

2023

Another Loss for Team Canada: How Americanization Has Been Stealing Canadian Identity in Sport since the 1930s

Nicholas Follett
Bridgewater State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://vc.bridgew.edu/undergrad_rev

Recommended Citation

Follett, Nicholas (2023). Another Loss for Team Canada: How Americanization Has Been Stealing Canadian Identity in Sport since the 1930s. *Undergraduate Review*, 17, p. 235-254.
Available at: https://vc.bridgew.edu/undergrad_rev/vol17/iss1/20

This item is available as part of Virtual Commons, the open-access institutional repository of Bridgewater State University, Bridgewater, Massachusetts.
Copyright © 2023 Nicholas Follett

Another Loss for Team Canada: How Americanization Has Been Stealing Canadian Identity in Sport since the 1930s

NICHOLAS FOLLETT

The Importance of Identity

The establishment of a national identity is crucial to the development of a nation. When held positively, national identity can unite people around a desire for good government, economic development, strong character, trust, and support of one another.¹ The nation of Canada has had to struggle with its identity for many centuries. Once a French colony, it became a territory of the British Empire, then a Dominion that could not amend its constitution, and lastly an independent nation. Canada is best labeled as a “multicultural state;” there are many people who live within the borders of Canada including white Europeans, Africans, Asians, Pacific Islanders, Latino/a, and Indigenous populations. Within the context of this diversity, a singular Canadian identity seems impossible, and the people of Canada have tried to establish what it means to be a Canadian by focusing on what is on the inside rather than the outside.

The Canadian identity is built upon respect for diversity. Canada is a “multicultural” nation, which is considered a uniquely Canadian creation because of its mosaic of diverse cultures that emerged from its Indigenous roots, its European settlers, and more recent immigration from around the globe. These cultures are different and have past tense relations; Canada’s dedication to fostering respect for diversity of

cultures is a piece of their identity in which Canadians take great pride.² Canadians are also known for their progressiveness. According to the Social Progressive Imperative, Canada is the second-most progressive nation in the world behind Finland.³ Canada became the first nation in North America to enact national socialized healthcare and Canadians consider Medicare as a point of pride. Canada has also led the way in the reconciliation with Indigenous people through their decolonization efforts, beginning with a formal apology for Indian residential schools in 2008.⁴ But perhaps what makes Canadians the proudest of their national identity is their independence within North America. The colonies that became the nation today rejected joining the United States of America following the American Revolution, became a self-governing Dominion under the authority of Britain in 1867, and earned their full independence in 1982. The path toward independence was an “evolution” rather than a “revolution;” it was a slow and methodical transition to responsible government rather than a sudden break from an imperial power. The autonomy to define their national identity and create their own culture in the face of other Western nations defines much of the Canadian concept of their collective identity.

However, many feel that the Canadian identity faces a persistent threat: Americanization. Best defined

as the process by which American cultural influence is manifested in other countries.⁵ Considering its proximity to the United States, it is understandable that Canadians have feared Americanization since its inception in 1867. Since the end of the Second World War, the United States emerged as a global superpower that influences world politics and economics and has been matched only by nations such as the former Soviet Union and today's China. In the private sector, American corporations like McDonalds and Nike have taken advantage of this global dominance to spread goods into new markets and change the consumer culture of entire nations. Canadians fear that Americanization is a threat to their cultural distinctiveness, political independence, and economic sufficiency.⁶

The United States is far less progressive than Canada with a history of imperialism and meddling in foreign politics and culture, Canada included. There are many examples of the Americanization of Canadian culture. The Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau was established in 1918 to advertise Canada through the distribution of Canadian films and documentaries, yet by the 1930s it had become part of the powerful American film industry. American filmmakers used the Bureau to film in new locations and distribute movies across the world at the expense of Canadian filmmakers and the establishment of a profitable domestic film industry.⁷ The Saskatchewan Medical Care Insurance Act of 1962 led many doctors to seek private practice opportunities in the United States. Montana and other border states had an increase of applicants from Saskatchewan physicians and looked to hire Canadian physicians to shore up their less-than-stellar healthcare services.⁸ Canadians involved in the Canadian Convoy Protest of 2022 against

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's COVID-19 measures were influenced by the January 6 protests to the election of Joe Biden in the United States by right-wing American extremist groups.

Many Canadians fear such Americanization because the United States is far less progressive than Canada. Mainstream Canada's response to the Convoy Protest, for example, was rooted in the that the attitudes held by American January 6 protestors were gaining momentum across the border, which would threaten the progressiveness of Canadian identity.⁹ At its most extreme, Americanization threatens the full social and political annexation by the United States if there is a failure to protect the uniqueness of the Canadian cultural identity. It would allow American scholars, politicians, and corporations to take advantage of Canadians for their agendas and profit. With such foreign involvement in the lives of the people, Canadians lose that sense of autonomy to be their people and create a culture independent of foreign influence.¹⁰ The United States is a superpower in every sense of the word, and the need to protect Canadian culture and identity from it requires constant attention. It is a task that many Canadians feel is important, but the level of political or social activism required is too complex and demanding for Canadian citizens to engage with. So, how can the ordinary people of Canada protect who they are in the face of Americanization? With a ball or a puck.

Sport and Cultural Identity

Across the world, sports is one of the most coveted pieces of national identity. Through mass participation and fandom, sports build an identity with large groups of people who bond over their passion for athletic competition.¹¹ Fan communities arise with an

appreciation for teams and athletes who play and for the sport itself, and they turn “game day” into another holiday. The Super Bowl in the United States is treated as if it is the Fourth of July and has become a celebration of America in its own right.¹² The “Hockey Night in Canada” tune is familiar to most Canadians just by humming due to the countless nights they spent watching primetime hockey on television.¹³ Sport brings people together to create a daily, weekly, or annual tradition revolved around sitting down and watching the best in the world compete at the highest level. The athletes who participate in sports at a prominent level are revered and idolized by those who watch. Their stories and accomplishments evoke emotion within a group of people and become as much of a staple of culture as myths and legends of gods and creatures.¹⁴ In Canada, the names Wayne Gretzky and Mario Lemieux are spoken with the same Canadian reverence as Louis Riel and Tommy Douglas. The city of Toronto has a statue of Winston Churchill downtown, and a few blocks from it stands a whole row of statues dedicated to Toronto Maple Leafs’ players. Sport gives a nation not just athletes, but heroes.

As sport is so intertwined with identity, it can influence politics in a nation as well. In the United States, African Americans lived with segregation following the American Civil War. This included segregated professional baseball leagues, or “Negro Leagues” as they were referred to in the day. But when Jackie Robinson, a highly talented African American player, broke the color barrier of Major League Baseball in 1947, he retired in 1956 as one of the greatest players ever. Only eight years later, the 70-year reign of de jure segregation in the United States was brought to a glorious end. In Canada, when Clarence Campbell banned Maurice Richard on March 14,

1955, Montrealers protested with the “Richard Riot” days later as a response to the anglophone oppression against the French in Quebec. Years later, the Quiet Revolution began, sparking serious conversations about Quebec independence as francophones could no longer stand the English-speaking dominance in their economy, politics, and, no less important to some, their hockey. Sport can be the catalyst for social change, the battlefield of national heroes, and the inspiration of tradition that creates a national identity.

