

# Tradition, Modernity, and the Construction of Civic Identity: The Calgary Olympics

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The fallacious notion that equates technical with social progress, inherent in many aspects of the Olympic movement, has rendered the hosting of the summer and winter festivals a rather expensive and grand scale operation.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, the projected financial windfalls and global attention, accompanying a 'properly' hosted event, make the Olympic enterprise a lucrative economic 'investment' to national and local governments, urban boosters, and, of course, members of the corporate sector. Obviously, the ability of the host city to accommodate the infrastructural requirements and to meet the arbitrarily determined social and political commitments is an important aspect of the Olympic bidding process. As such, cities adopt a cultural 'angle' to guide their thematic efforts, internationally, in securing a bid to host the Games, while the construction of local and national identities remains fundamental to the creation of public support for the process at home.

Comer and Harvey suggest that "[n]ational identity and self-sufficiency have become vulnerable to the new supremacy of global information flows, and the power of increasingly multinational grids of investment, production and marketing."<sup>2</sup> This is a particularly accurate assessment, when the so-called Olympic movement is considered.

In the process of mobilizing support at national and local levels for the hosting of the Winter Games at Calgary in 1988, the invocation of heritage and tradition in relationship to economic development and enterprise was important. Integral to the strategy of organizers, from the outset of bid development to the closing of the Games, following Harvey and Comer, "versions of identity and belonging" were projected by representations of heritage. Such compensation served to counteract the fragmentation which was implicit in the Olympic enterprise-based project as transnational endeavour, "along with its official melodies of opportunity and progress."<sup>3</sup> Calgarians had to be convinced that they had a stake in the outcome of the Games; as such, local cultural identity was closely linked to the imperatives of the organizing committee through the invocation of images of western heritage.<sup>4</sup>

In *It's How You Play the Game*, Frank King suggests that "[n]o other Olympic host city had ever resisted the departure of the flame so openly."<sup>5</sup> The chairman of the Calgary organizing committee's sentiments remained consistent with the official protocol of vacuous Olympic discourse, devoid of substantive meaning yet powerful

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and evocative enough to serve in the reproduction of the event which Juan Antonio Samaranch refers to as a “miracle of friendship.”<sup>6</sup> Predispositions of professional Olympics advocates aside, the fact remains that over 9,000 Calgarians volunteered countless hours of their time over several weeks in preparation for, and the hosting of, the Winter Games. Within the context of the polythetic significations of the Olympic ‘world’, constructed over the past 100 years, the importance of discursive strategies such as King’s insofar as they concern the large scale mobilization of Calgarians and the Olympic ideological and physical residue that remains in the city today, bears elaboration.

In the spring of 1993, on its early morning show, a local radio station announced that Lillehammer, Norway had withdrawn from hosting the Winter Olympics of 1994 and that the Games had been awarded to Calgary. The announcement, of course, turned out to be an April Fool’s joke - rather timely given some of the recently publicized problems experienced by the Norwegian organizers. Of interest, however, is the temporary excitement that was generated in Calgary by this seemingly simple prank, five years after the 1988 Games. The Olympic experience obviously had an impact on community pride in Calgary.

Hiller suggests that the Olympic experience was unique and should be “instructive” because it was transformed into something with which urban residents felt comfortable and in which they became involved.<sup>7</sup> In the social construction of identity through the experience of hosting the Games, an unmediated and absolute penetration of Olympic ideologies into civic consciousness was not at stake; rather, Calgarians were encouraged by organizers, through various aspects of participation, to identify with particular aspects of the Games, thereby aligning them more closely with officially produced significations. Although, as Hiller argues, the Games were transformed into an appealing and festive urban celebration, we disagree with his contention that the elitism of the Olympics was somehow negated in the process.<sup>8</sup> We would argue, following Bennett,<sup>9</sup> that civic training brought to bear through the bidding, preparation, and hosting phases of the Games reproduced a re-oriented kind of cultural consumer predisposed, thereafter, to accept a rationality of civic life and urban planning which was in fact constituted through a close alignment of urban boosterism with an elitist Olympic movement.<sup>10</sup>

