

8.1 Canadian nature

At the Olympic Games the different aspects of the Canadian landscape were portrayed: big lakes, mountains, prairies, the Canadian Rocky Mountains, Canada’s beaches, and the cold northern regions. Different sections in the performance at the Opening Ceremony were assigned as tributes to these diverse geographical landscapes. For example, the part ‘Who has seen the wind?’ was a tribute to the Canadian prairies. This section contained the acrobatic-performance by the student from the Montreal circus school. The floor transformed into a square of wheat every time he touched it. Also galloping horses were projected on the floor. The Canadian Rocky Mountains were represented in the part ‘Peaks of Endeavour’ where a huge installation of cloth was transformed into a mountain, which one can see at figure 21 of this thesis.

In the video clips shown at the Ceremonies the diverse geography was to be seen as well, for example in the short clip about the journey of the Olympic flame. It was stated that, with the overall distance of 4500 kilometres, it was the longest torch journey ever made in one country. The clip contained images of a polar bear, an athlete with the torch warmly dressed, a dog sleigh through the snow, snow landscapes, mountains, snow blizzards, lakes,

forests, a lighthouse at the shore, and the Niagara Falls. It showed various images of and references to the Canadian nature and climate.

The images of snow landscapes were also found in the summarising video clip of the Games shown at the Closing Ceremony. The different clips that showed the highlights of every Olympic day were announced with this image of mountains, snow, and ice on the background of which an example can be found at figure 6 of this thesis. The performance of William Shatner at the Closing Ceremony portrayed the diverse natural environments in Canada as well. Different postcards were projected around a big maple leaf in the middle of the floor. These postcards depicted again images of lakes, mountains, snow landscapes, and also the Niagara Falls.

Also the animals that live in Canada were portrayed. In the Ceremonies whales, moose, a polar bear, beavers, wolves, bears, eagles, and goose were depicted as well as a school of salmon. This was at the part when panels of cloth were hoisted and the projected school of fish swam up to the panels, which was done to represent the salmon spawning. A Provincial Park in British Columbia is famous for this 'salmon spawning' where people from all over the world are coming to watch this event. The animals that were portrayed can also be linked with different features of the Canadian geography.

The maple leaf

There was a huge depiction of maple leaves throughout all the data and especially in the both Ceremonies. The maple leaf is said to have been a Canadian symbol already before the colonial settlers set foot on the country. The native people already used the syrup and wood from the maple trees. The leaf is portrayed at the Canadian coins from 1876 on and it is nowadays still portrayed at the Canadian penny. From the end of the 19th century on Canadian soldiers were wearing uniforms with maple leaves in the international wars. In 1965, the Canadian flag was introduced and the maple leaf appeared on this new official national flag. Nowadays the symbol is directly linked with Canada. This can also be seen during the various performances where maple leaves were portrayed. The section 'Rhythms of the Fall' was full of maple leaves. This was the part with the flying canoe. The fiddler's cloak was in the shape of a maple leaf, which he threw down at the beginning of the performance and looked like a leaf falling down. During the performance, the whole floor was filled with projections of maple leaves. Also on the tribunes leaves were projected and a video clip of falling maple leaves was projected on the white screen above the stage. Besides all this, 'real' red leaves were falling down and covering the projected leaves on the floor. An example of this part can

be seen at figure 22 of this thesis. The music played on the violins during this part was the tune ‘Maple Sugar’, a classical Canadian fiddle tune. This tune was repeated different times.

Also other performances contained the portrayal of this famous Canadian symbol. During the recited poem of Shane Koyczan people were entering the stage wearing white clothes with maple leaves on their jackets. They were standing in the shape of a maple leaf with the cylinder, on which Koyczan was performing, in the centre. The people were all carrying a small flashlight and when a red light was filling the stage, a white maple leaf was depicted. Such choreographies were performed also in other sections in the Ceremonies.

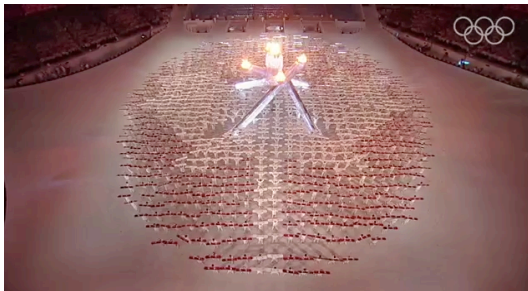


Figure 24



Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27

The compilation of the song ‘Maple Leaf Forever’, was performed at the Closing Ceremony by Michael Bublé. This song is written in 1867 for the occasion of the Confederation. The song, written by Alexander Muir and entirely in English, has long been used as an unofficial national anthem. During the performance Bublé was standing in front of a video screen that showed an image of a little house by a lake with mountains and trees on the background and it was pretending to snow. This song also contains parts which praised the Canadian nature:

*“O, land of blue unending skies,
Mountains strong and sparkling snow,
A scent of freedom in the wind,
O'er the emerald fields below”* (OBS, 2010, March 16, time: 2:19:16).

Girls with a big red maple leaf as cloak were dancing on stage and some were descending

from the ceiling. Just like the pretended RCMP-officers and ice hockey players that performed in this section, they were all singing along with the text ‘Maple Leaf Forever’.

Also the Canadian athletes did contribute to the portrayal of maple leaves. They were wearing red mittens with maple leaves during the Parade of Nations and Nordic sweaters with reindeers and maple leaves at the Closing Ceremony. Their sport uniforms did mostly had a maple leaf printed on it as well, like on the jackets, helmets, bob sleights, and snowboards.

Next to the portrayal of the maple leaves, also images of trees and forest were linked to the Canadian nature. At the Opening Ceremony the part ‘Sacred Grove’ was a tribute to the many Canadian forests. This part was introduced by the following citation of the native poet Chief Dan George: “*The beauty of the trees, the softness of the air, the fragrance of the grass speaks to me. And my heart soars*” (OBS, 2010, April 11, time: 1:41:27), which also states the beauty of the Canadian nature and especially the trees.

The Canoe

Canoes were also portrayed various times in the studied material. In the Bid Book and in the commemoration book ‘With Glowing Hearts’ pictures of people in canoes can be found. Also the Olympic Torch was transported by canoe for a part of the journey. The canoe is a symbol of the Canadian environment with the big lakes between the mountains. It is also a historical symbol. Canoes were the transportation used by the Aboriginal people centuries ago. Also the French settlers were using the canoe to transport themselves to the places where the natives were living. Due to the canoe, the fur trade was established. This historical reference is shown in the Closing Ceremony in the part of the voyageurs. ‘French settlers’ were arriving on stage in canoes, referring to the first contact of the colonial settlers and the native people. This is an important occurrence in the Canadian history and the canoe played a role in this. William Shatner also ‘claims’ the canoe as something Canadian. He states that Canadians are the only people who know how to make love in a canoe and that this is the reason why splinters are covered by the Canadian health insurance (OBS – Closing Ceremony Vancouver 2010, 2010, March 16). The canoe is thus mentioned as something typical of Canada.

