

**Undergraduate Review** 

Volume 16 *Special Issue: The United States, Candada, Quebec and the Problem of the Border* 

Article 13

2021

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#### **Recommended Citation**

Rice, Kat (2021). Setting the Expectation: How American Success at the World Junior Hockey Championships is a Canadian Product. *Undergraduate Review*, 16, 119-138. Available at: https://vc.bridgew.edu/undergrad\_rev/vol16/iss2/13

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## Setting the Expectation: How American Success at the World Junior Hockey Championships is a Canadian Product

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Abstract: This article investigates the World Junior Hockey Championships, an international hockey tournament first held in 1974 and commonly associated with Canada as Canadian players have traditionally dominated the tournament, winning the most gold medals of any participating nation with 18. In contrast, the United States have won five gold medals. The last two decades have seen the rise of American success at the World Junior Hockey Championships, and since 2010 the Americans have won the same number of medals as the Canadians, including one more gold medal. Hockey is a large part of Canadian national identity and Canadians have felt threatened by the American influence on hockey since the 1970s. However, American dominance is on the rise and they have solidified themselves as Canada's newest and now greatest rival in hockey. Canada is responsible for the recent American success at the World Junior Hockey Championships because it was Canada that set the bar of hockey excellence, forcing the Americans to create new development programs to succeed at the international level. Most notable of the development programs is USA Hockey's National Team Development Program which was created in 1996 as an answer to the Canadian development programs of the Canadian Hockey League and the Program of Excellence. Consequently, Canada being responsible for the recent American success at the World Junior Hockey Championships signifies that Canada is still prevailing as a hockey nation even if they are not dominating the podium, something that is critical to a sometimes fragile Canadian national identity.

**Keywords**: hockey, World Junior Hockey Championships, USA Hockey National Team Development Program, Program of Excellence, Canadian identity.

The World Junior Hockey Championships (WJC) is a Canadian phenomenon. Canadian junior players have traditionally dominated at the tournament, winning the most gold medals of any participating nation (18).<sup>1</sup> In contrast, the United States won its first gold medal in 2004 after defeating Canada. Since 2010, however, the Canadians have won the same number of medals as the Americans, including one *less* gold medal. Despite it being a Canadian tradition, the last two decades have seen the rise of American success at the WJC. This article first investigates how the

WJC became a Canadian tradition. It then considers how Canada set the bar of hockey excellence and the standard of success at the WJC. Next, it examines USA Hockey's National Team Development Program (NTDP) in comparison to the Canadian Hockey League (CHL), the top junior hockey program in the world, and Hockey Canada's Program of Excellence (POE), which the NTDP was created to counter. Finally, it explores the NTDP's triumph at the WJC and why its players have found greater success at the WJC compared to previous American WJC teams. Canada is responsible for the recent American success at the WJC because it was Canada that set the bar of hockey excellence, forcing the Americans to create new development programs to succeed at the international level. Most notable among the development programs is the USA Hockey's National Team Development Program, which was created in 1996 as an answer to the Canadian development program of the Canadian Hockey League and the Program of Excellence.

#### The Beginning: The Creation of the POE

The WJC began unofficially in 1974 and officially in 1977.<sup>2</sup> The POE was created in 1982 because one man, Murray Costello, believed that Canada was the best hockey nation in the world.<sup>3</sup> The idea of Canada as the best hockey nation in the world is deeply embedded in Canadian national identity. It is a notion of which Canadians are proud.<sup>4</sup> Yet, the performance the Canadians were giving in international competitions at that point was lackluster. Costello, then the head of the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association (CAHA), the predecessor of Hockey Canada, was distressed with Canada continually losing to the Soviet Union, so he decided to change how Canada would approach the WJC through the implementation of the POE.<sup>5</sup>

Launched in 1982, the POE found overwhelming success. The POE is a four-step program of development: the U17 World Championships, the U18 World Championships, WJC (U20), and the Olympics.<sup>6</sup> The Olympics, however, were held every four years whereas the WJC (and later the U18s) was held every year. Like at the WJC, Canada's national hockey team continually failed to win gold at the Olympics.<sup>7</sup> Hockey Canada believed that if they could create a development program that found

success at the junior level, the players would be better prepared for the Olympic level.<sup>8</sup> This would mean that Canada could dominate at hockey at both the junior and senior level, something they had failed to do at either. This idea was a success. The players who helped Canada to two decades of dominance in the 1990s and 2000s for the WJC would also find success at the Olympic level: the 2002 gold medal in Salt Lake City, 2010 gold in Vancouver, and 2014 gold in Sochi.