Canadians invest their national identity into sports as much as they do their politics and economics. Canadian football is a sport uniquely Canadian, and they are the only country that plays the sport professionally. Canadians claim the sport as a symbol of their shared identity, as well as an example of the values of teamwork and unity held by their society. Of course, hockey is the national winter sport of Canada and is Canada’s great contribution to the sporting world.¹⁵ To many, hockey represents Canadians’ resilience and toughness and is played in organized leagues by more than a million people in the nation. Through their participation and passionate fandom for these two sports, Canadians believe that they can protect their unique combination of diversity, progressivism, and independent spirit in the face of Americanization by playing and watching Canadian sports. The most talented and physically gifted athletes in the nation battle it out in the sanctity of sports, displaying and promoting the Canadian identity at home and abroad. Ten thousand strangers in an arena turn into a family wearing the same colors, chanting the same songs, and all hoping that their team is the victor. To Canadians, hockey and Canadian football are not just entertainment, they are part of who they and their nation are.

However, national identity may define fandom, but it may not always define a player's career path. The professionalization of sports challenged the local, regional, and national identities of teams and players. In professional sports, winning and money become the main force of players, coaches, and owners. Professional hockey and football athletes who are highly competitive wish to play amongst the best while being paid for their talents, and fans who want to consume a product want the best competing against the best every night. Profit is the goal, not the celebration of culture. Owners most often focus on profits, either through cutting costs or moving into a bigger market, and professional leagues look to market new products in cities to turn their fandom toward a sport that may not be familiar to them at first. Even if Canadians see sports as part of their national identity, it must be balanced with the profitability of the sport. If professional sports' natural focus is on profit and victory rather than culture, then the door is left open for that capitalist American influence on Canadian identity in sports.

Canadian Football and the Canadian Football League

Canadian football can be traced back as early as the 1860s when rugby games with modified rules emerged as the first proto-Canadian football games.¹⁶ While an average television viewer may find Canadian football and American football to be similar, there are plenty of differences between the two that truly make Canadian football its sport: the number of players on the field, the number of downs to advance, the dimensions of the field, the ability for multiple men to move before the ball is snapped, the width of the line of scrimmage,

and the CFL's one-point play.^{17,18} These changes result in a fast-paced and more pass-heavy product that requires a different strategy and game plan than an American football game. Fans of Canadian football appreciate these unique qualities of the sport because it makes it so much more than a "Canadian version of American football." It symbolizes the uniqueness of the Canadian identity, and how the people of Canada desire independence from American influences.

The Canadian Football League (CFL) was created in 1958, and ever since has been tasked with being the sole protector of professional Canadian football, and in turn a hallmark of Canadian identity.¹⁹ In the CFL, teams compete to be in a championship game where the winners are awarded the storied Grey Cup. The Cup was first awarded in 1909 and as of 2023, it has been competed for by the best Canadian football teams in 109 Grey Cup championship games.²⁰ The Cup is 60 years older than the Super Bowl game and Lombardi Trophy presented to the National Football League champion. Some Canadians consider the Grey Cup as Canadian as the Stanley Cup, as all but one of the champion clubs in its 100-year history have been Canadian.²¹

As a protector of the Canadian identity and Canadian football, Canadians must be the face of the CFL. To achieve this goal, the CFL has implemented its most unique rule: the "Game Rule Ratio."²² With this rule, all CFL players are designated into one of three categories based on nationality. A "national" player designation is given to a player who was a Canadian citizen at the time first contract and who had lived in Canada for at least five years before signing with a CFL team.²³ An "American" player designation is given to a player who was born in the United States, and a "Global" player designation

is given to any player not born in Canada or the United States. These designations are important to roster construction as, per CFL Rules, teams cannot have more than 20 “American” players on their roster, with four of those players only being allowed to play minimal snaps or come in for the relief of another “American” player.²⁴ There is also a minimum of two “global” players, two quarterbacks of any nationality, and the remaining 21 spots filled by “national” players.²⁵ With this practice in place, the Canadian Football League roster remains over half Canadian, which protects and promotes the Canadian identity in sport. Many critics of the CFL say that the “Game Rule Ratio” hurts the on-field product, with the emphasis on nationality rather than talent handicapping the level of play on the field. Throughout its history, American players have been the most talented athletes and play the most important positions on CFL teams yet can only make up half a team’s roster because of their country of origin.²⁶ Canadians feel that seeing the rosters be majority Canadian-born players is what makes the league so important to the people of Canada.²⁷ The motto of the CFL is “This is Our League” and shows that the sport of Canadian football means something more to Canadians than the games. Even if the league is not the wealthiest or the flashiest, the CFL celebrates the Canadian athlete and protects the Canadian identity in sport.²⁸

Owners, however, also need to consider the financial viability of the league, which has faced many financial woes throughout its history. By 1993, the CFL faced a devastating fiscal crisis that threatened to fold multiple teams. Commissioner Larry Smith concluded that to generate profit, expansion was needed into new markets - specifically the United States. While American

football was certainly popular in the States, some major markets had no professional football team. The league believed that by putting CFL franchises in cities like Baltimore, Maryland, and Sacramento, California, American football-hungry fans would gravitate toward Canadian football. To entice new owners in the United States to fund new franchises, the league announced that the “Game Rule Ratio” would be exempt from the rosters of American CFL teams.²⁹ The 7-1 vote among owners to accept these exceptions, suggests that using the CFL to protect Canadian identity may not have been the sole focus of the owners when facing such financial crises.³⁰ When the ratio-free Baltimore Stallions won the Grey Cup in their first season, it appeared as if the future of Canadian football was no longer in the hands of Canadians.³¹ But by 1995, this expansion proved to be a financial failure. Attendance for the American franchises decreased every year and the cost of sending teams across the border proved to be too costly for the CFL to sustain. The CFL in America experiment proved to be a disaster for the league and all United States expansion teams officially folded before the 1996 season.

After the embarrassing failure of the American expansion, the CFL ironically experienced a renaissance in popularity in the early 2000s. The league saw booms in viewership, attendance, and overall profitability thanks not to an expansion into the American market, but instead because it maintained its purely Canadian focus and fanbase.³² It appeared that Canadians responded to the effort to export their football to the United States by recognizing the importance of Canadian football to their identity. Many proud Canadians reembraced the league as the protector of their beloved sport. While the CFL and its fans may have concluded it did not need to expand

into the American market, the efforts to bring American football north into Canada emerged as the new threat.