8.2 Canadian Climate

“*In what other climate does the Queen of Silence show us more splendour? I love, Oh Canada, night, the vast plain shining with whiteness*” (OBS – Opening Ceremony Vancouver 2010, 2010, April 11, time: 1:31:20). This translated citation from the poem ‘Winter’ written

by the French-Canadian poet Francois-Xavier Garneau addresses the Canadian winter. This citation was heard at the Opening Ceremony and introduced the section ‘the Hymn to the North’. This part of the Ceremony was a tribute to the cold white northern part of Canada. Ice, people warmly dressed, snow falling down, a big polar bear, and whales were all portrayed in this section. It also showed a reference to the northern light that can be found from August on in the Northern provinces. This northern-ness and the weather that is related to this give Canada a unique position at the continent of North America. This position is also noticed in the national anthem where Canada is described as ‘the true north, strong and free’. The northern geography and the cold climate that comes with it differentiate Canada from the United States. It is also stated that this cold climate determines the personality of Canadians as strong people with a lot of self-discipline, a strong determination, and strength. (Francis, 1997).

Canada is also internationally associated with winter. In a survey done by Brent Ritchie and Smith (1991), they asked American citizens which images and associations they had when ‘Canada’ was mentioned. The highest percentage can be found at the response ‘cold’. If one sees the table with the results below, one can state that geographical characteristics are among the highest.

**TABLE 1
IMAGES OF CANADA FROM UNITED STATES
RESPONDENTS (1988)
(N=893)**

Response	Frequency ^a	Percentage of Respondents
Cold	258	28.9%
French	167	18.7
Mountains	145	16.2
Beautiful	140	15.7
Snow	140	15.7
Olympics	113	12.7
Friendly	99	11.1
Hockey	87	9.7
Forests/trees	83	9.3
Lakes	76	8.5
Fishing	68	7.6
Skiing	61	6.8
Wilderness	60	6.7
Large	55	6.2
Open	50	5.6
Good neighbors/allies	47	5.3
RCMP	46	5.2
Good people	45	5.0
Scenery	38	4.3
Similar to USA	37	4.1
Niagara Falls	31	3.5
Green	30	3.4
Nice to visit	29	3.2
Canadian beer	28	3.1
Underpopulated	25	2.8
English	25	2.8
Friends/family there	23	2.6
British ties	23	2.6
Good	22	2.5
Peaceful	21	2.4
Great	20	2.2
Expo	20	2.2
Like the country	20	2.2

^aTotal number of responses=2,972; average number of responses per person=3.33.

Figure 28

These geographical characteristics were earlier also emphasised through global watched events, for example, the exploration of the Arctic area done by John Franklin. He studied the coastlines of the northern part of Canada at the beginning of the 19th century. Then, later on “*with the discovery of gold in the Klondike in 1896, Canada’s reputation as a northern nation was secured (...) The whole world was watching and absorbing the message that Canada was a vast wilderness of snow and ice*” (Francis, 1997, p. 157).

This awareness of the cold Canadian climate can also be found throughout the different parts of the Olympic Games. In the Bid Book it is stated that “*Canada’s climate has nurtured a deep respect for the challenges of winter and an equally deep passion for the abundant sport opportunities that snow and ice present. This passion drives every aspect of our Olympic bid*” (2002, Vol. 1, p. 3). In the Bid Book one can also find weather statistics and prospects for the period of the Olympic Games. Here the high possibility of snow and ice and the good position of the wind were stated. Canada and winter are connected with each other: *snow and ice are part of what defines Canadians* (Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, 2002, Vol. 2, p. 3). It is a way of live for Canadians. They are used to this climate. Minus 30 is, as William Shatner proudly stated, another sign of global warming for Canadians (OBS – Vancouver Closing Ceremony 2010, 2010, March 16). This climate also explains why Canada is mostly indirectly associated with winter sports.

In the Ceremonies the stages, the totem poles at the beginning of the Opening Ceremony and also the signs used at the Parade of Nations, on which the country’s name was portrayed all appeared to be made of ice were pretended to be out of ice. At some parts of the Ceremonies it was pretending to be snowing and white ‘flakes’ were descending from the ceiling. Canada was portraying itself as a cold country with a lot of snow and ice.

8.3 Conclusion

All these various features of the Canadian nature and climate can also be found in the colours of the Vancouver logo: blue symbolises the sky, the mountains and the oceans, green symbolises the Canadian forests, the maple leaf was represented through the red colour, and yellow was stated to symbolise sunrise (The Olympic Museum, 2009). So there are references to the diverse Canadian geography in the official logo of the 2010 Olympic Games, which one can find at figure 5 of this thesis.

Canada was portraying its diverse and rich geography throughout the different data. Various times, references were made to and images were shown of the many mountains, big lakes, forests, and winter landscapes that Canada knows. Canada is both proud of their urban

and natural environment. The established Canadian cities are showing that Canada is a well-developed and modern Western country: Vancouver is just like other metropolitan and cosmopolitan cities as New York, London, or Tokyo. However, on the other side, Canada knows a natural environment, which is unique and characteristic for the country. *“Our cities belong to the global, post-industrial world of traffic, computers and high-rise towers; they are indistinguishable from cities anywhere. Our wildness, on the other hand, is our own. It is a unique landscape which imparts to us a unique set of characteristics which we recognize as Canadian”* (Francis, 1997, p. 150). Canada is performing itself both as global and universal on the one side and, due to these diverse geographical features, as unique and Canadian, on the other side. I encountered this duality between a global and Canadian identity in the characteristics of Canada in the chapter on modernity as well.

9. Counterpoints towards the performed Canadian image

The described findings in the previous chapters were portrayed as characteristics of the Canadian identity throughout the studied data. This portrayal created an overall positive image of Canada as an inclusive, modern, well-developed, and harmonious multi-cultural country that is sport-minded, especially very good in ice hockey, and that has beautiful mountains, lakes, and very strong winters.

It makes sense that on a global stage nations want to focus on the positive aspects of their country and to show the world how beautiful and special it is. The Opening Ceremony portrayed, like someone in the opinion-part of *The Vancouver Sun* wrote, “*the Canada we want the world to see, magical and beautiful, and talented*” (Fralic, 2010, Feb. 13). So it is not remarkable that negative aspects towards this image were not mentioned and excluded by the VANOC. However, throughout the different data I have found some counterpoints towards the performed Canadian characteristics.

