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CENTRE FOR SPORT POLICY STUDIES

CENTRE FOR SPORT POLICY STUDIES RESEARCH REPORTS

RACE AND SPORT IN CANADA

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RACE AND SPORT IN CANADA

Foreword

The Centre for Sport Policy Studies (CSPS) is very pleased to re-publish an historical piece of research on the topic of race and sport in Canada. Its rediscovery in Peter Donnelly's papers was timely: it is 50 years since the paper was first presented; issues of race in sport and race relations in society are more relevant than ever; and the re-publication coincides with Black History Month, 2021. This Foreword is intended to provide some history and context for the paper, and to recognize its significance.

History

As far as we are aware, this was the first empirical research in Canada on the topic of race and sport or, more specifically, anti-Black racism in the sport of professional football. In 1970 Garry Smith was teaching courses at (what was then) the University of Western Ontario, and taking some directed studies courses in Sociology that were to be applied to his PhD programme at the University of Alberta beginning in 1971. Carl Grindstaff was a professor in the Sociology Department at Western, and directed the study that led to this paper. Smith notes that "Carl Grindstaff was an excellent mentor... because of his enthusiasm for the project and his scholarly background in racial prejudice and discrimination" (personal communication, November 26, 2020). When Smith explained his interest in the circumstances for Black players in the CFL and Grindstaff agreed to supervise a directed studies course, they decided that the main deliverable was to be an academic conference paper

The resulting paper was presented at a meeting of the Canadian Association of Sport Sciences (CASS) in October, 1970 (Laval University, Québec City). The mimeographed version of the original paper (re-published here) was distributed widely, and was acknowledged the next year in LaVerne Barnes' book, *The Plastic Orgasm* (1971), an exposé of racism and exploitation in the Canadian Football League (CFL). She noted: "The following have been of invaluable assistance during the writing of this book: *Race and Sport in Canada*, Smith & Grindstaff; *Canadian Football: The Grey Cup Years* [1969], Frank Cosentino; *The Revolt of the Black Athlete* [1969], Harry Edwards" (p. 5).¹

Versions of the paper were published in the CASS conference proceedings (Smith and Grindstaff, 1972b), and in a short-lived Black studies journal published in Montréal – *The Black I* (Smith and Grindstaff, 1972a). Academic citations of any version of the paper are quite limited (e.g., Ball, 1973; Best, 1987; Loy, 1972; Stebbins, 1993; Valentine & Darnell, 2012) but, as noted subsequently, studies of anti-Black racism in Canadian sport have also been extremely limited.

Context

The 1960s were "a landmark in the struggles for social change – for freedom, equality and human rights" (Donnelly, 2010, p. 2). In North America and elsewhere, along with the movements seeking peace and nuclear disarmament were struggles to end poverty and achieve independence from colonialism, civil rights, women's rights, and the expansion and formalization of activism by people with a disability, Indigenous peoples and LGBTQ2SI+ communities.

"During the 1960s nationalism flourished in Canada and grew to combat two major concerns – the rise of nationalism in Quebec and the growing influence of American culture in Canada" (Valentine, 2019, p. 376).² Concerns about Americanization were widely expressed (e.g., Lumsden, 1970), and sport became a key component of government efforts to promote pan-Canadian nationalism. In the paradoxical situation of the CFL, a Canadian-owned professional football league which was dominated by American coaches, managers and star players, the federal government acted twice to sustain the CFL as a symbol of Canadian-ness: first to prevent Canadian teams from joining a professional football league in the USA; and second to prevent US professional teams from joining the CFL (Valentine, 2019).

The Americanization of the CFL has been well documented by Cosentino (1969, 1995). Cosentino was one of the last Canadian-born quarterbacks to play in the CFL; subsequently he became a Professor of sport history at York University. Canada-US tensions are evident in Smith and Grindstaff's study, and while they find some evidence of the 'stacking' of (mostly American) Black players in certain playing positions, Ball (1972) confirmed their suspicions that another form of stacking was occurring -- that of American players in what were defined by coaches as the high-skill positions, and Canadian players in the low-skill positions. Ball's findings about stacking were still evident in the 1980s (Stebbins, 1995).