#### **Building A Canadian Tradition**

#### (A) 1982 Gold

There is no one reason why the WJC became a Canadian tradition. To say otherwise would be false. Nevertheless, the success found by Team Canada in the first year of the POE in 1982 was instrumental in the process. Playing some games in Canada and then winning gold in Minnesota, close enough to the Canadian border that the rink was painted red with Canadian fans, was monumental. If they had failed there, in front of Canada, after all that was done to produce the best junior team, it is possible that the WJC would not matter to Canadians as much as it does. The gold in 1982 gave the POE "instant credibility"<sup>9</sup> and it was the first of many steps towards the tournament becoming synonymous with Canada.

#### (B) The Summit Series

Also, in 1982 the Summit Series was only a decade old. It was still fresh in the minds of Canadians. The Summit Series is very important for two large reasons: one, it became embedded within Canadian national identity,<sup>10</sup> giving Canadians across the country moments by which they could mark their participation in a collective culture;<sup>11</sup> and two, it raised the question of whether Canada was truly the best hockey nation in the world.<sup>12</sup> With the Summit Series, Team Canada had proven they could beat the Russians, and beating the Russians was a huge deal to Canadians, especially during the Cold War; yet, beating the Russians at the junior level remained elusive to the Canadians until 1982. In 1982, the Canadians finally beat Russia, and they did so in dramatic fashion. Canada handed the Russians a 7-0 defeat, the worst ever loss for the Russians at the WJC.<sup>13</sup> This game at the WJC was more than a win for the team, it was a victory for all of Canada. Any moment Canada bested Russia, especially at hockey, became an important moment.

#### (C) Two Decades of Dominance

More significant elements factoring into the WJC becoming a Canadian tradition are the National Hockey League (NHL) draft classes of 2003-2007, arguably some of the best NHL draft classes of all time, which produced the likes of Marc-André Fleury, Sidney Crosby, and Jonathan Toews. They would have played at the WJC between 2000-2009, the second decade of dominance for the Canadians. Canada medaled every year of the 2000-2009 decade, winning five straight gold.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, these players grew up during the first decade of dominance between 1988 and 1997, when the Canadians won gold in eight of ten tournaments.<sup>15</sup> Seeing Canada dominate at the junior level as children, these players grew up wanting to play in the tournament so they could continue the Canadian success. As Team Canada star Jordan Eberle said, "you have two dreams growing up playing hockey in Canada: to play in the NHL and win a Stanley Cup, and to play for Canada at the World Juniors."<sup>16</sup> This generation of players would be the first to grow up watching Canada succeed at the tournament and see it grow in popularity.

#### (D) The "Dream Team"

Also coming out of the 2003-2007 tournaments was the 2005 "Dream Team." The 2005 team is cemented within Canada and Canadian culture. The WJC is nearly 50 years old, and the team produced by every nation changes year to year, but the 2005 team from Canada is unanimously regarded as the best team to ever skate at the tournament.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, hockey historian Ed Willes argues that the 2005 team best exemplified the objectives of the POE: win the WJC and prepare the players for the Olympics. Six players from the 2005 team went on to win Olympic gold on home ice in 2010.<sup>18</sup> (It is also notable that of the 23 players on the 2010 Olympic roster for Canada, 18 represented Canada at the WJC at least once). But the fact that Canada put forward the best team helped entrench

and reaffirm the WJC within the context of Canadian identity. Canada *is* the best hockey nation and put forth the *all-time* best team.

#### (E) The Value of a Moment

One must also consider the mythicization of specific events, in which individual moments supersede their initial importance through the creation of a collective memory. Three examples of individual moments superseding their initial value at the WJC are the battle of Piestany in 1987, Jonathan Toews' shootout performance in 2007, and Jordan Eberle's semi-final goal in 2009.