9.1 Canada as a multicultural, diverse, and inclusive country

9.1.1. *The Aboriginal people and culture in Canada*

The Opening Ceremony of the Vancouver Games was a tribute to and a celebration of the Aboriginal culture and people of Canada. The created image portrayed the well-maintained relationship with the native people and the respect for their lifestyles and cultures. It showed that the Games were organised with the interests of the Aboriginals in mind. The VANOC stated to have had many meetings with the native stakeholders to make sure that they were not undermined. Throughout the examined data the natives were thanked various times for their well-willing cooperation and support.

However, this portrayed relationship with the native people is not self-evident. It knows a long and difficult history in which the Canadians are not put in such a good daylight. Such stories are to be found in more countries with a colonial history. The (mainly violent) victories of the colonial settlers are mostly interrelated with the deaths of many native people. Next to this, the Aboriginals were often deprived of and exiled from their country. This made them strangers on their own (former) land. Such stories can be found in the Canadian history as well. “*Canadians have always believed that we treat our First Nations much more justly than the Americans. It is part of our national self-image*” (Francis, 1997, p. 34). So even though Canadians is portraying itself as very polite and tolerant people, such history can also

be found in its own country. When the settlers came to the 'new' land, they were not friendly towards the original inhabitants or cooperating with them. From the first time the settlers set foot on the country, the interests of the native people were not kept in mind. Their traditional economy suffered from the arrival of the settlers. Their land was damaged and, therefore, also their lifestyle. The colonisation of the country did, for example, result in the decreasing of the buffalo, an animal that played for centuries an important role in the Aboriginal way of living (Francis, 1997). Next to this, the European colonists brought diseases with them that the native people did not know and, therefore, did not survive. All the damage that is done to the Aboriginals is not portrayed much in materials that cover the history of Canada. Until some decades ago, the description of the Canadian history in scholar textbooks did not contain much information about the traditional inhabitants at all: "*Still, as late as mid-century, (...) the national organization of educators, proposed a standardized outline of Canadian history that did not even include Native people as a topic worth studying*" (Francis, 1997, p. 71). In this point of view, the Canadian history started when the settlers arrived to the country.

When the Aboriginals were noticed in textbooks or earlier historical documents, the information is mostly full of adaptations and misinterpretations. Native people were portrayed as backwards and wild savages. They were described as a violent and aggressive tribe that was always fighting and making war.

"Before the arrival of the whites, Textbook Indian life was taken up by fighting amongst themselves; afterwards they made a sport of preying on the colonists. And sport is seemed to be, since the textbooks never seriously paid attention to any rational motives Native people might have had for their behaviour" (Francis, 1997, p. 73).

The self-image of the settlers was that of peacemakers. They had the arrogant feeling that they had to raise and take care of the Aboriginals who did not know what was best for them. The settlers did not treat the native people as equal or as the traditional inhabitants who had their own lifestyles but saw it as their duty to introduce them with and make them fit into the European and especially British standards. The land was seen as 'terra nullius', land that belonged to nobody and this concept contributed to the idea that the country could be taken without guild.

This behaviour towards and neglecting of the Aboriginals has been a remaining issue over time. In the Ceremonies the native people were still portrayed as in this traditional and old-fashioned way which contributes to people's "*misconceptions about contemporary Native life based on images that continue to focus on Native characters in traditional or historical settings and lifestyles, such as in Hollywood films like Dances With Wolves or Pocahontas*"

(Takeuchi, 2010, March 1). Amanda Cheong, a fourth-year Honours Sociology student in the Faculty of Arts at the University of British Columbia, states the same in her article about the re-inscribing of mythologies of the white settler society in the Vancouver Ceremonies (2012). She states that this kind of representations are contributing to the fact that the Aboriginals are locked out of a modern and urban setting and are only linked with an old-fashioned and specific nature-minded lifestyle. This portrayal of Aboriginal culture is, therefore, not a realistic representation.

Next to this, it was mostly a portrayal of the Aboriginals from the director's point of view. The Ceremonies did not contain a contribution to their side or their story. Besides the poet Shane Koyczan, there were no Aboriginal performers at the Ceremonies. In the article on *Straight.com*, it was noticed that the tribute to the Aboriginals was restricted to the Opening Ceremony (Takeuchi, 2010, March 1). In the Closing Ceremony there was no visible tribute to and participation of the native people. From these points of view, the Aboriginal contribution to the Ceremonies can be questioned.

Nowadays, the rights and interests of the Aboriginal people are more noticed and protected by different laws. In the Bid Book it is also where it is said that the relationship between both is very friendly nowadays and that all of the important decisions in the organisation of the Games were made in perfect harmony. However, this is not completely true. Nowhere is stated that there were also protests against the bid, or that some Aboriginal people were worrying about the damage and disadvantage the Games could have for the indigenous population group. After all, the Games were held on the territory of the First Nations and it was not their idea to participate in the bid. "*Great irony exist in the fact that Indigenous leaders were seen on international television embracing the Olympics while Indigenous groups in Canada were simultaneously protesting strongly against the holding of the Games on their traditional land*" (Cheong, 2012, p. 140). The protests were resembled in the campaign named 'No Olympics on Stolen Native land' of which a placard can be found on the next page.



Figure 29

Protests against the Vancouver Olympic Games

This campaign was organised by the Olympic Resistance Network. This network worked together with many different, especially indigenous, communities located throughout British Columbia. They claimed that, even according to Canadian law, the province is still in hands of the native people and that no other group has the rights to govern the land and its people.

The case of British Columbia is a difficult political and legal issue in Canada till this day. Aboriginals are still emphasising that they never surrendered themselves and this claim is in recent years supported by the common law legal system in Canada (O' Bonsawin, 2010b). In 1993, the British Columbia Treaty Commission (BCTC) was founded to negotiate and provide a new relationship with the indigenous people. However, the honesty of the treaty process is sometimes questioned. With the organisation of the Olympic Games in mind, the BCTC tried to come to terms with the native people. Especially with the Tsawwassen First Nation, an agreement was rapidly composed. A major port on their territory would be an important venue for the Games. The BCTC wanted to arrange good appointments and to be insured of the collaboration of this specific indigenous group, which would result either in a smooth progress of the organisation of the Games or in a big failure or embarrassment in front of the watching world (O' Bonsawin, 2010b).

Agreements on the organisation of the 2010 Games with the indigenous people were mostly made for economic, logistic, but also for touristic reasons.

"(...) the treaty process highly encourages First Nations communities that are

engaged in the treaty process to develop tourist centres with the purpose of promoting indigenous cultures and attracting local, national, and international visitors. This will greatly assist the cultural programme of the 2010 Olympics as local indigenous culture will provide the city, province and country with a unique local identity” (O’Bonsawin, 2010b, p. 151-152).

As in many other cultures, original inhabitants and their culture are ‘used’ as a tourist attraction. This tourism based on indigenous culture can have positive effects for the indigenous people as well, like a rise of awareness, employment, and money. However, the negative effects, like exploiting and commodification of the traditional culture, are often not mentioned or forgotten (Smith, 2009). Throughout the Games, VANOC is giving the impression that the whole organisation around the Games was organised with the interests and the legacies of the Aboriginals in mind. However, the reactions and the protest of the indigenous people, particular around the time of the bid, were not mentioned in the studied material provided by the VANOC and the IOC.