American players were first recruited to Canadian professional football in the 1930s, but as an indication of Jim Crow's influence over the northern border, Black players were not recruited until after the Second World War.³ Evidently encouraged by the success and popularity of Jackie Robinson playing for the Montréal Royals (in 1946, one year before breaking the US baseball 'colour bar' with Brooklyn in 1947), the American General Manager of the Montréal Alouettes (Lew Hayman) recruited Herb Trawick as the first Black player in the Canadian professional football in 1946. This was the start of the 'gridiron underground' (Wallen, 2019; Wallen & Armstrong, 2017), a growing stream of Black American football players to Canada that is well documented by Smith and Grindstaff.⁴

Also evident from Smith and Grindstaff's interviews with CFL players during the late 1960s is a consciousness of the civil rights movement in the US. All of the players, Black and White, would have been aware of and seen images of Tommy Smith and John Carlos' protest at the Mexico City Olympics in 1968 (Hartmann, 2003); they would have known of Muhammad Ali's conversion to Islam, the refusal of the draft board to recognize his application for conscientious objector status, and his banning from boxing in 1966 (the ban was still in effect when Smith and Grindstaff's paper was written in 1970); and of the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy in 1968. The players would have grown up in the civil rights era, from its first

landmark decision in the US Supreme Court in 1954 (Brown vs. Board of Education ruling against segregated public education – still not fully realized almost 70 years later) to the increasing struggle to achieve social justice through the 1960s (and still ongoing).

Wallen draws the 'underground railroad' analogy with his title (*Gridiron Underground*) and, as in the early to mid-19th century, there was again some expectation of following the North Star to freedom. But just as for those who traveled the underground railroad, Canada was not necessarily a welcoming place for Black football players. Freedom from enslavement did not necessarily mean freedom from struggle for those who traveled North, and the struggle continued in the 1960s and beyond for Black football players. The interviews reported by Smith and Grindstaff provide rich insights into the experiences of those players: the racism they faced was often from teammates, coaches and managers -- fellow Americans, especially those from the South, and also some Canadian players. They also experienced offensive behaviour from White Canadians in the communities where they lived and played.

A widespread myth, also perpetuated by one of the interviewees in Wallen and Armstrong's 2017 documentary film, held that prejudice by Americans from the South resulted from hatred, but prejudice by Canadians resulted from ignorance; an ignorance that resulted, in part, from widespread exposure to American racial attitudes in the cultural products that were pouring across the border. However, as many scholars have demonstrated, the disproportionate disenfranchisement of Blacks in Canada is based on a wide range of hatreds, biases, and aversions similar to the USA (e.g., Backhouse, 1999; Mensah, 2010; Winks, 1997). Focusing on a comparison with the United States downplays the extent of racial violence and discrimination in Canada prior to the 1960s, and since.

Significance

As LaVerne Barnes, who was married to Black American CFL player, Emery Barnes, wrote:

[R]acism in the CFL is very real. All kinds of injustices and little humiliations happen to black ball players. The media know it, the management knows it, and the ball players themselves are keenly aware of it. But it is something that isn't talked about. In public. It is very unchic to rap about racism in the CFL, out loud. About the way black ball players are traded and put on waivers for socializing with white girls. About the quota system and the stacking of black ball players at certain positions on any team. Always a halfback, seldom a quarterback, never a centre. About the cities of Vancouver, Regina and Winnipeg that are well-known in the league for being less likely to have many black ball players. But the most blatant racism occurs in the power structure (1971, p. 199).

Barnes combined data from Smith and Grindstaff with her own experiences as a White woman married to a Black football player in Canada, and the experiences of her husband and his team mates.

Given the reports about racism in the CFL, and given that a number of Black American players spoke to Canadian media about the racism in the league and the communities where they played (Longley, et al., 2007, 2008; Valentine & Darnell, 2012), there was surprisingly little follow-up in Canada from the academic community or those governing the CFL. There have been very few studies of anti-Black racism in Canadian sport. Apart from two subsequent studies on *stacking* (assigning players to playing positions based on racist stereotypical assumptions about their physical and mental characteristics) in the CFL (Ball, 1973; Stebbins, 1995), we have been unable to find any other studies of anti-Black racism in Canadian sport until the late-1990s (Jackson, 1998; Wilson, 1997, 1999).

The specific themes relating to incidences and experiences of racism in CFL during the 1960s that are raised by Smith and Grindstaff were not revisited until this century (Longley, et al., 2007, 2008; Valentine and Darnell, 2012). These studies are valuable additions, relying primarily on media sources. We now recognize the stand-alone significance and timeliness of Smith and Grindstaff's paper, and point to its two-fold contributions:

Quantitative -- Olsen (1968) and Edwards (1969) proposed the existence of quotas, and even in the 1950s some journalists were beginning to recognize, for example, that team 'A' would never have more than one or two Black players on the field at a time.⁵ Smith and Grindstaff's interviews and systematic data on participation provide quite clear support for the existence of an unwritten quota system in the CFL.