In 1987, when Team Canada played the Soviet Union, they were in a position to win gold and would walk away with bronze if they lost. They had everything to lose. The game lasted 33 minutes and 53 seconds before ending in a bench-clearing brawl for which both Canada and the Soviet Union were disqualified.<sup>19</sup> The game became so much more than the almost 34 minutes that were played. The event polarized Canada as it raised questions about violence in hockey, something that had become so vital to Canadian hockey in the previous decades. Today, the "Punch-up in Piestany" remains controversial, with some believing the team was a "black spot"<sup>20</sup> on hockey, and others believing they embodied ideas of loyalty and sacrifice.

The semi-final game between Canada and the USA at the 2007 tournament was one of the most suspenseful ever played by either team.<sup>21</sup> Tied 1-1 at the end of regulation, and through ten minutes of overtime, the game went to a shootout where 19-year-old Jonathan Toews was called on three times in the seven rounds of the shootout. Toews scored on all three shots to send Canada to the gold medal game where they would win gold.<sup>22</sup> Unlike regulation or overtime goals, the goals scored in the shootout are not counted towards point totals. On the scoresheet, Toews' three goals on three different shots were not, technically, a "hat trick." Yet, Toews' heroics are played back on film every year. The 2007 semi-final game and Toews' three shootout goals have come to represent the Canada-USA rivalry at the tournament, and the will of Canadian players.

In 2009, Canada found itself down 5-4 against the Russians in the semifinals with the seconds ticking down. Jordan Eberle scored the game tying goal with 5.4 seconds left in regulation. Like the 2007 semifinals, the game went to overtime and then to a shootout where Canada claimed victory to advance to the finals, where it defeated Sweden to win its fifth straight gold medal at the tournament.<sup>23</sup> Eberle's goal has since been considered one of the three biggest international goals for Canada, alongside Crosby's goal at the 2010 Olympics and Paul Henderson's goal at the Summit Series in 1972,<sup>24</sup> and the biggest goal ever scored at the WJC,<sup>25</sup> becoming for many Canadians synonymous with the tournament and with Canadian hockey. Yet, unlike Crosby's and Henderson's goals, Eberle's goal did not win the game, it simply kept the game alive. In these moments, the contest became more than just a hockey game, it became a moment of national pride and superiority that the population can reflect on and revel in, working to embed the WJC in Canadian culture.

#### (F) Connecting Canadians Across the Country

Beyond rosters and medals, the WJC connects Canadians across Canada. Canada has drastically different landscapes across the country. The Rockies, the Prairies, the tundra, and the Maritimes are nothing like each other. Regional differences can serve to disconnect Canadians from each other. However, every year, without fail, the WJC produces a team comprised of players from three different leagues coming from multiple provinces and territories. Representing Canada at the 2020 and 2021 tournaments, Yukon-born Dylan Cozens became the first player from the Territories to play at the WJC.<sup>26</sup> Boys from Newfoundland play with boys from British Columbia, and from the provinces in between. These players, having come from different backgrounds, bond together for two weeks over their similar pasts on outdoor rinks and frozen ponds.<sup>27</sup> The team that represents Canada is *representative of Canada*, and Canadians across Canada are able to sit down every year to cheer them on, bringing people together and helping tie the WJC to Canadian identity and truly become a Canadian tradition.

#### The Standard of Success

The standard of success was set between 1988 and 1997 when the Canadians won gold at eight of ten tournaments. This golden decade was then followed up by the Canadians medalling at 14 of the next 15 WJCs, including another stretch of five straight gold medals.<sup>28</sup> Excluding the unofficial tournaments, Canada is the only nation to have won five straight championships, and its teams managed to accomplish this feat twice. During the 25 years between 1988 and 2012, in order to medal at the WJC, a country would have had to face Canada. Whether it was for gold or bronze, Canada was the nation to beat, and in 16 of 25 games, they won. While today Canada struggles to meet the very standard they set, Canada remains the nation to beat. Canada paved the way to success at the WJC, leading by example to show other nations what was needed in order to succeed.