Figure 30

Protest against the British Columbia Treaty Commission

Next to this, Canada is also giving the impression throughout the Games that there is a great respect for and harmonious collaboration with the indigenous people. However, this is not in line with the fact that the Aboriginals are nowadays still the most marginalised population of the Canadian society. Big differences still exist between the rights, possibilities, and wealth of Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. UNICEF is organising the National Aboriginal Day every year to bring the inequalities that Aboriginal children are still experiencing these days to the attention. This inequality, which is not restricted to Aboriginal children but also strike adults,

knows many ways, for example, in access to education, good health care, and even clean water and proper housing (Bernstein, 2012, June 21). Also Amnesty International is occupied with the situation of the Aboriginals in Canada. They state that Aboriginal women are five to seven times more often (fatal) victims of violence.

“The pattern looks like this:

- *Racist and sexist stereotypes deny the dignity and worth of Indigenous women, encouraging some men to feel they can get away with violent acts of hatred against them.*
- *Decades of government policy have impoverished and broken apart Indigenous families and communities, leaving many Indigenous women and girls extremely vulnerable to exploitation and attack.*
- *Many police forces have failed to institute necessary measures – such as training, appropriate investigative protocols and accountability mechanisms – to eliminate bias in how they respond to the needs of Indigenous women and their families” (Amnesty International, n.d.).*

These facts are not in line with the portrayed image of a harmonious relationship with indigenous people.

This dealing with a difficult (post-) colonial situation can be compared with Opening Ceremonies hosted by other nations with a colonial past: *“As in Nagano and Sydney, selective and depoliticized representations of the nation’s history and present circumstances serve to elide both the social injustices of the past and the patterns of institutionalized inequality in the United States today”* (Hogan, 2003, p. 120). This is the same at the Olympic Winter Games of Vancouver, which portrayed a peaceful relationship with the Aboriginals. However, this portrayed relationship does not include the colonial times or the current situation of the Aboriginals, which are not as peaceful. Throughout the examined data there is no reference to the colonisation of the country. The racial, violent, and discriminating parts of the Canadian history are not portrayed. The same counts for the disadvantages and difficulties the Aboriginal still experience nowadays in the Canadian society.

9.1.2 Canada’s immigrants

Canada is a country known for its high amount of immigrants. As I have stated earlier in this thesis, in the first nine years of the new millennium the amounts of immigrants were higher than Canadian babies born in the area of Vancouver. 41 % of the inhabitants of Vancouver are from minority groups. The city knows especially a lot of Asian immigrants. However, in the

Ceremonies no attention was given to this specific population group. It is stated in the Bid Book multiple times that Canada lays between Asia and Europe and, therefore, can be seen as a multicultural bridge between these two continents. In the Bid Book it is also mentioned explicitly that Canada knows a lot of immigrants and visitors from all around the world and that this diversity can be seen as a Canadian characteristic: *“Canada has grown by welcoming people from around the world to live together in harmony. In addition, each year Canada welcomes millions of visitors, temporary workers and students while serving as an example to other countries of tolerance, harmony and peaceful diversity”* (2002, Vol. 1, p. 45).

However, this peaceful diversity is only mentioned various times but not performed or portrayed in the Ceremonies. The exclusion of Asian-Canadians, especially in the Ceremonies, is mentioned in particular in different articles (Cheong, 2012; CBC News, 2010, Feb. 18). *“This exclusionary reconfiguration of History disregarded the hundreds of years of discrimination and marginalization experienced by Asian-Canadians, the contributions they have made to the construction of the nation in its formative years, and their continuing presence and influence in present-day Canada”* (Cheong, 2012, p. 141). Nowhere at the 2010 Games a tribute or emphasis is made on the large amounts of Canadians with Asian roots.

Some of the performing Canadian artists are children of immigrants like the singers Nelly Furtado, whose parents are Portuguese, and Alansis Morissette, who has a Hungarian mother. A big amount of the other Canadian performers have ancestors from all over the world, for example Joni Mitchell and K.D. Lang, which shows that a lot of Canadians have their roots somewhere else. This is, however, not mentioned in the data I studied. There was no focus on the diversity of the Canadians. For example, the flag- and the torchbearers were all white Canadians and not from a different minority.

In an interpretation of the Opening Ceremony, published in *The Globe and Mail* the writer states that a section of the Ceremony was dedicated to the immigrants of Canada. She writes,

“an ode to immigration and Canada followed Mr. Schlesinger's quote about arriving in Canada as a refugee, complete with constellations, shooting stars, killer whales, native art and a giant spirit bear. The immigrants, dressed all in white (as was much of the show), started off seeming lost but by the end of the sequence were lit up, at home” (Lederman, 2010, Feb. 13).

I have read this interpretation in no other articles and I personally also did not interpret it this way. This shows that this section was not well clarified and that this stated portrayed image of immigrants was not clear for everybody. By wearing all the same white clothes, which the

volunteers were wearing also in other section, the diversity of multiculturalism was not emphasised. Other institutions tried to improve this image and to include more cultures in the depicted portrayal of Canada. An example of this can be found in an article in *CBC news*:

“Charan Gill, the CEO of the Progressive Intercultural Community Services, an immigrant organization based in Surrey, B.C., said he tried to reach out to VANOC to encourage more visible minorities to get involved and volunteer for the Games but got no response. ‘We can’t force ourselves on VANOC if they don’t welcome us,’ he said (2010, Feb, 18).

This did not succeed. Few performances of or visual tributes to Canada’s multiculturalism were portrayed in the Ceremonies. It was a celebration mainly focused on the Canadian nature and the native people and culture of the country.

9.1.3 Lack of the French language and the Quebec culture

As I have stated before, the relationship between Quebec and the other provinces is not always easy. Francophone Canadians found it very important that their language and culture were also represented throughout the Olympic Games, even though the Games were not held in a French-speaking province. Also the Canadian Minister of Heritage stated that the Games would be an ultimate opportunity to broadcast Canada’s bilingualism. However, a lot of complains about the lack of Francophonism at the Olympics can be found; this critique is especially addressed to the performances at the both Ceremonies (CBC News, 2010, Feb. 16, CBC News, 2010, Feb. 14, Culbert, 2010, Feb. 16; Pratte, 2010, Feb. 12).

In all the official documents one can find the text both in French and in English. This is a policy that is very strictly followed. In the Ceremonies, however, this is not everywhere the case. The most performances were entirely in English. For some of the speeches, I did examine that a French translation was presented at the screens. This was unfortunately not visible for all the performances, so I was not able to notice if all the speeches were accompanied with translations. However, the mainly used language at the Games was English, which was also stated in the Bid Book. Even though the country officially knows two languages, the main language would be English (Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, 2002). John Furlong was trying to implement both languages in his speech but his French was very limited and spoken with a strong English accent. In this case not much attention was addressed to the correct pronunciation of the French language.