The efficacy of such strategies is evident in Calgary’s relentless pursuit of international festivals, such as the World Police/Fire Games in 1997, the Rotary Convention of 1996, and the World Exposition of 2005, during the period following the Games. The lasting re-orientation is demonstrated by King’s confident assertion to have found, through the Olympics experience, the “built in volunteer hormone” of the Calgary citizenry.<sup>11</sup> Further evidence of this successful process of civic training is provided through the comments of Dave Gerlitz, the manager of the Olympic-style Calgary Corporate Challenge Games. Gerlitz argues that Calgarians are easily mobilized because of the 1988 Winter Olympics experience, suggesting, “It’s like preaching to the converted when this gets rolling.”<sup>12</sup>

Consequently, Olympic ideologies came to be accommodated or, perhaps more appropriate, incorporated in practice, through personal and local involvement and affiliation with the Games, as it were, a saturation of preconstructed experiences. The dominant public discourse produced by the IOC did not provide a channel for the

expression of critical reflection. Among citizens there are few critics of the Olympic movement in Calgary. Indeed, much of the local tourist and sporting infrastructure derives its symbolic value from the Olympic 'legacy' that the organizing committee had undertaken to create. When the bid to host the Games was secured in 1981, discursive strategies were immediately focused towards the idea of urban identity, images of modernity, and the financial windfall that could be generated by the Olympic Games.

### Images of Tradition and a Modern Calgary

In the aptly titled book, *Stampede City*, C. Reasons, briefly but critically, discusses the implications of city image construction. Reasons cites a tourism report, presented by Travel Alberta, in which visitors to the city claimed that Calgary was a "poor and superficial imitation of the 'true' cities of the world," trying to be something that it was not, "sophisticated, urbane and cosmopolitan" and even representing the worst characteristics of Toronto and Dallas.<sup>13</sup> In *The Urban Prairie*, Melnyk laments the limited penetration of urban images into the traditional and dominant mythologies of the West,<sup>14</sup> noting that identities are predominantly based on agricultural, 'backwoods' metaphors or often constructed through historical political tensions with the East. Indeed, in an effort to reproduce the perceived informality and friendliness of the city of Calgary, the bid representatives to Baden-Baden confidently served up the traditional flapjack breakfast of Calgary's annual Stampede; displayed uniformed members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police; the chief of the Blood tribe, Lambert Fox and his wife Yvonne; the Gary Buck Calgary Western band; and the Canadian Brass.<sup>15</sup> Part of the formal bid, however, was predicated on the existence of modern urban facilities, i.e., a demonstrated ability to accommodate large numbers of people, and, less formally, on the images of Western hospitality projected as historical tradition. In the end, when the bid was secured, however, the construction of a new, modern image of the city of Calgary on a world stage became a convenient metaphor for federal, provincial, and local spending and enthusiasm.

In November of 1982 an article appearing in the *Calgary Herald*, elaborating on the problems of site selection, was juxtaposed with a piece on the high rates of unemployment in the city and the slow-down in construction.<sup>16</sup> With soaring figures of office, warehouse, and housing vacancies,<sup>17</sup> the time was opportune for local elites to secure and legitimize an influx of government capital, initiate huge construction projects, and promote the imputed economic gains promised to accrue for the city from hosting the Games.

Ever since Edmonton was awarded the status of provincial capital and named the site of the provincial university early in the century, Edmonton and Calgary have engaged in a rivalry in commerce, tourism, and sporting competition. With Edmonton hosting the Commonwealth Games in 1978, and later the World University Games, the notion of government-funded facilities and improved infrastructures linked to the showcasing of one's city became more a matter of civic prerogative than merely of subsidized economic development. Based on the recent successes of its professional sporting teams, the Oilers of the National Hockey League and the Eskimos of the

Canadian Football League, Edmonton has claimed the title of 'City of Champions', and erected signs to that effect at all major interprovincial highways. The awarding of the Winter Games to Calgary, of course, provided further grist for the mills of the local boosters.