American football is the last of the four major American sports (basketball, baseball, hockey, and football) to not have a Canadian franchise. Creating a market for the sport in the “Great North” has been on the to-do list of many American sports moguls for decades. This has included not just those within the National Football League, the undisputed top American football league in the world, but owners of start-up leagues looking to compete with the NFL through new markets or unique gimmicks. One such league to attempt to bring American football to Canada was the short-lived World Football League or WFL. Started in 1973, the WFL looked to compete with the National Football League with an ambitious goal: make American football a global sport. Naturally, one of the markets chosen to accomplish these feats was Toronto, Ontario. Businessman John F. Basset Jr, the owner of the CFL team Toronto Argonauts at the time, drew the ire of many Ontarians when he decided to launch a WFL team in Toronto. He even signed three members of the 1973 Super Bowl Champion Miami Dolphins to three-year deals.³³ The league planned to officially introduce the Toronto Northmen as part of their inaugural season in April of 1974, but Canadian politician Marc Lalonde of the Liberal Party felt that the new league was a threat to the viability of the CFL, and therefore the Canadian identity itself. In response to the perceived danger to Canadian football, Lalonde looked to use his political power to stop American football from crossing the border.

In April 1974, Lalonde proposed to the Canadian House of Commons Bill C-22: “An Act Respecting Canadian Professional Football.” The bill would give a government-approved monopoly of the sport of football

– both American and Canadian – to the CFL and make the establishment of any other professional football league or team illegal and subject to fines or imprisonment.³⁴ When asked his reasoning for introducing the bill, Lalonde said that an American football team in Toronto would be a serious threat to the already struggling Canadian Football League and that a successful expansion of American football into Canada would mean the “definite demise of the Canadian Football League and part of the Canadian identity.”³⁵ Although the proposed law never passed, the WFL took notice and moved and was relieved that Lalonde’s bill had resisted any threats to that piece of their identity.³⁶

American football and the National Football League have grown in popularity both in the United States and abroad since the 1970s. The league’s marketing savvy promoted its high-level athletes and hard-hitting action around the world, including Canada. With a growing fanbase for American football in the nation, Toronto has been discussed as a landing spot for multiple franchises looking for a new home. In 1994, Canadian American football fans campaigned for an official relocation of the Los Angeles Rams to Toronto, Ontario despite already hosting a historic CFL franchise.³⁷ It was the first sign that the quality of the CFL product was starting to outweigh the cultural significance of the sport when compared to the game being played in the NFL. Over the last 30 years, more Canadians have acknowledged the National Football League has an undeniably stronger, faster, smarter, and more talented player pool than the CFL. Coupled with the league’s unparalleled marketing and television presentation, the NFL product is hard for any fan of sport in Canada to not want to watch. According to a survey done by Angus Reid Institute in 2023, 62% of self-

proclaimed Canadian football fans prefer watching the NFL's annual Super Bowl championship game to the CFL's Grey Cup Finals on television.³⁸ The NFL has been able to captivate more young Canadians and studies show that more Canadians aged 18 to 35 years old watch the NFL product compared to the CFL despite it being a foreign product.³⁹

The National Football League has never been shy about the possibility of an expansion into Toronto, either. The success and popularity of American sports such as basketball and baseball in the city has made it difficult for the league not to do business up north themselves. While the league had dabbled in holding events and exhibition games in the nation, the league decided in 2008 to truly test the American football market in Toronto. The NFL held a regular season contest between the Buffalo Bills and Miami Dolphins in Toronto on December 7, 2008. The game was proven to be a success, as more than 52,000 people came to watch American football in Rogers Centre,⁴⁰ and the NFL continued playing games in Toronto for the next five years, including a four-year run from 2008 to 2011 of 50,000 Canadians attending games of American football despite the quality of games being considered lackluster at best. In 2013, the success of what was known as the "Toronto Series" began serious talks of the Buffalo Bills franchise, which had been the "home" team for all six of the NFL Toronto games, to be relocated to Toronto permanently. The investment group Maple Leaf Sports & Entertainment along with music artist Jon Bon Jovi looked to move the Bills to Canada into a new Toronto-based stadium built specifically for American football.⁴¹ Vice President of Rogers Communication Phil Lind said that despite the cultural importance of the CFL, Southern Ontario had become "NFL territory," and

the younger generation would welcome the expansion.⁴² The relocation never happened as the Bills remained in Buffalo, but the NFL still recognizes the popularity amongst the younger generation of Canadians in Ontario and continues to hold watch parties for games such as the Super Bowl. There is still hope for many American football fans that one day an expansion team will go to Canada, but there are many who dread that same prospect. Those who understand the importance of the CFL to national identity know that if the NFL posed serious threats to the CFL, a Canadian NFL team would be the death of the sport of Canadian football.

Much like the American film industry and the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, the National Football League seems to want to expand into Canada at the expense of the Canadian Football League. The league expects an NFL expansion to Toronto would be as profitable and popular as the franchises of other American leagues and has already built a fanbase for the sport in the city and the nation through its marketing. While 40% of Canadians may oppose NFL expansion if it meant the end of the CFL,⁴³ the NFL is fully aware they can use their unmatched marketing and presentation to take over the Canadian market almost overnight with the relocation of one of its franchises to Toronto. That very real possibility looms large over the survivability of the cultural bastion of the Canadian Football League. While the NFL looks to bring the best football players in the world in the most successful sports league on the planet up north, Canada insists on keeping the "Game Rule Ratio" to protect Canadian heritage. By constructing the CFL's talent pool based on nationality rather than skill the league is allowing its direct competitor to become more popular in its home nation, and Canadians are switching

their televisions from the sport created for them in favor of a more exciting American product.

Hockey and the National Hockey League

Canada is hockey. Its culture has been molded around the great winter sport since the first organized game of ice hockey was played in Montreal, Quebec in March 1875.⁴⁴ Hockey began as a game played exclusively amongst anglophone Canadian men, but today it is played by francophones, women, and new immigrants thanks to efforts of expanding inclusion and equity that is a part of the national identity of the progressive nation.⁴⁵ The sport represents the taming of the harsh Canadian winter with some competitive fun. Lord Frederick Arthur Stanley, governor-general of Canada from 1883 to 1893, fell in love with the game and its proud Canadian origins creating a strong identification with the nation and its people. In 1892, Lord Stanley donated a challenge cup, a small silver bowl, to be competed for by the best hockey teams in Canada to determine a champion of the Dominion. The “Stanley Cup” soon became a symbol of Canadian pride and excellence, symbolizing hockey's ability to bring Canadians together from across the nation in the quest to crown the best team in an indigenous Canadian contest.⁴⁶ The sport is considered a source of national pride by over half of Canadians, with 1.2 million Canadians participating in organized hockey leagues around the nation. Immigrants to Canada attribute their participation in hockey to feeling more assimilated into the nation and its people. Canadian hockey players dream of one day playing professionally and competing with players from around the globe and representing the superiority of Canadians in the Canadian sport. Most players have been playing in the top league in the world as their goal: The

National Hockey League.

The NHL was formed in 1917 in Montreal, Quebec as a successor to the National Hockey Association. Hockey clubs were becoming more competitive, and amateurism gave way to legitimate professional hockey organizations, such as the NHL. The league had four clubs: the Ottawa Senators, the Montreal Wanderers, the Montreal Canadiens, and the Quebec Bulldogs, later known as the Toronto Maple Leafs. All four clubs were based in Canada, and each became Stanley Cup champions within 10 years of the league's inception.⁴⁸ The success of these teams allowed the NHL to firmly establish itself as the most competitive and talented hockey league in Canada, and the profitability of the NHL opened the door for expansion into the United States.