After the Opening Ceremony, a lot of discussion arose about the lack of Quebec culture and the French language. The Quebec Premier Jean Charest stated that he was

disappointed by the amount of French language and Quebec culture in the Ceremony (Culbert, 2010, Feb. 16). This discussion took place at the Quebec Day during the Games, which was organised from the five million dollars that the province had paid five years in advance of the Games in order to participate in the celebration of their heritage as well. John Furlong was also present at the discussion and stated that there was no need to apologise because there was enough attention provided to Quebec (Culbert, 2010, Feb. 16).

The debate on the representation of the culture of Quebec is also discussed in different newspapers criticising the Ceremony. (CBC News, 2010, Feb. 16, CBC News, 2010, Feb. 14, Culbert, 2010, Feb. 16; Hume, 2010, Feb. 18; Pratte, 2010, Feb. 12). These newspaper articles are, however, mostly written by Quebec journalists. Journalists from British Columbia, on the other side, are defending the Opening Ceremony. However, also the Canadian Minister of Heritage, James Moore, pointed out that he was disappointed with the representation of the bilingualism of Canada in the Opening Ceremony. The Canadian Commissioner of Official Languages, Graham Fraser, agreed with this statement: *“What I saw at the opening ceremonies was a concert which had been conceived, developed, and presented in English, with a French song”* (CBC News, 2010, Feb. 14). He referred to the end of the Ceremony where the Quebec singer Garou performed a song in French before the Olympic flag was carried in. This was the only French song performed at the Opening Ceremony. Other Canadian newspaper articles criticised the position of the song, near to the end after the entire spectacle. *“Garou’s number looked like a last-minute addition, designed to save face”* (Pratte, 2011, Feb. 12). Nelly Furtado and Bryan Adams had earlier in the Ceremony performed the lead song of the Games, especially written for the event and completely in English.

Even though these articles mostly came out shortly after the Opening Ceremony, this meant that there was still time to adapt the critique and alter some sections designed for the Closing Ceremony or at least to practice some French words. This was also asked from the Minister of Heritage: *“As for the closing ceremony, ‘we’re continuing to make it known’ that the federal government expects more French, Moore said. ‘We were disappointed with the opening ceremonies and we hope that the closing ceremonies will have a better reflection’ of Canada’s two languages”* (CBC News, 2010, Feb. 14). In the Closing Ceremony however, one could find even less usage of French, for example, in Furlong’s speech. At the beginning of his speech he translated two or three sentences in French, but later on he continued completely in English without any attempt to use French words in between, which could emphasise on the bilingualism in Canada. On the other hand, the Closing Ceremony did

contain more performances of Quebec artists like the band ‘La Bottine Souriante’ and the pop-idol Marie-Mai. Next to this, at the beginning of the Ceremony an extra part was added in which a famous pantomime player from Quebec participated.

Overall, there was a lot of attention to the division and position of the parts dedicated to Quebec. This contributes to the idea that the conflict with and of the Francophone province is still a difficult and present issue in the Canadian society.

9.2 Ice hockey – The Canadian sport?

As stated in different literature, ice hockey is seen as ‘the’ Canadian sport (Bunt, 2009; Francis, 1997; Howard, 1998; Izquierdo, 2012; Jackson & Ponc, 2001; Mock, 2012; Wong & Trumper, 2002). The sport can be associated with different Canadian characteristics. However, some of this literature is more critical and stating that the image of ice hockey is referring to a certain limited and excluding image of Canada (Izquierdo, 2012; Jackson & Ponc, 2001; Mock, 2012; Wong & Trumper, 2002). In his research on ice hockey and the Canadian identity (2012), Esteban Izquierdo, student at the University of British Columbia working towards his sociology major, is describing this image with the following quote: *“Between these works a pattern starts emerging in which, ‘to be a nation who plays hockey means to understand...Canadian as being raced (namely white), classed (namely middle-class), gendered (namely boys and men) and sexualized (namely straight)”* (Alain, 2010, as cited in Izquierdo, 2012, p. 147). So even though ice hockey is seen as an important part of the Canadian identity, it is depicting a certain image of the Canadian that is not in line with the most people that are living in Canada. It romanticises the outdoor and climate of Canada, while 80% of the Canadian population is living in urban environments nowadays (Inzquierdo, 2012). Another interesting fact, which can also be seen as a counterpoint towards the portrayal of the Canadian nature throughout the Games, is the fact that a survey of 1972 pointed out that Canadians actually rather try to avoid the nature. *“Margaret Atwood concluded that Canadians perceive nature to be fearful, hostile, threatening, and best avoided whenever possible”* (Francis, 1997, p. 146). So even though some media are portraying it like this, Canadians do not go to frozen lakes in large numbers every time they get the change.

Next to this, ice hockey is actually a quite aggressive sport. This aggressive character is not in line with the both international and domestic portrayed image of Canada as a peaceful country. According to Francis, Canadians see themselves as very polite. For example, Canadians immediately apologise for everything even when they did nothing wrong. Canadian actress Catherine O’ Hara is also making fun of this Canadian characteristic in her

speech at the Closing Ceremony. She states that Canadians say sorry ten to twenty times a day and that they are sorry it is not more (OBS, 2010, March 16). This Canadian characteristic comes from the portrayed Canadian harmonious and peace loving attitude. “*Just as we are personally unassertive, so we are unassertive as a nation. (...) We are known as peacekeepers, not war mongers. Our history is lacking in the dramatic conflicts which mark other countries*” (Francis, 1997, p. 84). However, ice hockey is not a sport known for its peacefulness. Combats and time-outs are part of the game. On pictures of earlier times, when players were not restricted to wear a helmet yet, one will find smiling ice hockey players missing a couple of teeth. Inzquierdo calls this contrast between Canada’s peaceful image and the aggressive ice hockey games, “*another contradiction present between the nation’s understanding of hockey and its perception of self*” (2012, p. 148).

The contradiction between the image of ice hockey and the self-image of Canada can also be seen in the ice hockey portrayals in the Olympic Games. At the ‘Made in Canada’ section of the Closing Ceremony, ice hockey players were portrayed as well. There were both large ice hockey players made out of cardboard and performers dressed up as ice hockey players. The big cardboards ice hockey players were all white men wearing a golden medal around their neck. Even though the Canadian male ice hockey team also contained players with a different cultural background, like the goalkeeper Roberto Luongo, who saved many goals in the final and has Italian and Irish backgrounds and right wing Jarome Iginla whose father is from Nigeria, the portrayed image did not refer to this. Also the Canadian ice hockey women did win Olympic gold against the USA. There were excluded from the portrayed image and celebration of ice hockey at the Closing Ceremony as well. “*The fact that hockey remains as the symbol of our society, despite how much Canada has changed since this identification was originally promoted, is shown as a sign of the continued domination of Canadian society by ‘certain groups of white men (Adams, 2006, p. 82)’*” (Inzquierdo, 2012, p. 147). Throughout the examined data the portrayed ice hockey team is still representing Canada as a mainly white male team and, thereby, excluding important groups of the society. The portrayed image of ice hockey does not resemble the inclusive multi-cultural society, which, just like ice hockey, is said to characterise Canada as well.