Calgary's uneasy political and economic relationship with the cities of central Canada was also a significant factor in the promotional campaign of Games organizers. Although not accurate for all Calgarians, as Reasons argues:

If there is one thing uniting nearly all Calgarians, it is an anti-Eastern, anti-federal government ideology. As self-appointed protectors and promoters of free enterprise, Calgarians believe many of the policies and practices of the federal government undermine rugged individualism, free-spirited competition and economic success.<sup>18</sup>

As Bennett argues for Brisbane and Expo '88, a similar construction of city image holds for Calgary: in this sense, the Olympics served as an "instrument that was both to effect and signal its transformation from a provincial backwater into a world city representing the very cutting-edge of modernity."<sup>19</sup>

In resolving the tensions that existed in promoting the traditional features of Stampede hospitality and heritage in concert with the spirit of progress and modernity, ostensibly embodied in the global presentation of Olympic rituals and events, organizers adopted discursive strategies that emphasized only the most 'modern' aspects of the festival. Mayor Ralph Klein exclaimed, "This is our chance to tell the world we are a major player in North America"<sup>20</sup> - Calgarians were encouraged to think globally, implicitly adducing 'world class' status for the city from the Olympics' global television coverage. Frank King even enlisted the metaphor of 'western backwardness' in the same cause, turning a supposed disadvantage into a marketable asset, when he suggested: "We are a vibrant, modern city eagerly awaiting the opportunity to be introduced to the world...Our mountains, foothills and sparkling clean air will provide an ideal arena for fair athletic competition."<sup>21</sup> To follow, so the argument implied, was a massive influx of tourist dollars into the city of Calgary and the local ski industry; and a permanent Olympic 'legacy' to be utilized by Calgarians and admired by visitors in the future. In a sense, Calgary was to be vaulted ahead of national time, temporarily, as 'the' place to be, basking in the glow of world attention.<sup>22</sup> Within this context, the reputation of the city and its inhabitants as gracious hosts was invoked immediately; critical concerns about the Olympic movement were never raised and resistance to the event was limited to differences of opinion over site selection and the hiring and firing of personnel.

### **Codes of Consumption**

**I**n establishing the Olympics as a field of cultural production<sup>23</sup> over the past 100 years, members of the IOC have successfully assumed the role of purveyors of the 'bland'. Olympic ideologies, produced and reproduced, altered constantly to fit the shifting political currents created by dominant nations, represent categorical frameworks of "circular ideas."<sup>24</sup> In this field, regulated by the IOC and its massive

infrastructure of administrative and intellectual supporters, there is little room for the critical examination of such concepts. Hence, the production of standardized meaning is carried forward strategically through every event and through the tertiary programs operating between festivals. The history of contradictions and current practices such as: the questions of amateurism, corporate financing, the promotion of nationalism under the auspices of world peace; the reproduction of particular ways of seeing by the IOC and sport federations as *the* way of seeing; patriarchal hierarchizing and gender distinctions in performance indicators and assessments; commodification and quantification of human endeavours at the expense of health and safety; the legitimation of corporate ideologies and practices is obscured by a dominant discourse invoking notions of global harmony.<sup>25</sup>

Although some individuals exercised a passive resistance by not participating or by leaving town during the event, public resistance to the hosting of the Games was limited to a protest organized by the Lubicon Cree Indians of Northern Alberta, against 'The Spirit Sings' exhibition of Native artifacts at the Glenbow Museum. Responding to an intervention by the band, 29 museums refused to participate in the event that was sponsored by Shell Canada and the federal government. The boycott was organized in response to abusive treatment of the Lubicon by the federal government and the destruction of trap lines by oil companies. Essentially, the Lubicon, accused of attempting to 'spoil Calgary's show', were ignored. Historically, dominant cultural attitudes towards Native peoples in Canada have been and remain consistently oppressive. The names of Calgary streets (Crowfoot, Deerfoot, Blackfoot Trails, etc.), shopping malls, and even the site of the downhill skiing events, Nakiska, romanticize and invoke a symbolic connection with Native culture, yet legitimize Native tradition only in name. The outward 'partnership' displayed between the corporate Games and Native traditions utilized in ceremonies, insignia, medal designs, and the native dancers at Baden-Baden served as grim reminders of the weak attempts by Canadians to conceal historical oppressive relations between cultures, a rather hideous past, and a tension-filled present. A message to portray successful multi-culturalism in Canada was an important subtext of the Games.<sup>26</sup>