The NHL established the Boston Bruins, the first of its American franchises, in 1924 followed by the New York Rangers franchise in 1926. The American market for hockey was not exceptionally large at this time, and new owners needed convincing that an American hockey franchise would be a worthy investment. But quickly these investments proved to be worth it, as the NHL grew in terms of profitability and popularity with these new American teams. After the collapse of the West Canada Hockey League in 1926, the league added two more franchises in Chicago, Illinois, and Detroit, Michigan, and became the sole possessor of the Stanley Cup in 1927.⁴⁹ By 1930, The National Hockey League, comprised of four Canadian clubs and five American clubs, was now the undisputed top ice hockey league in the world.

During World War II, three of the nine clubs folded, and in 1942, only six franchises were left in operation: the Boston Bruins, New York Rangers, Montreal Canadiens, Toronto Maple Leafs, Detroit Wings, and

Chicago Blackhawks. These six clubs, known today as “The Original Six,” were the only franchises in the league from 1942 to 1967.⁵⁰ Despite the “National” in National Hockey League referring to the nation of Canada (and had its headquarters in Toronto) four of its six teams were actually in the United States. In the 1960s, the NHL began plans for expansion and the addition of new clubs to the league. Despite the sport being of Canadian origin, and a source of Canadian pride interwoven into Canadian culture, the league decided to focus its 1967 expansion entirely on the United States with six new franchises: Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Minnesota, St. Louis – and most bafflingly of all – Oakland and Los Angeles, California.⁵¹ Canadians felt cheated and betrayed by the National Hockey League as no new teams were established in Canada, hockey’s birthplace and homeland, while markets like Oakland and Los Angeles, which barely experience a winter season, were granted new franchises. It seemed to many Canadians, including *Edmonton Journal* writer Jim Coleman, as if the NHL attempted to become an American institution, and purposefully ignored the dedicated and passionate Canadian cities to cash in on profitable yet unestablished markets in the United States.⁵²

The National Hockey League listened to the complaints of their Canadian fans and in 1970 announced two new expansion teams: the Vancouver Canucks and the Buffalo Sabres of Buffalo, New York. While it was a quick fix, frustration returned as the NHL’s expansion plans in the 1970s included new franchises in Atlanta, Washington, DC, Kansas City, and even another franchise in New York. It was not until 1979 that the NHL added new Canadian-based franchises in Winnipeg, Quebec City, and Edmonton, but only after the World Hockey Association folded and the NHL adopted these new clubs.⁵³ It was

apparent that new franchises in Canadian markets were not a priority of the National Hockey League in the post-Original Six era, and the once top hockey league in Canada had only seven of its 21 teams based in its home country. The NHL, and in turn hockey, was becoming more American every passing year.

The NHL’s growth in popularity in America was accelerated during the late 1980s thanks to the biggest trade in sports history: the trade of Edmonton Oilers’ Wayne Gretzky to the Los Angeles Kings in 1988. Already considered the greatest hockey player ever, the Los Angeles Kings and their new owner Bruce McNall looked to trade for eight-time NHL Most Valuable Player with the goal in mind of making hockey a major league sport in the city of Los Angeles.⁵⁴ The people of Edmonton did not want to see their hero go, as he had just guided the Oilers to their fourth Stanley Cup, but it was clear that this trade was going to happen, and that Gretzky was bound for America. Gretzky did not want to go to Los Angeles at first, as he loved Edmonton and the fans’ dedication to hockey.⁵⁵ He was born a Canadian and was proud to represent his people in their sport while playing for his home nation. Gretzky made it public that he was reluctant to move on from Edmonton, and he was even given the option to decline the trade because of his despondence over the potential move. But after some negotiating about price and some other accommodations, the “Great One” allowed the trade to proceed. Edmonton exchanged Gretzky and two other players whom he requested to join him for two players, three first-round NHL draft picks, and \$15 million.⁵⁶ McNall’s decision immediately paid off as the Kings and Gretzky became the talk of “Tinsel Town” with home game tickets selling at all-time highs. Despite the game’s creation in the harsh Canadian winter, the

people of sunny California quickly became hockey fans as they watched Gretzky score 54 goals in his first season in Los Angeles. Hockey fandom spread across the United States including Florida, Arizona, and Texas. With the popularity of the sport finally growing at the ambitious rate the league had hoped for decades, the NHL moved its headquarters from Montreal to New York City in 1989, officially becoming an American business. Gretzky's stint in Los Angeles from 1988 to 1996 helped build new NHL markets all over America. Without the massive trade orchestrated by McNall, the NHL would not have had the popularity in Anaheim, San Jose, Tampa, and Miami needed to expand there in the 1990s.⁵⁷ Canadians who had considered the sport a cornerstone of their culture watched as more franchises were created and moved to America. In 1995, Denver, Colorado became the new home of Quebec Nordiques⁵⁸, and Phoenix, Arizona adopted the Winnipeg Jets in 1996.⁵⁹ The total number of NHL franchises in Canada was lowered to just 6 of 30 by 2000, and of 11 new expansion teams created since the beginning of Gretzky's run in Los Angeles to the year 2010; only the Ottawa Senators were based in Canada.⁶⁰

The national in the National Hockey League may still refer to the nation of Canada, but the league itself is hardly Canadian. The NHL today consists of 32 teams; only seven are based in Canada. The league has placed franchises in hot weather cities where hockey can't be played casually like Tampa and Dallas, yet has not returned to a passionate Quebec City that has bidding for a new franchise since the departure of the Nordiques. Saskatoon, Hamilton, London, and Regina also have never had an NHL team despite all having a rich hockey history. Each of these cities has real advantages that they could provide to the NHL from large populations

to lack of inter-sport competition, yet they are rarely considered legitimate sites of expansion.⁶¹ The revived Winnipeg Jets are currently the youngest Canadian team in the league after being relocated from Atlanta in 2011, but the small market club has lost thousands of season ticket holders over the last three years. With revenues at all-time lows, the franchise has had to quell rumors of yet another relocation of the Jets to an American market such as Houston, Texas in the future.⁶² It is not solely the clubs that continue to be more American each passing year. According to a 2017 report by Business Insider, the game formerly played amongst Canadian gentlemen will be played by more Americans professionally in the NHL as soon as the year 2028.⁶³ The sport of hockey once represented the spirit of Canadians in the eyes of Lord Stanley will soon be played by more Americans.

The most crushing piece of evidence of the Americanization of the sport of hockey is what is described as the "Bettman Curse" by Canadian hockey fans. A few months before the Montreal Canadiens would win the 1993 Stanley Cup, American sports executive Gary Bettman assumed his role as NHL commissioner, a position he holds today. It is during Bettman's tenure that the NHL has expanded into what many people would consider "non-traditional" hockey markets like Tampa, Florida, and Phoenix, Arizona. This alone would have been enough to draw the ire of Canadian hockey fans, but since Bettman became commissioner almost 30 years ago, no Canadian team has won the Stanley Cup. Since Montreal's win in 1993, the symbol of Canadian sport that is the Stanley Cup has been lifted three times by the Tampa Bay Lightning, two times by the Los Angeles Kings, once each by the Anaheim Ducks and Dallas Stars, and none by Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Calgary,

Toronto, Ottawa, or Montreal. Coupled with the American-focused, Canadian-ignored expansion of the NHL, the 30-year “Curse” has fanned the flames for discussion on hockey’s Americanization through the NHL completely stripping Canada of its beloved sport.