9.3 Canadian climate

In the Opening Ceremony a tribute was made to the northern-ness of Canada as an important characteristic of the country and also the extreme cold winters this geography brings.

However, at the time of the Games there was a lack of snow. During the Games there were no

mountains and venues full of snow as was promised in the Bid Book (2002). Snow machines were needed to provide the necessary snow at the venues. This incident was not proving and enacting the image of the strong and snowy Canadian winters. It was actually raining quite often and the commemoration book shows many pictures of people standing in the rain wearing their national flags as ponchos. Next to this, a lot of fog made it sometimes difficult to see the tracks. Catherine O'Hara is stating in her speech at the Closing Ceremony that she, as a representative for the Canadians, apologised that there was not enough snow, but also that they are sorry that people had expected that Canada is one big snow landscape during the winter: *"But eh, we are sorry you thought Canada was one big frozen tundra"* (OBS, 2010, March 16, time: 2:14:58). At a playful way this 'failure' in the representation of Canada is addressed. O'Hara's statement is kind of a paradox because this was exactly the landscape that was portrayed and emphasised in the data I have studied. The portrayed image of Canada as a winter wonderland did not resemble the actual weather conditions in Vancouver during the Games.

9.4 Conclusion

The Olympic Games were a global stage for Canada to portray the image of the country that it wants the world to have of it. It emphasised on the nation's positive aspects and characteristics. This also means that the more negative aspects of the country were neglected. Through this neglecting an image is performed that excludes different parts of the Canadian history and culture.

"The Opening and Closing Ceremonies of the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games upheld Canada's national mythology of the white settler society through the perpetuation of indigenous racial stereotypes, the disproportionate representations of Anglo-Canadian voices, and the blatant erasure of visible minorities from History" (Cheong, 2012, p. 138).

Through these adaptations and neglecting of some aspects of the Canadian society, another image of Canada is created, which is not completely in line with reality.

For example, at the Opening Ceremony the flag bearer of Canada was wearing a scarf of the Hudson Bay Company, a Canadian department store and one of the biggest sponsors of the Vancouver Games. This is the first and, therefore, one of the oldest company of North America. At the time of the colonisation, they were involved in the fur trade with the Aboriginals. The colonisation of Canada and the fur trade are intertwined with each other. The company needed the Aboriginals to work for them, yet exploited them and stole their

land. Next to this, the fur traders brought diseases with them that the Aboriginals had not encountered before and which killed a lot of native people. An example of this is the epidemic of small pox in 1862 of which one of the three Aboriginals died. However, this kind of information is not depicted at the Games, for it gives Canadian history and the company a bad glimpse. The figure below shows that not everybody was enthusiastic about the participation of the Hudson Bay Company in the Vancouver Games.



Figure 31
The Canadian department store, Hudson Bay Company,
is associated with the colonial history of Canada.

Throughout the data I have studied published by VANOC and the IOC the protests and critique towards the Games were not mentioned. In the Bid Book it is stated that all Canadians were very enthusiast about the organisation of the Games. This fits with the image of Canada as a sport-minded and hospital country that was performed throughout the Games. *“Locally, the Canadian love of winter sports and Canadian pride in our country’s role as host to the world will be our greatest assets in communicating our message. We will ensure that every Canadian citizen understands the responsibility of our role as Olympic hosts, and the honour bestowed on our community”* (Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation, 2002, Vol. 3, p. 115). However, not every Canadian was honoured to organise the Games in Vancouver and Whistler. The protests of many indigenous groups and of people with anti-Olympic statements that were held mostly prior to the bid are not mentioned anywhere.

Through the adaptations, neglecting, and specific focus points Canada performed another image of itself at the Olympic Games than an image that is completely in line with reality. It performed a brighter Canadian identity through the exclusion and neglecting of difficult issues within Canada.

10. Conclusion

This thesis examines the performance of the national identity of Canada, a country struggling with its identity, on a global stage at the Olympic Winter Games of Vancouver 2010. Partly due to the globalisation, one sees the emerging search for and emphasis on national identity (Tomlinson, 1999a+b). With the increasing Americanisation and Westernisation, such globalising tools as the World Wide Web, and with this the easy share of files over the Internet, nations are increasingly sharing what is often referred to as a 'world culture' (McLuhan & Powers, 1992 [1989]). From this point of view, one can say that the world is becoming a global village. To separate themselves from this unifying process, nations are looking for aspects that make them unique and which bind them together as a community. Concepts as national identity or cultural heritage are, therefore, upcoming research fields nowadays.

In this time of globalisation, one can also see the rise of global events. These events are a good opportunity to portray national identities while they provide a global stage with a lot of people from all different nations watching. In my thesis I examine such an event, namely the Olympic Games, to understand how a country performs its national identity both to itself and to the rest of the world. Next to this, sport is an often chosen subject to study presentations of national identity. "*Further, as Sage (1998) contends, national loyalty and patriotism are fostered through sport rituals and ceremonies that serve to link sport and the nation, and national symbols are often woven into sporting events*" (Bunt, 2009, p. 39-40). Therefore, sport can be seen a characteristic of national identity through which specific national characteristics are highlighted. Next to this, sport can be seen as a ritual through which members of a community feel more connected with this community. Sport events can construct performances of national identity. This made the Olympic Games a useful and interesting event through which national identity was studied.

A clear identity is important for people because humans always want to feel part of a group. Emile Durkheim was one of the first sociologists who wrote about the importance of the feeling of belonging to a community. This can give the individual something to hold on and feel connected to and creates a feeling of support and security. Next to these pleasant feelings of support and safety, people also achieve much more when they are living together. Even in this modern time of globalisation, people choose to live together in separated groups and stay looking for aspects that makes them special and bind them together and that exclude

other communities. Nations can be an example of these communities. However, nations are not based on restricted facts but created through inventions and conventions. Therefore, Anderson calls nations imagined communities (2006 [1983]). Because the concept of nations is not based on facts, also the feeling of belonging to this society is not a given and restricted fact. This feeling has to be occasionally reaffirmed, which can be done through the performance and portrayal of rituals and totems. These are collective representations through which members of the community feel themselves connected with the society (Durkheim, 2008 [1912]). An example of a ritual is the singing of the national anthem; the national flag is an example of a totem. For the maintenance of a community it is important that these rituals and totems are regularly performed in front of its members. Through this, the feeling of belonging to this national identity is reinforced. My research shows that the hosting of the Olympic Games is a good opportunity for a country to portray and perform these collective representations and, therefore, its national identity on a global stage and, through this, reaffirm feelings of national belonging.