Hockey writer Roy MacGregor has argued that, at the WJC, Team Canada's winning had been so consistent that, for the Canadians watching, nothing short of a gold medal was acceptable.<sup>29</sup> Canadians expected the team wearing the maple leaf to be the best team in the world. In an interview done after being named captain for the 2021 tournament, Kirby Dach stressed the importance of gold for Canada and the weight that comes with it.<sup>30</sup> WJC and Olympic gold medalist and Hockey Hall of Famer Jarome Iginla believes that the pressure produced by the "gold or bust" mentality is good for the development of the players.<sup>31</sup> Will a player triumph under pressure, or will he crumble? The past record of the Canadians suggests that the mentality and the pressure accompanying it does in fact produce great players. This mentality is not found in any other nation.

Furthermore, former president of Hockey Canada Bob Nicholson said "good isn't enough. Excellence is what we aspire to but will never settle for because we believe we can be even better next year. And we know we have to be better every year."<sup>32</sup> This mentality not only drove Team Canada to be better, but other countries as well. Canada strove to be better in 1982, changing the way they approached the WJC and others followed suit. Canadian players' inner drive to better themselves pushed other nations to better their teams. And while the goal was more about beating Canada than bettering themselves, the other nations ultimately bettered themselves.

#### The States in a State of Disappointment

The United States was part of the initial WJC in 1977. The team finished the tournament in seventh place out of eight with only one win. The Americans won their first bronze in 1986. Their first silver came in 1997 after they lost to Canada in the gold medal game. This would be the last of five straight golds for the Canadians. The United States won its first gold in 2004, conquering their demons and defeating Canada. It took Canada six tournaments to win gold, whereas it took the Americans 28.<sup>33</sup> Reviewing the history of the United States at the WJC, a narrative of "finally over the hump" emerges after they won gold in 2004. The Americans were finally able to defeat Canada. This narrative would be flipped in the 2010s with the Canadians continually searching to defeat the Americans.

Before the birth of the NTDP in 1996, the Americans had two medals, both bronzes, for their efforts at the WJC. That was insufficient for the nation that was proving to the world that it, too, could be a hockey nation with both Olympic and WJC success. The improbable upset at the 1980 Olympics, the "Miracle on Ice," the American equivalent to the Summit Series, was less than 20 years old. The average age of Team USA at the 1980 Olympics was 22,<sup>34</sup> just over the cut off for the WJC. Yet, much like the Canadians 20 years earlier, the WJC gold remained elusive.

#### USA Hockey's National Team Development Program

In 1996, USA Hockey launched its own version of the POE: the NTDP. As its name suggests, the NTDP focused primarily on developing players. The success of the NTDP is not measured in wins or points, like other hockey leagues. Rather, the success of the NTDP is measured by the success of its players and the development of their skills. The NTDP plays against highly skilled teams, some of whom play in an age group above them, and the players who graduate from the NTDP are impressively talented and have gone on to become hockey superstars synonymous with USA Hockey and the sport itself, such as Patrick Kane, Jack Eichel, and Auston Matthews.<sup>35</sup> This is in contrast to the CHL which develops more than just raw skill.

The CHL, comprised of 60 teams in three leagues (the Western Hockey League [WHL], the Ontario Hockey League [OHL], and the Quebec Major Junior Hockey League [QMJHL]), is the largest junior hockey league in the world. The CHL develops the best players between the ages of 16-21.<sup>36</sup> Most players are Canadian, though American and European players also play in the league. The majority of NHL players have played in the CHL at some point in their careers.<sup>37</sup> The CHL creates more well-rounded players that can play the physical side of hockey as well as "role players."<sup>38</sup> For this reason, the players who come out of the NTDP in the recent years are, arguably, more effective players than the Canadians playing in the NHL. The 2001-born NTDP group is perhaps the best class yet as 17 players from the 2019 U18 NTDP team were drafted in the 2019 NHL entry draft, including eight in the first round, a record for most first-round selections from one team.<sup>39</sup>

#### (A) The NTDP, CHL, and POE

The NTDP is based largely on both the CHL and the POE. The NTDP plays as a team year-round in the United States Hockey League (USHL),<sup>40</sup> the American version of the CHL. The USHL is an American junior level hockey league for elite players between the ages of 16 and 20,<sup>41</sup> similar to the CHL. However, the CHL is comprised of three separate leagues and the POE selects the best players for the program to represent Canada at the WJC in the summer with a final selection in camp in December.<sup>42</sup> The players on Team Canada play together for two weeks before returning home. This is a distinct difference, and arguably an improvement that the United States has made regarding its development program. Where Canada does not have a permanent national team, the NTDP is the official U18 national team for the United States.<sup>43</sup> They are the permanent American POE team, comprised of the best 46 American players who play together year-round<sup>44</sup> and are dedicated to developing their skills and improving USA Hockey's standing on an international level.