One franchise has become the personification of the Americanization of the NHL in the eyes of Canadian hockey fans: The Vegas Golden Knights. Another team placed in a hot dry climate not naturally suited for hockey, the Golden Knights were given what many people considered preferential treatment before they even played a game. Due to the changes made to expansion franchise draft rules before their inaugural season in 2017-18, the league aimed to give the new franchise a competitive roster right away.⁶⁴ The Knights capitalized on their opportunity by reaching the Stanley Cup finals in their inaugural year and becoming instantly popular in Las Vegas. Many fans of other franchises accused the league of rigging the rules and even games in Vegas’s favor to capitalize on the budding sports market, which had not had any professional sports teams before it, giving the Knights the image amongst rival fanbases as “Bettman’s team”. Vegas continued to experience success the following seasons by making the playoffs four of their next five seasons, including winning more than half their games in all five. Their consistent success from their inception culminated in a 2023 Stanley Cup Championship, which they won on their home ice in Las Vegas, Nevada. To place into perspective, it has been 30 years since the Montreal Canadiens, one of the NHL’s oldest and most beloved franchises, won the Stanley Cup. The Toronto Maple Leafs have been waiting 55 years for the Stanley Cup to be theirs, the longest current drought in the league. The Jets, Senators, and Canucks have never won a Cup

in their history. Yet it took the Golden Knights six years to bring the prized trophy of Canadian sport to the middle of the Mojave Desert. To many Canadian hockey fans, the Vegas Golden Knights – an American team in a climate and market foreign to hockey that had all the advantages and publicity given to them by Commissioner Bettman from the start – is the Americanization of hockey playing on the ice.

Nowadays, Hockey resembles the spirit of America, a business looking for profit and new markets to cash in on, with no respect for the people who created and shaped the sport into what it is today. Even as many Canadians and foreigners alike associate hockey with the great north, the sport has no doubt come under the threat of Americanization, as well.

The Validity of Sport as a Cultural Stronghold

Sport is just as much of a vehicle for Americanization as any other facet of Canadian culture. Canadian football is threatened by a more refined and higher-quality product in the States, and hockey has been taken away from its roots and turned into an American business. Despite believing that it would curb them, the fears of Americanization of Canada are best realized in sports. Culture is protected best through the passion of the people who create it. It’s why art is seen as the best mode of promoting culture. But professional sport is not art. It is not meant to be a mode of story or a space to share your ideas. Professional sports leagues and the teams within them are businesses. Players and coaches are employees who are hired or fired based on their talent and paid with the money the customers or fans bring in to consume their product, which is the game being played. Profit is at the heart of American capitalism, and all sports

leagues' main objective is to generate as much profit as possible sometimes at the expense of culture. The United States has been built upon the seizing of opportunity and exploiting advantages its opponents do not have. There is a long history of America interfering in culture and politics, including Canada, to make profit more possible for its domestic business. The capitalist economy of the nation encourages the constant growth of businesses, which usually includes the expansion of new markets. A successful expansion into a new market can completely shift and change the culture of the city or nation that it is in. The NFL's talent and marketability were able to defect Southern Ontario to "NFL Territory," while the subpar play and cultural focus of the CFL now make it the second most popular football in its own country. It became an inferior product in the eyes of that market, and now the culture of Toronto and Hamilton has grown to appreciate the American sport rather than the Canadian. But the capitalist nature of Americanization is also alluring to those in foreign lands looking to make money in a manner they may not be able to elsewhere. Canada's proximity to the United States also means Canadian businesses and entrepreneurs can look to America for new opportunities. The NHL became the best league in Canada in 1927, but its potential for profitability was realized south of the border. America quickly became home to more NHL franchises as the smaller Canadian markets were ignored, and even the headquarters of the league moved to the United States. Americanization has taken two of the biggest pillars of Canadian national identity in sports, stripped the Canadians out, and made them their money machines. In short, the Americanization of culture is just a byproduct of the capitalist economy of the United States affecting culture through expansion into new markets and

offering business opportunities not available in other parts of the world. Unfortunately, Canada's proximity to the United States will continue to make it an easy new market for many American businesses to expand to as well as be a place of refuge for aspiring businesspeople to make profits. So, whether it is television, movies, imports, exports, politics, football, or even hockey if America remains the dominant cultural and economic superpower of the world, Canada will always be under the most severe threat of Americanization.

¹ Francis Fukuyama, "Why National Identity Matters," *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 4 (October 2018): 5-15.

² "Canadian Culture in a Global World," *Global Affairs Canada*, May 24, 2013, <https://www.international.gc.ca/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/topics-domaines/ip-pi/sagit-gcsce.aspx?lang=eng#:~:text=Culture%20is%20also%20a%20critical,must%20be%20preserved%20and%20nurtured>

³ Alix Hall, "Canada Named Second Most Progressive Country in the World," *Culture Trip (The Culture Trip)*, July 8, 2016), <https://theculturetrip.com/north-america/canada/articles/canada-named-2nd-most-progressive-country-in-the-world/>.

⁴ "Canadian Federal Government Apology to First Nations," *YouTube (YouTube)*, 2014), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xCpn1erz1y8>.

⁵ Samuel C. Craig, Susan P. Douglas, and Aronte Bennett, "Contextual and cultural factors underlying

Americanization." *International Marketing Review* 26, no. 1 (2009): 92.

⁶ Alan C. Cairns, "Political Science in Canada and the Americanization Issue," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 8, no. 2 (1975): p. 200, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0008423900045704>.

⁷ Ted Mager, Piers Handling, and Peter Morris, "Canadian Film History: 1896 to 1938," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, January 10, 2012, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/the-history-of-film-in-canada>.

⁸ "Canadian Doctors Look to Montana," *Billings Gazette*, July 7, 1962, 66th edition.

⁹ Alex Boutilier and Rachel Gilmore, "Far-Right Groups Hope Trucker Protest Will Be Canada's 'January 6th' - National," *Global News* (Global News, January 26, 2022), <https://globalnews.ca/news/8537433/far-right-groups-trucker-protest-jan-6/>.

¹⁰ Alan C. Cairns, "Political Science in Canada and the Americanization Issue," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 8, no. 2 (1975): 229-230, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0008423900045704>.

¹¹ Jason Morris, "Skating on Thin Ice: Hockey and the Canadian National Identity," *PROTEUS: A Journal of Ideas*, n.d., <https://www.ship.edu/globalassets/proteus/volume25.2-47-morris.pdf>.

¹² Adam Epstein, "How the Super Bowl Became an Unrivaled Us Cultural Phenomenon," *Quartz*, January 31, 2020,

<https://qz.com/1794113/how-the-nfl-super-bowl-became-a-cultural-phenomenon>.