I have chosen to study the Canadian identity. The country organised the Olympic Winter Games of 2010 in Vancouver. Canada is a particularly interesting case study for my research while the nation knows a history of struggle in the presentation of their identity and is nowadays still struggling to determine and define an independent and clear identity (McDowell, 2011). “*Certainly the context has changed but issues such as globalization and free trade, the potential separation of Quebec, and immigration confirm that debates about identity politics are key fixtures within the Canadian popular consciousness*” (Jackson & Ponic, 2001, p. 58). The search for a clear and stable Canadian identity is, therefore, still an issue nowadays.

I have made use of the theory of Durkheim to state that the organisation of the Olympic Games was the ultimate opportunity and ritual to reaffirm the Canadian identity on a global stage. John Furlong, the CEO of the VANOC, stated it as follows in his speech at the Opening Ceremony: “*Tonight, through the magic of television, we visit the living rooms of the world to tell our story. And as we do, we ask people everywhere to share and experience, even if for just a few moments, what it feels like to be a proud Canadian*” (OBS, 2010, April 11, time: 2:22:59). My thesis examines the characteristics of this Canadian story and which aspects are contributing to the feeling of a proud Canadian. Throughout my data analysis, I have searched for the most portrayed and performed aspects of the Canadian identity. I have studied four different elements in the organisation of the Vancouver Games: the Bid Book and

the organisation prior to the Vancouver Games, the Opening and Closing Ceremony, and the commemoration of the Vancouver Games.

Throughout these examined materials I found interesting aspects that can be seen as portrayed characteristics of the Canadian identity at the 2010 Games. These characteristics were:

- **Canada as a diverse, multi-cultural, and inclusive country** that knows a rich Aboriginal culture, a lot of immigrants from all over the world, and a French province that provides the country its bilingualism.
- **Canada as a sport-minded and sport-loving country** that is experienced in both the organisation and the performance of winter sports, knows good sport facilities, has very enthusiastic and sport-minded citizens, and is especially very good at ice hockey, which can be seen as a national sport and symbol.
- **Canada as a modern and well-developed country** that knows modern and metropolitan cities with developed facilities and high living standards, that is really advanced in technology-matters, brings forth world-famous celebrities and institutions, and is very advanced and aware of sustainability.
- **Geography of Canada** that differentiates Canada from other countries with very diverse landscapes of which especially a lot of mountains and lakes are portrayed, and that is well known for its very strong and icy winters.

These patterns came forward throughout the studied data. To compare my data analysis I have looked at another source that has examined the Games very closely, namely the International Olympic Committee. After each Olympic Games, the IOC is evaluating the event and I have examined their 'Factsheet. Vancouver Facts & Figures' (2011). This factsheet is focusing on the same aspects as the aspects emphasised on by the VANOC. This shows that the portrayal of Canada by the VANOC was successfully transmitted. The official evaluation is emphasising on all my previous named findings on Canadian identity but one. This is the aspect of the geography of Canada. There is a great emphasis on the environmental sustainability maintained by the Games. However, there is no attention given to the diverse and unique nature and strong winters that Canada knows. It makes sense that the nature is not an important priority in the evaluation of the IOC. A country's beautiful and diverse nature is not one of the most important issues in the organisation of a big sport event. However, also the weather conditions were not mentioned in the factsheet, even though there was little snow on the Cypress Mountain, schedules were revised and games were postponed and delayed because of the bad weather conditions. Next to this, the sport venues were also not always

visible from the tribunes because of the fog. It would make sense that the VANOC would not brag with these disappointments in the Canadian weather. In their promotion of Canada throughout the Bid Book and the Ceremonies another image of Canada was created: the image of a country with very cold and snowy winters, which make Canada an ideal place for the organisation of the Winter Games. The presented portrayal and the real situation are not stroking with each other. However, also the IOC is not mentioning the disappointing weather conditions in their factsheet but does mention it in its extensive final report on the Vancouver Games.

Next to this, the IOC mentioned all the other aspects that I have found throughout my data examination as well.

- **Canada as a diverse, multi-cultural, and inclusive country:** it is stated that the participation of women was the highest at an Olympic Winter Games ever. Besides this, it was mentioned that all the constructions and the fabrications for the organisation were done with the use of the input and the working force of the community. In this way also disadvantaged people were deployed and giving the opportunity to contribute to the Games. Also the legacies for the Aboriginal people are described.

- **Canada as a sport-minded and sport-loving country:** it is stated that 99 percent of the Canadians experienced at least some coverage of the Games. This is a record in Canadian viewing figures. The victory of the ice hockey men was “*the most-watched broadcast event in Canadian history*” (IOC, 2011, p. 2). Also the legacies at sport-level are mentioned.

- **Canada as a modern and well-developed country:** it stated that the Vancouver Games knew a record of digital coverage that reached every corner of the globe, the most doping control ever done at an Olympic Winter Games, and a well-developed public transportation system. Also the improvement of Vancouver’s already advanced infrastructure was mentioned. The great awareness on sustainability was maintained as well: “*Vancouver was the first host city to set up a not-for-profit organisation during the bid process to develop lasting community legacies. 2010 Legacies Now focused on legacies in sport, the art, literacy, environment, accessibility and volunteerism*” (IOC, 2011, p. 2). The big economic profit shows that Canada knows how to organise a big event.

Through these outcomes, the Games are in the eyes of the VANOC and IOC seen as a big success. The Vancouver Games did succeed in transmitting the desired image of Canada. This image was, however, not completely in line with the reality. Canada performed a brighter image of itself through the exclusion and neglecting of difficult issues within Canada.

Durkheim states this interrelation between the portrayal of the real society and the portrayal of the ideal society as follows:

“A society can neither create itself nor recreate itself without at the same time creating the ideal. This creation is not a kind of optional step, a finishing touch that society adds once it has been formed; it is the act by which it fashions and refashions itself periodically. (...) The ideal society is not outside the real society; it is part of it” (2008 [1912], p. 317).

Therefore, I think that through examining this created ideal society one can also learn about the real society. It shows which parts of this real society the nation and its citizens would like to see differently and therefore exclude from their ideal imagined community. *“(...) the creation of unity requires some forgetting. In order to live together, we try to get over our differences, put aside our grievance, show a united front”* (Francis, 1999, p. 12). On the other hand, the ideal society also embodies various aspects of the nation that are elevated and selected to embody particular characteristics of the country. The examination of the created ideal society shows the interrelation between remembering and forgetting. This was also the case with the performance of Canada at the 2010 Games. The performance ‘forgot’, for example, the difficult history of and relationship with the Aboriginals and Quebec, the excluding image of ice hockey and the aggressive aspect of the game, and the disadvantages that the geography of Canada brings, for example, the extreme cold temperatures and the difficult accessibility of some parts of the country. However, the performance of the Canadian identity at the Vancouver Games ‘remembered’ and honoured, for instance, the multiculturalism and diversity of Canada, the advancement in women’ rights, the successful Canadian athletes, the good (sport) facilities in Vancouver and Whistler, the modernity and developments of the country, the famous Canadians and Canadian institutions, and the beautiful and unique nature of Canada.