As previously stated, the CHL is separated into three leagues. Junior players play in a branch of the CHL based on where they live. Thus, geographically, the players on any given team are from the same area. The only time the best players from these junior teams across the country are brought together are for junior international competitions such as the U17s, U18s, and the WJC. Playing together year-round builds chemistry that would make a team much harder to beat compared to a team that spends only a handful of days together before the start of the tournament.

At the 2021 WJC, the Canadian players were together for 58 days, significantly longer than any other Canadian team had been.<sup>45</sup> The chemistry between them through their nearly two months together was undeniable as they walked through the tournament undefeated and posted some of the best offensive and defensive statistics in Canadian WJC history; that is, until they faced the Americans in the gold medal game. There were 15 NTDP players on the American roster this year, most of them teammates from the prestigious 2019 U18 NTDP team.<sup>46</sup> The Canadians were shut out in the gold medal game. Both goals scored by the Americans in the game were scored by 2019 NTDP graduates, and the three players who connected for the gold-medal-winning goal, Alex Turcotte, Drew Helleson, and Trevor Zegras,<sup>47</sup> were all teammates on the 2019 U18 NTDP team, demonstrating the power of chemistry and how it can be the difference between silver and gold.

#### (B) U18 World Championships

The most significant difference between the CHL and the NTDP is how the teams end their seasons. The CHL ends its season with the Memorial Cup, the hardest trophy to win in junior sports, whereas the NTDP ends its season representing the United States at the U18s.<sup>48</sup> The focus on the U18s is key to the success of the NTDP. Where Canada places the value in the WJC, the Americans focus on the U18s. The U18s is a newer international competition; the first tournament was held in 1999, three years after the creation of the NTDP. However, the United States would not win a medal at the U18s until 2002.<sup>49</sup> They won gold. Nevertheless, they medaled, and won gold, quicker than the Canadians did. Moreover, of the 21 U18 tournaments, the Americans lead all countries with 17 medals, 10 of them being gold.<sup>50</sup> Canada has seven medals at the U18s, three of them being gold.<sup>51</sup> If the Americans could succeed at the U18 level, their players would, in the short run, be ready to compete over the

next two years at the WJC, and, in the long run, be prepared for the Olympics and other senior international competitions.

#### (C) NTDP Graduates and the WJC

After graduating from the NTDP and representing the United States at the U18s, NTDP graduates make up approximately 50% of the United States' WJC roster. This is a remarkable feat, as each year the NTDP is comprised of only 46 players separated into two 23-player teams: U17 and U18.<sup>52</sup> Winning gold in 2021, 15 of the 25 players representing the United States graduated from the NTDP.<sup>53</sup> When the United States won its first gold in 2004, 15 of the 23 players on Team USA had graduated from the NTDP.<sup>54</sup> On the 2010 gold-medal winners, 12 of the American players had graduated from the NTDP.<sup>55</sup> For the 2013 gold, 13 players were NTDP graduates,<sup>56</sup> and when they won their fourth gold in 2017, 16 of the players were NTDP graduates.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, the winners of the tournament's Most Valuable Player award in last five years have come from either Team USA or Team Canada.<sup>58</sup> The three MVPs for Team USA were all NTDP graduates.

The focus on just 46 players rather than a fully fleshed-out league based on the same principles of the NTDP is a flaw of the program<sup>59</sup> and perhaps the reason the Americans have not fully found the international success at the WJC that they desire. As only 50% of the American WJC team graduates from the NTDP, only half the team receives the skill development of USA Hockey's prized program. If the remaining 50%, or at least another 20-30% of the roster received the same pedigree training provided by the NTDP, it is conceivable that the Americans would find even more success than they are already finding.