¹³ Andrew C. Holman, "Canada's Game: Hockey and Identity," in *Canada's Game: Hockey and Identity*, edited by NAMES, PAGE# (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

¹⁴ Nenad Zivanovic et al., "Sports, Sports Idols and Idolatry," *Journal of Sports Science* 3, no. 6 (2015): 310-311, <https://doi.org/10.17265/2332-7839/2015.06.007>.

¹⁵ James H Marsh, Jeremy Freeborn, and Tabitha Marshall, "Ice Hockey in Canada," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, July 21, 2013, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/ice-hockey>.

¹⁶ "Canadian Football," McGill University, 2007, https://www.cs.mcgill.ca/~rwest/wikispeedia/wpcd/wp/c/Canadian_football.htm#:~:text=The%20first%20documented%20football%20match,at%20this%20st

¹⁷ "2022 Official CFL Rulebook on CFLdb." CFLdb. Accessed March 12, 2023. <https://cflfdb.ca/rulebook/>.

¹⁸ "The Official Rulebook of American Football for the National Football League" (New York City, NY, n.d.).

¹⁹ Donovan Bennett, Arash Madani, and Ryan Dixon, "Why the CFL Is Integral to Canada's Sporting Identity," *Sportsnetca*, June 23, 2017, <https://www.sportsnet.ca/football/cfl/cfl-integral-canadas-sporting-identity/>.

²⁰ "Grey Cup," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Encyclopædia

Britannica, inc.), accessed April 20, 2023, <https://www.britannica.com/sports/Grey-Cup>.

²¹ "Grey Cup," Encyclopædia Britannica. Baltimore Stallions (Baltimore, Maryland, United States) won the Grey Cup in 1995.

²² "Game Rule Ratio," CFL.ca, August 9, 2020, <https://www.cfl.ca/game-rule-ratio/>.

²³ "Game Rule Ratio."

²⁴ "Game Rule Ratio."

²⁵ "Game Rule Ratio."

²⁶ Michael Cantelon, *The Canadian Football League: Radically Canadian?* (Ottawa: National Library of Canada / Bibliothèque nationale du Canada, 2003), 56-57.

²⁷ Donovan Bennett, "Why the CFL Is Integral to Canada's Sporting Identity," 2017

²⁸ Matt Eichel, "CFL: 'This Is Our League,'" *National Post*, June 14, 2008.

²⁹ "It was a B.C. Year Pro Football," *Sports Illustrated*. December 5, 1994.

³⁰ "It was a B.C. Year," *Sports Illustrated*. NEED MONTH AND DAY, 1994.

³¹ "25 Years Ago, the Baltimore Stallions Ruled the CFL," *Rogers Sport Network*, June 13, 2020, [https://www.nbc-](https://www.nbc-sports.com/washington/ravens/25-years-ago-baltimore-stallions-ruled-cfl)

[sports.com/washington/ravens/25-years-ago-baltimore-stallions-ruled-cfl](https://www.nbc-sports.com/washington/ravens/25-years-ago-baltimore-stallions-ruled-cfl).

³² John Hodge, "How CFL Attendance Has Changed over the Past Fifty Years (with a Close Look at B.C. and Toronto)," *3DownNation*, March 25, 2021, <https://3downnation.com/2021/03/25/how-cfl-attendance-has-changed-over-the-past-fifty-years-with-a-close-look-at-b-c-and-toronto/>.

³³ Steve Simmons, "The Story behind the Day Toronto Owned the Football World," *Toronto Sun*, July 11, 2017, <https://torontosun.com/2017/07/11/simmons-the-story-behind-the-day-toronto-owned-the-football-world>. FB Larry Csonka, HB Jim Kiick, and WR Paul Warfield.

³⁴ John Gerard Valentine, "Football, Nationalism, and Protectionism: The Federal Defence of the CFL Football League," PhD Dissertation, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, December 1, 2016, <https://curve.carleton.ca/7e11adea-64a6-4352-a826-b81780c911fa>.

³⁵ Robert Trumbull, "Canada Acts to Keep Out New League," *New York Times*, April 11, 1974, p. 43.

³⁶ "Stamps Are for Marc," *Calgary Herald*, March 20, 1974, p. 47.

³⁷ Gary Picknell, "L.A. Loss Could Be T.O.'s Gain?" *National Post*, November 15, 1994, p. 53.

³⁸ "Super-lor Bowl? Most Canadian Football Fans Would Choose Super Bowl over Grey Cup, but Not Everywhere," *Angus Reid Institute*, February 21, 2023, <https://angusreid.org/nfl-vs-cfl-grey-cup-vs-super-bowl/>

³⁹ “Super-Ior Bowl?”

⁴⁰ “Dolphins Pound Bills, Keep Playoff Hopes Alive in Toronto,” ESPN, December 8, 2008, https://www.espn.com/nfl/recap/_/gameId/281207002.

⁴¹ “Landing White Whale Could Cost \$1-Billion,” National Post, November 26, 2013, p. B8.

⁴² “Landing White Whale Could Cost \$1-Billion.”

⁴³ “Poll Shows NFL Not Welcome in Canada If It Hurts CFL - Even in Toronto,” Yahoo! Sports, December 1, 2013, <https://ca.sports.yahoo.com/blogs/cfl-55-yard-line/poll-shows-nfl-not-welcome-canada-hurts-cfl-140008919.html>.

⁴⁴ Earl Zuckerman, “This Week in History (Mar. 3, 1875): World’s First Organized Hockey Game Was Played in Montreal,” McGill University Athletics (McGill University Athletics, March 2, 2023), <https://mcgillathletics.ca/news/2023/3/2/104900.aspx>.

⁴⁵ Lloyd L. Wong and Martine Dennie, “‘I Feel More Canadian with Hockey.’ Identity and Belonging via Ice Hockey in a Diverse Canada,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 53, no. 3 (2021): 183-217. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2021.0025>.

⁴⁶ Lesley Dawson, “The ‘Dominion Challenge’: Understanding Canadian National Identity Through the Development of Organized Hockey and the Birth of the Stanley Cup,” *Northwest Passages* 1, no. 1 (April 2014): 24. <https://pilotscholars.up.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002&context=nwpassages>.

⁴⁷ “National Hockey League,” Encyclopædia Britannica (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.), accessed April 18, 2023, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/National-Hockey-League>.

⁴⁸ John Kreiser, “Stanley Cup Timeline, from 1892 to Today,” NHL.com (NHL.com, March 18, 2013), <https://www.nhl.com/news/stanley-cup-timeline-from-1892-to-today/c-660570>.

⁴⁹ Kreiser, “Stanley Cup Timeline.”

⁵⁰ Cutler Klein, “From Six Teams to 31: History of NHL Expansion,” NHL.com (NHL.com, June 22, 2016), <https://www.nhl.com/news/nhl-expansion-history/c-281005106>.

⁵¹ Klein, “From Six Teams to 31.”

⁵² Jim Coleman, “A Week of Deflation for Poor Vancouver,” *Edmonton Journal*, January 29, 1969, p. 71.