National identity is constructed around this forgetting and remembering. I encountered this as well in the performance of the Canadian identity at the Olympic Games. Through the portraying of the ideal society at the successful and globally broadcasted Vancouver Games, people from all around the world encountered this portrayed ideal imaged of Canada. The big audience of the Games, with billions of people watching from all over the world, was reached 12 billion times during the broadcast of the Olympic Games *“by the Olympic coverage with Canadian tourism messages. Potential visitors to the region were so intrigued by the Games that the HelloBC.com website had over 2 million visits, up 590% on the previous year”* (IOC, 2011, p. 5). This shows that through such a global mega-event the

awareness of the host country by a worldwide audience is enormously increasing (Brent Ritchie & Smith, 1991; Glynn, 2008).

This awareness is also raised at national level. Furlong addressed in his speech at the Closing Ceremony the rise of national pride among the mostly modest Canadians and stated this as something unique: “*That quiet, humble national pride, we were sometimes reluctant to acknowledge, seem to take to the streets as the most beautiful kind of patriotism broke out all across our country*” (OBS, 2010, March 16, time: 1:47:17). After this statement, a loud cheering could be heard in the stadium. This shows that the feeling of national belonging is proudly reaffirmed and re-enacted due to the successful Vancouver Olympic Games. This success reaffirmed and raised the awareness of the Canadian identity both for a global and domestic audience.

11. Discussion

As I have examined in the chapter on the counterparts, the performed image of Canada at the Vancouver Games was not only praised and celebrated. In some data, I have also found critique on this performance of Canadian-ness on the global stage of the Olympic Games. The image was especially focused and limited on some aspects in particular. Next to this, these aspects were also adapted to fit into a specific pretended image of the country. For example, the image of Canada as a multi-cultural and an inclusive country was contributing to the country's image of openness and its embracement of diversity. Also the rich Aboriginal culture of Canada is seen in this light of inclusiveness and harmony. However, this image is not completely accurate with the real situation of, in this example, the Canadian Aboriginals. They are the most disadvantaged population group in Canada. This makes that the depiction of the good relationship with the native people by the VANOC can be questioned.

The performance of the Canadian identity at the Olympic Winter Games in 2010 confirms that the issue of national identity is also an issue of inclusion and exclusion. The creation of national identity is also a way to exclude people or characteristics from the community. *As such, the conflation of sport, citizenship and civic identity is valuable only in the sense in which it appeals to those considered to be part of the national picture (Woolf 1996)*" (Garratt, 2010, p.137). By looking at the mentioned aspects of 'Canadian-ness', one can also look at the aspects of the country that are not mentioned and, therefore, excluded from the country's image. Just like the living standards of the Aboriginals, also the high amount of Asian immigrants and Asian-Canadians were not depicted in the Vancouver Games. In the chapter on the counterparts toward the performed Canadian image I have described more of these exclusions. Through this, one realises that the portrayed image of Canada is however not a complete and realistic one.

Further research

I think my research is a contribution to the research field on national identity. When I was working on this thesis, I encountered multiple events for which this research on the performance of national identity on a global stage would have been applicable. These were events like the annual Eurovision song festival and the planning and organisation of the abdication of Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands on the 30th of April this year. Especially for the last case, one can find some interesting occurrences and issues in the portrayal of the

Dutch identity. There was a special song made for the new King in which all Dutch citizens could contribute to the input of the lyrics. This song gave rise to an interesting discussion between the makers of the song and a lot of people who were critical about the final lyrics. These examples show that issues concerning national identity are trending topics today. Hereby, my master thesis will be of scientific relevance because it studies the emergence of national identity and the feeling of belonging to a community, topics that one of the first sociologists, Emile Durkheim, already focused on. It was interesting to make use of Durkheim's theory in a modern way and to examine this theory in the context of a global event.

Research on the presentation of national identity can be of social relevance as well for the organisation of future events. This thesis shows that major events can contribute to the awareness of (host) countries. These events can therefore be used as a stage for the performance of national identity. Today, major events are arising more and more and these events are watched over the world. Stakeholders in the organisation of these events are therefore searching for a clear and strong identity to portray. For example, the UEFA is planning to organise the European Football Tournament of 2020 in thirteen different European nations. This case study on the Winter Games in Vancouver can be a useful example of how such a big sport event, where different cultural identities are at stake, can present itself internationally. This makes that this research can be extended for and compared with the organisation of other major events where national identities are performed.

Another interesting extended research on this topic would be the examination of the performed Canadian identity portrayed throughout the Olympic Winter Games in Calgary in 1988 and the Olympic Summer Games of Montreal in 1976. It would be interesting to see if the performed Canadian aspects have changed over time. If they did not change, it would show that the portrayed characteristics of Canada are strong because they stayed stable over time. If they did change, it would be interesting to study which characteristics got less and which got more attention over time.

My data analysis showed me that a major global event like the Olympic Games is a good way through which the performance of national identity can be studied. The results presented in this thesis provide further support for the reinforcement and representation of national identities on an international stage.

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Figure 12 – Canada as a multicultural, diverse, and inclusive country p. 41

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Figure 13 – Canada as a multicultural, diverse, and inclusive country p. 42

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Figure 14 – Canada as a multicultural, diverse, 3and inclusive country p. 43

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Figure 15 – Canada as a sport-minded and sport-loving country p. 56

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Figure 16 – Canada as a sport-minded and sport-loving country p. 56

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Figure 17 – Canada as a sport-minded and sport-loving country p. 56

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Figure 18 – Canada as a sport-minded and sport-loving country p. 56

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Figure 19 – Canada as a sport-minded and sport-loving country p. 57

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Figure 21 – Canada as a modern and well-developed country **p. 63**

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Figure 22 – Canada as a modern and well-developed country **p. 64**

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Glossary of Abbreviations

BC	Province of British Columbia
BCTC	British Columbia Treaty Commission
CBC	Canadian Broadcast Corporation
CEO	Chief Executive Officer (of a company)
COC	Canadian Olympic Committee
CTV	Canadian Television (= a Canadian television channel)
IOC	International Olympic Committee
NHL	National Hockey League
OBS	Olympic Broadcast Service
OCOG	Organizing Committees of the Olympic Games
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
UEFA	Union of European Football Associations
VANOC	Vancouver Olympic Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games