Frank King utilized the metaphor of the Olympics as "a priceless gift entrusted to Calgary,"<sup>27</sup> demonstrating a clear perception of the event as a pre-designed ideology and standard facilities caravan that travels from city to city every four years. Indeed, what followed in the seven years after Calgary was proclaimed host to the XVth Winter Games by Samaranch, was an intensive educational program of Olympic discourse directed by the organizing committee toward the media, citizens, volunteers, and children of Calgary and surrounding areas. By the time the Games opened in 1988, Calgaryans were saturated by 'Olympic' information. Volunteers, in the end totalling approximately 9,400, were provided with codes of conduct and information packages, including a series of self-tests on Olympic-related information. For these people, required to work countless hours, the Olympic experience was preconstructed. They were reminded in their *Volunteer Training Manual* that "Calgary is famous for its hospitality and true western warmth," to "smile and be friendly," that "the time you are on duty, you are 'at work' - please behave accordingly," to be "well groomed and aware of overall appearance" and "to be

sensitive towards cultural differences and have a genuine interest in people from diverse cultures.” Even the “genuine” was subject to policing.

As is the case with all Olympic festivals, attention was directed through various texts and subtexts toward dominant cultural messages that were encoded in the multi-media presentations of the host city and country. Calgary’s corporate-driven economy, oil-boom skyscrapers, and the transnational sponsorship of the Games were highly visible aspects of the Olympic production process. Behind the scenes, an analogous corporate mentality and bureaucratic control was enforced by the Games’ organizers’ the name of efficiency and success through a “screw it, let’s get it done” approach.<sup>28</sup> Following a brief period of unrest among staff and some employee and volunteer conflicts, a ‘pep-talk’ was provided to the Calgary Games’ staff by the corporate-fashioned 1984 Olympics orchestrator, Peter Ueberroth, who suggested that firing and resignation were just part of the process.<sup>29</sup>

Yet, some tension or identity crisis, rooted in the contradictions of the corporate order was evident in the images and ideologies being promoted to Calgarians, particularly in the case of ‘educating’ the volunteers to develop the appropriate attitude. Further, Reasons’ assertions relative to the invocation of free-enterprise, rugged individualism, and free-spirited competition are particularly relevant in view of the underlying philosophy that organizers expressed in the *Volunteer Training Manual*:

Calgary is a western city, unique in Canada. It was founded by rugged pioneers who valued the warmth and friendliness of humans meeting in the wide and vast expanses of the west. Our city grew, fuelled by industries that thrived on risk and vitality. Today we are a modern city, culturally rich, technologically fruitful, and future oriented. But in our best tradition we still retain the qualities that distinguished the pioneers.<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps the identity crisis unfolding from the modernizing project of volunteer education, ensuring that the workforce was up to the Olympic task, is best represented in the *Manual’s* capsule history of the city that reads: “In spite of its reputation, Calgary is not a cowboy town.”<sup>31</sup>

In attempts to resolve the contradictions posed by the project of modernity, local elites invoked a festival atmosphere, counterposing the rigidity of corporate hierarchy and order. This, of course, remained a stark contrast to the discourse of futuristic vision and technological advance. Mayor Klein announced before the Games: “hold on to your stetsons and prepare for a global hangover, Calgary style.”<sup>32</sup> Although the content was muddled, the message was clear - have fun but behave yourself, the world is watching. As Hiller suggests, an urban festival was created.<sup>33</sup> Calgarians flocked to Olympic Plaza nightly, to enjoy the celebratory atmosphere of medal presentations and fireworks. Attendance averaged 35,000 each night. Yet, Hiller’s assumptions about the levelling process apparently created by the presence of English ski jumper Eddy ‘the Eagle’ Edwards and the Jamaican bobsled team are misplaced. He suggests that the ordinary image projected by these athletes brought them closer to the populace, in an inversion of elitism. Edwards’ appearance on the Johnny Carson show, the radio song of the sled team, and the t-shirt sales promoting both parties did

not encourage social 'levelling'; rather, a different sort of celebrity status was constructed through tertiary social exchanges that brought more public attention to the non-egalitarian values promoted through the Olympic Games. Even though the performances of these athletes and their social exchanges outside of competition could not be ignored by the IOC, the boundaries of the pre-constructed Olympic experience were never crossed. Although participation in the production of Olympic culture may have been satisfying and enjoyable for the average Calgarian, the ideas of glory and Olympic celebrity and connected rewards were only attainable through symbolic affiliations and vicarious consumption. We do not deny that Calgarians shared extraordinary social experiences during the Games; but it has to be said that the spontaneous authenticity of unmediated experience does not obviate the need for critical analysis.