⁵³ Klein, “From Six Teams to 31.”

⁵⁴ “Wayne Gretzky, ‘The Great One,’ Is Traded,” *Baxter Bulletin*, August 10, 1988.

⁵⁵ Tal Pinchevsky, “Gretzky Trade to Los Angeles Shocked Hockey World,” NHL.com (NHL.com, August 9, 2013), <https://www.nhl.com/news/gretzky-trade-to-los-angeles-shocked-hockey-world/c-679887>.

⁵⁶ Pinchevsky, “Gretzky Trade to Los Angeles Shocked Hockey World.” Kings received center Wayne Gretzky, defensemen Marty McSorley and center Mike Krushelnyski;

Edmonton received center Jimmy Carson, wing Martin Gelin, first-round draft picks in 1989, 1991 and 1993, and \$15 million.

⁵⁷ Nicholas Goss, "How the Wayne Gretzky Trade Changed Hockey in the United States," Bleacher Report, September 29, 2017. <https://bleacherreport.com/articles/1731020-how-the-wayne-gretzky-trade-changed-hockey-in-the-united-states>.

⁵⁸ Mike Stainkamp, "A Brief History: Colorado Avalanche," Bleacher Report, August 3, 2017. <https://bleacherreport.com/articles/431923-a-brief-history-colorado-avalanche>

⁵⁹ Michael Stainkamp, "A Brief History: Phoenix Coyotes," NHL.com, August 24, 2010. <https://www.nhl.com/news/a-brief-history-phoenix-coyotes/c-536186>.

⁶⁰ Klein, "From Six Teams to 31."

⁶¹ Nicholas Goss, "4 Traditional Hockey Cities That Don't Have an NHL Team but Should," Bleacher Report, October 2, 2017. <https://bleacherreport.com/articles/1327706-4-traditional-hockey-cities-that-dont-have-an-nhl-team-but-should>.

⁶² "Jets Ownership Issues Statement Causing Questions about Their Future in Winnipeg," Blade of Steel (H&L Media Inc, April 11, 2023), <https://www.bladeofsteel.com/jets-ownership-issues-statement-causing-questions-about-their-future-in-winnipeg-226428>.

⁶³ Cork Gaines, "The NHL Is on Pace to Have More American Players than Canadian Players in 11 Years," Business

Insider, November 18, 2017. <https://www.businessinsider.com/nhl-american-canadian-players-2028-2017-11#:~:text=If%20the%20trend%20seen%20over,30%25%20of%20all%20NHL%20players>.

⁶⁴ Alex Silverman, "The Bettman Legacy: Betting on Vegas," Sports Business Journal, May 15, 2023. <https://www.sportsbusinessjournal.com/Journal/Issues/2023/05/15/Sports-Business-Awards/las-vegas.aspx#:~:text=The%20Golden%20Knights'%20instant%20on,home%20game%20in%20franchise%20history>.

Bibliography

"2022 OFFICIAL PLAYING RULES OF THE NATIONAL FOOTBALL LEAGUE." New York City, NY: NFL Headquarters, n.d.

"25 Years Ago, the Baltimore Stallions Ruled the CFL." RSN, June 13, 2020. <https://www.nbcsports.com/washington/ravens/25-years-ago-baltimore-stallions-ruled-cfl>.

Bennett, Donovan, Arash Madani, and Ryan Dixon. "Why the CFL Is Integral to Canada's Sporting Identity." Sportsnet.ca, June 23, 2017. <https://www.sportsnet.ca/football/cfl/cfl-integral-canadas-sporting-identity/>.

Boutillier, Alex, and Rachel Gilmore. "Far-Right Groups Hope Trucker Protest Will Be Canada's 'January 6th' - National." Global News. Global News,

- January 26, 2022. <https://globalnews.ca/news/8537433/far-right-groups-trucker-protest-jan-6/>.
- “Canadian Culture in a Global World.” GAC, May 24, 2013. https://www.international.gc.ca/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/topics-domaines/ip-pi/sagit_gcsce.aspx?lang=eng#:~:text=Culture%20is%20also%20a%20critical,must%20be%20preserved%20and%20nurtured.
- “Canadian Doctors Look to Montana.” *Billings Gazette*. July 7, 1962, 66 edition.
- Canadian Federal Government Apology to First Nations*. YouTube. YouTube, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xCpn1erz1y8>.
- “Canadian Football.” McGill University, 2007. https://www.cs.mcgill.ca/~rwest/wikispeedia/wpcd/wp/c/Canadian_football.htm#:~:text=The%20first%20documented%20football%20match,at%20this%20stage%20are%20unclear.
- Cantelon, Michael. *The Canadian Football League: Radically Canadian?* Ottawa: National Library of Canada = Bibliothèque nationale du Canada, 2003.
- Cohen, Barney, Ronald R. Rindfuss, and Gary D. Sandefur. *Changing Numbers, Changing Needs American Indian Demography and Public Health*. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press, 1996.
- Coleman, Jim. “A Week of Deflation for Poor Vancouver.” *Edmonton Journal*, January 29, 1969.
- “Dolphins Pound Bills, Keep Playoff Hopes Alive in Toronto.” *ESPN*, December 8, 2008. https://www.espn.com/nfl/recap/_/gameId/281207002.
- Eichel, Matt. “CFL: ‘This Is Our League.’” Bleacher Report. Bleacher Report, June 8, 2018. <https://bleacherreport.com/articles/29676-cfl-this-is-our-league>.
- Epstein, Adam. “How the Super Bowl Became an Unrivaled US Cultural Phenomenon.” Quartz, January 31, 2020. <https://qz.com/1794113/how-the-nfl-super-bowl-became-a-cultural-phenomenon>.
- Gaines, Cork. “The NHL Is on Pace to Have More American Players than Canadian Players in 11 Years.” Business Insider. Business Insider, November 18, 2017. <https://www.businessinsider.com/nhl-american-canadian-players-2028-2017-11#:~:text=If%20the%20trend%20seen%20over,30%25%20of%20all%20NHL%20player>
- “Game Rule Ratio.” CFL.ca, August 9, 2020. <https://www.cfl.ca/game-rule-ratio/>.
- Gary Picknell. “L.A. Loss Could Be T.O.’s Gain?” *National Post*. November 15, 1994.
- Goss, Nicholas. “4 Traditional Hockey Cities That Don’t Have an NHL Team but Should.” Bleacher

Report. Bleacher Report, October 2, 2017. <https://bleacherreport.com/articles/1327706-4-traditional-hockey-cities-that-dont-have-an-nhl-team-but-should>.

Goss, Nicholas. "How the Wayne Gretzky Trade Changed Hockey in the United States." Bleacher Report. Bleacher Report, September 29, 2017. <https://bleacherreport.com/articles/1731020-how-the-wayne-gretzky-trade-changed-hockey-in-the-united-states>.

"Grey Cup." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed April 20, 2023. <https://www.britannica.com/sports/Grey-Cup>.