Every year, USA Hockey loses its best players to the NHL while they are still eligible to play in the WJC. Jack Hughes (an NTDP graduate) was selected first overall in the 2019 NHL draft.<sup>60</sup> Hughes became the first player to jump straight from the NTDP to the NHL.<sup>61</sup> The New Jersey Devils, who drafted Hughes first overall, did not release him to play in the WJC for the 2020 tournament.<sup>62</sup> Despite the delayed start to the NHL season, the Devils again did not release Hughes for the 2021 WJC<sup>63</sup>

even though Hughes, at 19 years old, was still eligible for the tournament. This is a frequent story for programs developing the best of the best.

The graduates of the NTDP are breaking into professional leagues (and particularly the NHL) while they are still teenagers. This forces USA Hockey to compose WJC rosters without some key players. While this hurts WJC teams, it also displays the exceptional development of the NTDP in two ways. Firstly, NTDP players are breaking into the NHL at younger ages, and secondly, despite losing some of their best players, the United States is still winning at the WJC much more frequently, and winning gold more often than their Canadian counterparts. If the NHL teams possessing rights to the NTDP players chose to release them for the WJC, the United States would have more star players on its team and would become that much more difficult to beat.

The United States won its first silver medal in 1997,<sup>64</sup> in the second year of the NTDP's existence. While it is not the immediate and dramatic success the Canadians found after the creation of the POE, it was, nonetheless, a big step for the Americans and demonstrates the success of the NTDP. Every program, especially development programs, has bumps to work out. The POE itself has made adjustments over the years. The NTDP is no different, and, after trial and error, the last decade has seen the best production by the NTDP. In 2010, the United States won its second gold medal (by defeating Canada), and followed it up by winning a bronze in 2011. This was the first time the United States won consecutive medals at the WJC.<sup>65</sup> Between 1977 and 2009, the Americans won a total of five medals at the WJC.<sup>66</sup> From 2010 onwards, Team USA has won eight medals.<sup>67</sup>

#### (D) Summary

Whereas the POE exists because Canada was tired of losing to the Russians, the NTDP exists because Americans were tired of losing to the Canadians. USA Hockey took the two most successful hockey development programs in the world and combined them, adding in their own distinct American ideals and created the NTDP. It has been markedly successful and the program not only continues to help grow the development of junior hockey within the United States, but also raise the standing of the Americans on the international level.68

#### Who is the Dominant Force?

Hockey is a large part of Canadian national identity. The continued success at international competitions has helped to solidify that notion.<sup>69</sup> Roy MacGregor calls it an understatement to say hockey is the national religion of the country.<sup>70</sup> If hockey is the national religion, then the WJC would be a place of worship. The WJC is enshrined in Canadian national identity, yet Canada is no longer the commanding team at the tournament. Since 2010, the Canadians have won the same number of medals as the Americans (8), while the Americans have won more gold medals.<sup>71</sup>

After losing in the semi-finals at the 2014 WJC, Canadian coach Brent Sutter said that the WJC was "not just our [Canada's] game" and that "[other] countries have caught up to Canada."<sup>72</sup> Not being the commanding team at the tournament is unsettling to Canadians who understand their national identity in relation to hockey. Hockey and the persistent gold medals at any international level is a national pride. The sport and its importance to Canada is how Canadians understand their national identity.<sup>73</sup>

Going into the 2020 WJC, the United States had won four straight and six of the last 11 games against Canada, including winning the gold medal over Canada in 2017. This is in contrast to the United States being able to beat Canada only twice in the previous ten meetings at the tournament.<sup>74</sup> December 26, 2019 was the first time Canada was able to defeat the Americans at the WJC since December 31, 2014,<sup>75</sup> and the American win streak over the Canadians has begun again as they defeated the Canadians for gold in 2021. Of the 48 all-time head-to-head games at the world juniors, Canada has won 33.<sup>76</sup> However, in the 13 head-to-head games since 2010, the US has won seven.<sup>77</sup> Canadians have felt threatened by the American influence on hockey since the 1970s,<sup>78</sup> and they do not want to admit that hockey is not just "Canada's game," it is a sport that other countries can excel at as well.<sup>79</sup> However, American dominance is on the rise and they have solidified themselves as Canada's newest and now greatest rival in hockey.