As Inglis argues, ideologies both "general and vague...allow groups and classes to find in them what suits them, and makeshift a social identity out of that."<sup>34</sup> The boundaries of cultural experience - or opportunities for finding an identity - had been delineated by organizers, federal, provincial, and local politicians, and through the distributed ideologies of the Olympic movement in the years leading up to the Games. Similar to what Bennett suggests for Expo '88 and the people of Brisbane, citizens of Calgary were "rehearsing new consumption codes in a custom-built environment."<sup>35</sup> Citizens and volunteers had to be educated; they had to be modernized.

Calgarians became active consumers of the Olympic experience they themselves helped to produce. Formal education was not limited to volunteers, however; a massive campaign directed toward schools was initiated prior to the Games. Olympic Education Resource Kits providing information about Olympic values and events were distributed to 13,500 elementary schools across the country. Children were encouraged to be knowledgeable about all events related to the Olympics, to be excited about the Games, and to participate in various Olympic-related projects. Almost a half-million Alberta students were involved in these curriculum activities. A similar sort of information distribution was conducted for Expo '86 in the schools of British Columbia, what Ley and Olds refer to as attempts to "rivet public consciousness."<sup>36</sup>

## **Olympic Residue**

**T**he legacy promised by the organizing committee - facilities, civic and national pride, and general Olympic hype - was delivered. While Reasons correctly anticipated the value of the legacy to the average Calgarian, he did not foresee the ideological remnants that had been constructed during and after the Games and would be continuously reproduced by professional Olympic facility support staff and volunteer Olympic enthusiasts in the city. The Olympic facilities have become a significant part of the urban landscape and the tourist programs in Calgary. The Olympic experience is constantly invoked in support of locally-held national and international events and competitions, funded by the large trust accounts left from the profits collected in 1988. Olympic symbols remain highly visible in Calgary in such places as the transit system, Olympic Plaza, Canada Olympic Park, and the University

of Calgary. Further, the Olympic Hall of Fame and Museum, funded through a private donation, held public events to create enthusiasm in conjunction with the 1994 Winter Games and the 1996 Summer Games. The University of Calgary, similar to the tourism programs of the city, utilizes the Olympic image and the idea of world class facilities to market itself to prospective students and to legitimize its position within the community. The symbolic ties to the Olympic movement are unavoidable when civic or local image is in question, or, even more particularly, when urban landscape utilization is concerned.

The residual outgrowth of these deep ideological inscriptions is particularly evident in the collective imagination of the city, where matters of the Calgary Olympic experience or current issues of the Games are concerned. Similar to the IOC's strategies regulating access to information, the 'official' records remaining, although extensive, are only those documents that the organizing committee had transported to the city archives. Records and memorabilia from the Games are split between the city of Calgary Olympic Archives, Olympic Museum, and University of Calgary libraries. Tourism, urban boosterism and civic image, citizens' personal experiences with the Games, and Calgary's position relative to the rest of the nation are closely linked to the hosting of the Games in 1988. Consequently, close ideological alignments of officials, staff personnel, and volunteers to the Calgary Games, make any sort of critical analysis a rather difficult project.

In the post-Games period, it is evident that citizens were indeed educated for a pre-arranged future, where participation in various aspects of Olympic consumption could be directly linked to personal experiences and memories of 1988. In this sense, opportunities were provided on a grand scale for citizens to grasp some aspect of identity from the preconstructed 'ideologies' that were widely distributed before, during, and after the Games. More significant and permanent, however, is the position these ideologemes have assumed in the process of construction of individual identity, producing a new form of cultural capital which was then transformed into a stake in the game of establishing dominant civic significations and a new sense of heritage. It would not have mattered if Calgary had been a cowboy town.

## Notes

1. The contradictions produced by these fallacies have been described in detail by John Hoberman in *Mortal Engines: The Science of Performance and the Dehumanization of Sport*, New York: The Free Press, 1992; and *The Olympic Crisis: Sports, Politics and the Moral Order*, New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas, 1986. See also, Douglas Booth and Colin Tatz, "Swimming with the big boys? The Politics of Sydney's 2000 Olympic Bid," *Sporting Traditions*, 11(1) Nov. 1994, pp. 3-24.
2. J. Comer and S. Harvey, "Mediating tradition and modernity: the heritage/enterprise couplet," in Comer and Harvey, eds., *Enterprise and Heritage, Crosscurrents of National Culture*, London and New York: Routledge, 1991, p. 45.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
4. Examples of this strategy are explored below with reference to the bid process and appeals to Calgarians to make donations and volunteer for various duties related to hosting the Games.