Hall, Alix. "Canada Named Second Most Progressive Country in the World." Culture Trip. The Culture Trip, July 8, 2016. <https://theculturetrip.com/north-america/canada/articles/canada-named-2nd-most-progressive-country-in-the-world/>.

Heidenreich, Phil. "City Committee Favours Proposal to Help Edmonton Elks Rebound from COVID-19 Pandemic - Edmonton." Global News. Global News, March 1, 2023. <https://globalnews.ca/news/9517306/edmonton-elks-cfl-commonwealth-stadium-lease-losses/#:~:text=The%20Elks%20say%20the%20football,over%20the%20last%20four%20seasons.&text=Cui%20said%20the%20COVID%2D19,financial%20misfortunes%20in%20recent%20years>.

Hodge, John. "How CFL Attendance Has Changed over the Past Fifty Years (with a Close Look at B.C. and Toronto)." 3DownNation, March 25, 2021. <https://3downnation.com/2021/03/25/how-cfl-attendance-has-changed-over-the-past-fifty-years-with-a-close-look-at-b-c-and-toronto/>.

Holman, Andrew C. Introduction. In *Canada's Game: Hockey and Identity*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014.

Klein, Cutler. "From Six Teams to 31: History of NHL Expansion." NHL.com. NHL.com, June 22, 2016. <https://www.nhl.com/news/nhl-expansion-history/c-281005106>.

Kreiser, John. "Stanley Cup Timeline, from 1892 to Today." NHL.com. NHL.com, March 18, 2013. <https://www.nhl.com/news/stanley-cup-timeline-from-1892-to-today/c-660570>.

Krol, Debra Utacia. "How a Native American Tribe Changed the Gambling Industry by Standing up to the FBI." USA Today. Gannett Satellite Information Network, May 20, 2022. <https://www.usatoday.com/in-depth/news/nation/2022/05/20/native-american-casinos-gaming-gambling-tribal-rights-free-speech-fbi-us-government-indians/9655379002/>.

"Landing White Whale Could Cost \$1-Billion." *National Post*. November 26, 2013.

- Lesley Dawson. "The 'Dominion Challenge': Understanding Canadian National Identity Through the Development of Organized Hockey and the Birth of the Stanley Cup." *Northwest Passages* 1, no. 1 (April 2014): 24. <https://pilotscholars.up.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002&context=nwpassages>.
- Liam. "Jets Ownership Issues Statement Causing Questions about Their Future in Winnipeg." *Bladeofsteel*. H&L Media Inc, April 11, 2023. <https://www.bladeofsteel.com/Jets-ownership-issues-statement-causing-questions-about-their-future-in-Winnipeg-226428>.
- Mager, Ted, Piers Handling, and Peter Morris. "Canadian Film History: 1896 to 1938." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, January 10, 2012. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/the-history-of-film-in-canada>.
- Marsh, James H, Jeremy Freeborn, and Tabitha Marshall. "Ice Hockey in Canada." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, July 21, 2013. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/ice-hockey>.
- Morris, Jason. "Skating on Thin Ice: Hockey and the Canadian National Identity." *PROTEUS: A Journal of Ideas*, n.d. <https://www.ship.edu/globalassets/teus/volume25.2-47-morris.pdf>.
- "National Hockey League." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed April 18, 2023. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/National-Hockey-League>.
- Nenad Zivanovic, Petar Pavlovic, Nebojsa Randjelovic, Danica PirsI, and Danijela Zivkovic. "Sports, Sports Idols and Idolatry." *Journal of Sports Science* 3, no. 6 (2015): 310–11. <https://doi.org/10.17265/2332-7839/2015.06.007>.
- Pinchevsky, Tal. "Gretzky Trade to Los Angeles Shocked Hockey World." *NHL.com*. NHL.com, August 9, 2013. <https://www.nhl.com/news/gretzky-trade-to-los-angeles-shocked-hockey-world/c-679887>.
- "Poll Shows NFL Not Welcome in Canada If It Hurts CFL - Even in Toronto." *Yahoo! Sports*. Yahoo!, December 1, 2013. <https://ca.sports.yahoo.com/blogs/cfl-55-yard-line/poll-shows-nfl-not-welcome-canada-hurts-cfl-140008919.html>.
- Reid, Angus. "Super-Ior Bowl? Most Canadian Football Fans Would Choose Super Bowl over Grey Cup, but Not Everywhere." *Angus Reid Institute*, February 21, 2023. <https://angusreid.org/nfl-vs-cfl-grey-cup-vs-super-bowl/>.
- Silverman, Alex. "The Bettman Legacy: Betting on Vegas." *Sports Business Journal*, May 15, 2023. <https://www.sportsbusinessjournal.com/Journal/Issues/2023/05/15/Sports-Business-Awards/las-vegas.aspx#:~:text=The%20Golden%20Knights'%20instant%20on,home%20game%20in%20franchise%20history>.
- Simmons, Steve. "The Story Behind the Day Toronto Owned the Football World." *Toronto Sun*, July 11, 2017. <https://torontosun.com/2017/07/11/>

simmons-the-story-behind-the-day-toronto-owned-the-football-world.

Stainkamp, Michael. "A Brief History: Phoenix Coyotes." NHL.com. NHL.com, August 24, 2010. <https://www.nhl.com/news/a-brief-history-phoenix-coyotes/c-536186>.

Stainkamp, Mike. "A Brief History: Colorado Avalanche." Bleacher Report. Bleacher Report, August 3, 2017. <https://bleacherreport.com/articles/431923-a-brief-history-colorado-avalanche>.

"Stamps Are for Marc." *Calgary Herald*, March 20, 1974.

Trumbull, Robert. "Canada Acts to Keep Out New League." *New York Times*, April 11, 1974.

Valentine, John Gerard. "Football, Nationalism, and Protectionism: The Federal Defence of the CFL Football League." CURVE. Carleton University, December 1, 2016. <https://curve.carleton.ca/7e11adea-64a6-4352-a826-b81780c911fa>.

"Wayne Gretzky, 'The Great One', Is Traded." *Baxter Bulletin*. August 10, 1988.

Wong, Lloyd L., and Martine Dennie. "'I Feel More Canadian with Hockey.' Identity and Belonging via Ice Hockey in a Diverse Canada." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 53, no. 3 (2021): 183–217. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2021.0025>.

Zuckerman, Earl. "This Week in History (Mar. 3, 1875): World's First Organized Hockey Game Was Played in Montreal." McGill University Athletics. McGill University Athletics, March 2, 2023. <https://mcgillathletics.ca/news/2023/3/2/104900.aspx>.

NICK FOLLETT

Elementary Education & History

Nick Follett is a dedicated student at Bridgewater State University, where he is pursuing majors in Elementary Education, Special Education, and History. Under the mentorship of Dr. Andrew Holman, Nicholas found inspiration for his writing through a unique blend of his passion for sports and a keen interest in American-Canadian relations, a subject illuminated in Dr. Holman's engaging class on Canadian History. Motivated by a genuine love for education and a desire to make a positive impact, Nick aspires to become a 5th-grade teacher upon graduation. His goal is not only to impart knowledge but also to serve as a positive role model for young men and women, nurturing their growth and development.