This is not to say that Canada is a weaker team now than they previously had been. Rather, all of this signifies that Canada has raised the bar of what is needed to succeed and the other countries have finally caught Canada, just as Canada caught Russia in the 1980s. So, where does that leave Canada and Canadian identity if its teams are no longer the best in the tournament? Canada being responsible for the recent American success at the tournament signifies that Canada is still prevailing as a hockey nation even if they are not dominating the podium, something that is critical to a sometimes fragile national identity.

#### Conclusion

The success that the United States has found at the WJC is a direct result of Canada setting the bar of excellence and the standard of success. This standard forced the Americans to create a new development program, the NTDP, based on both the POE and the CHL to find success at the international level. This notion was supported through examining how Canada set the bar of hockey excellence and the standard of success at the WJC when its teams won gold in eight of ten tournaments between 1988 and 1997, how the NTDP was the American answer to the CHL and POE, and why the NTDP players found greater success at the WJC compared to previous American WJC teams. In 1982, in Rochester, Minnesota, no one thought that Canada could win. The tape of the Canadian national anthem was not even brought to the game in which Canada won its first gold.<sup>80</sup> A great deal changed between that time, when Canadian players gathered on the blue line to sing "O Canada," and 2009, when Eberle's final-second goal brought Canada its last of five straight gold medals. Between 1982 and 2009, Team Canada won 23 medals, 15 of which were gold. They built a system that dominated the WJC for 27 years, making a tournament that Canadians had once seldom watched into a tournament synonymous with Canada. Nevertheless, the greatest success for the Canadians was setting the standard of hockey excellence at the junior level, forcing the other nations to rise to the expectation.



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#### Appendix<sup>81</sup>

Medals by country

Countries in *italics* no longer compete at the World Junior Championships

Country	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Total Medals
Canada	18	10	5	33
Russia Soviet Union CIS <b>Total</b>	4 8 1 <b>13</b>	10 3 0 <b>13</b>	9 2 0 <b>11</b>	23 13 1 <b>37</b>
Sweden	2	11	6	19
Finland	5	4	7	16
United States	5	2	6	13
Czech Republic Czechoslovakia <b>Total</b>	2 0 <b>2</b>	0 5 <b>5</b>	1 6 <b>7</b>	3 11 <b>14</b>
Slovakia	0	0	2	2
Switzerland	0	0	1	1

#### Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> "All Medalists World Men U20," IIHF.com, accessed January 15, 2020, https://www.iihf.com/en/medalists?selectedTournamentTypeID=6&gender=men.
- <sup>2</sup> Mark Spector, *Road to Gold: The Untold Story of Canada at the World Juniors* (Toronto: Simon & Schuster Canada, 2019), 2.
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid., 3.
- <sup>4</sup> Patricia Cormack and James F. Cosgrave, *Desiring Canada: CBC Contests, Hockey Violence, and other Stately Pleasures* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 100.
- <sup>5</sup> Spector, *Road to Gold*, 3.
- <sup>6</sup> Murray Costello, "Introduction" in *Hockey Canada: Thirty Years of Going for Gold at the World Juniors* (Toronto: Penguin Group, 2011), 2-5.

- <sup>7</sup> "All Medalists Olympic Winter Games," IIHF.com, accessed January 15, 2020, <u>https://www.iihf.com/en/medalists?selectedTournamentTypeID=1&gender=men.</u>
- <sup>8</sup> Costello, "Introduction," 5.
- <sup>9</sup> Ibid., 4.
- <sup>10</sup> Brian Kennedy, "Confronting a Compelling Other: The Summit Series and the Nostalgic (Trans)formation of Canadian Identity" in Andrew C. Holman, ed. *Canada's Game: Hockey and Identity* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 47.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid., 45.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid., 51.
- <sup>13</sup> Spector, *Road to Gold*, 32.
- <sup>14</sup> All Medalists World Men U20. IIHF.com.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>16</sup> James Duthie, *Beauties: Hockey's Greatest Untold Stories* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2020), 218.
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