5. F.W. King, *It's How You Play the Game: The Inside Story of the Calgary Olympics*, Calgary: Script: the writers' group, inc., 1991, p. 2.

6. *Olympic Review*, March, 1988, p. 84.

7. H. Hiller, "The Urban Transformation of a Landmark Event: The 1988 Calgary Winter Olympics," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 26, 1, Sept. 1990, p. 132.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

9. T. Bennett, "The Shaping of Things to Come: Expo '88," *Cultural Studies*, 5 (2), 1991, p. 30-51.

10. Not surprisingly, this modernizing project was facilitated through corporate 'partnerships' - promoting political and economic enterprises through the alignment of national and transnational corporations with international sport festivals.

11. *Calgary Herald*, April 20, 1996.

12. *Calgary Herald*, May 30, 1996.

13. C. Reasons, ed., *Stampede City: Power and Politics in the West*, Toronto: Between the Lines, 1984, p. 10.

14. See the chapter by S. Melnyk in D. Ring, ed., *The Urban Prairie*, Saskatoon: Mendel Art Gallery and Fifth House Publishers, 1993, p. 136.

15. King, *op.cit.*, p. 85.

16. *Calgary Herald*, Nov. 11, 1982.

17. *Alberta Report*, 11,(36), Aug 27, 1984.

18. Reasons, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

19. Bennett, *op.cit.*, p. 32. For further discussion of this point, see K.B. Wamsley and David Whitson, "Representations of Competitiveness: International Sport Festivals and Expositions in the Production of National Identity," paper presented to the North American Society for Sport History, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1993.

20. *Maclean's*, 101(8), Feb. 15, 1988.

21. *Olympic Review*, No. 243-244, 1988, p.9.

22. From Bennett, *op.cit.*, p. 32

23. P. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production. Essays on Art and Literature*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

24. On this see, F. Inglis, *Popular Culture and Political Power*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988, pp. 123-126.

25. On these critical issues, see A. Tomlinson and G. Whannel, eds. *Five Ring Circus: Money, Power and Politics at the Olympic Games*, London and Sydney: Pluto Press, 1984, (particularly Rick Gruneau's "Commericalism and the modern Olympics," pp. 1-15); Hoberman, *The Olympic Crisis*, and *Mortal Engines*; Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical issues in the history and sociology of*

women's sports, London and New York: Routledge, 1994; and Booth and Tatz, "Swimming with the Big boys?"

26. See C.F. Feest, "Glenbow incident: the Spirit Sinks," *European Review of Native American Studies*, 1, 1987, pp. 61-63; M. Myers, "Glenbow Affair," *Inuit Art Quarterly*, 3, Winter, 1988, pp. 12-16; and the coverage of the boycott in *Windspeaker*. For an analysis of the importance of Olympic significations for the field of Native sports in northern Canada, see M.K. Heine and H. Scott, "Cognitive Dichotomies: 'Games', 'Sports', and Dene Cultural Identity," *Communications and Cognition*, Vol. 27, (3) (1994) pp. 321-336.

27. King, op.cit., p. 106.

28. Bill Pratt, president of the organizing committee, also quoted as being known for his intolerance of "bullshit and wimps," *Alberta Report*, 15(9), Feb. 15, 1988. Numerous staff and volunteers were 'let go' after having 'philosophical differences' with Pratt.

29. *Alberta Report*, 14(48), Nov. 16, 1987.

30. *Volunteer Training Manual* (Produced by The Organizing Committee), p. 21.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

32. *Calgary Herald*, Sat. Feb. 6, 1988.

33. Hiller, op.cit.

34. Inglis, op.cit., p. 108.

35. Bennett, op.cit., p. 68.

36. D. Ley and K. Olds, "Landscape as Spectacle: World's Fairs and the Culture of Heroic Consumption," *Society and Space*, 1988, 6, p. 202.