Similarly, although there were some suggestions in sports media and by players about 'stacking', Loy and McElvogue's first systematic study of stacking in US professional football and baseball had only been presented as a paper at the 3rd International Workshop of International Committee for the Sociology of Sport at Magglingen (SWITZERLAND) in September, 1969 (it was not published until later in 1970). Smith obtained a copy of the workshop paper from John Loy and used Canadian data to produce what is likely the first replication of Loy & McElvogue's study (the first of many, many subsequent replications; see, for example, Best (1987) for a small meta-analysis of stacking studies).

Qualitative – Smith and Grindstaff's interviews capture the voices of CFL players, something that did not happen again in a systematic way until Stebbins' (1987) book, *Canadian Football: The View from the Helmet*. Interviews such as these capture a time and a place, and help to give context – these are Black and White players talking about racial discrimination in football at the height of a very active period in the civil rights movements in Canada and the United States.

Perhaps a key aspect of the significance of this research is the way that it exposes the gap between what Black and White players believed was occurring and, more generally, how Canadians saw themselves, and the way they were experienced by Black American football players. Our understanding of that gap – the rather self-satisfied assumption by Canadians that they were not racist (at least in comparison to their American neighbours) – was developed by Longley, et al. (2007, 2008) and Valentine and Darnell (2012). Longley, et al. reveal the gap with

the question mark in their sub-titles ("An escape from racism?" and "An escape from discrimination?"), and the assumption is challenged further by Valentine and Darnell:

The dominant assumption in Canadian football [and, as Smith and Grindstaff and others pointed out, in the larger Canadian society] – perpetuated in the popular press and even by some players – in response to claims and descriptions of racism has been to position Canada as tolerant relative to the United States. Such responses are intelligible in the ways they lay claim to Canadian racial innocence despite its origins as a land of White settlement and entitlement (Razack, 1998)... Any shift on the part of Black football players in the CFL from invisible subjects to outspoken critics of Canadian racism tended to result in more finger pointing at American culture and claims to relative innocence rather than critical reflection on racism in the game or culture of Canada (2012, pp. 72-4).

Some Black American players settled successfully in Canada after their playing career: for example, Emery Barnes became an MLA and Speaker of the House in British Columbia; Bernie Custis⁶ became a schoolteacher, principal, and head coach at McMaster University. Others recognized their privilege and celebrity in comparison to other Black people in Canada, but still were often unable to find housing or jobs for which they were qualified. And, as Smith and Grindstaff note, many Black players returned to the USA following their playing career.

Desmond Cole's recent book, *The Skin We're In* (2020), suggests that magical thinking about race still exists in Canada -- the idea that being less racist than the United States somehow makes Canada not a racist society, despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary (from inter-generational trauma among Indigenous people, to anti-Black police violence, to violence against Muslim Canadians, and abuse of East Asian Canadians based on fake news about the current pandemic). The recently published report on anti-Black racism in the McMaster University Athletics programme (Joseph, 2020) is one indication of how far there is still to go.

Black Leadership in the CFL

One of Smith and Grindstaff's key findings concerns retired Black players being 'denied access to the power structure' despite their qualifications and the desire by some to become leaders. The 'power structure' includes important leadership positions in the CFL such as Head Coach (HC) and General Manager (GM). The CFL justifiably celebrates the appointment of Willie Woods as HC of the Toronto Argonauts in 1980, the first Black HC in professional football in North America some nine years before Art Shell was appointed as HC of the Los Angeles Raiders in 1989 (the first Black HC in the NFL modern era). Similarly, the CFL celebrates the appointment of Roy Shivers as the first Black GM in the CFL in 1999 (Saskatchewan Roughriders), some three years before Ozzie Newsome's appointment as the first Black GM in the NFL.

What is rarely pointed out is: (a) that it was 20 years before a second Black HC was appointed in the CFL; and (b) how few Black former players have since entered the 'power structure' of the CFL despite Black players now constituting more than 50 percent of the playing positions on CFL

teams. By our calculation, only 11 former Black players have ever achieved positions in the 'power structure' – nine HCs and four GMs (two of whom had previously been HCs):⁷

HCs

Willie Woods (Toronto)	1980-1981 (fired after 10 games in '81)
Danny Barrett (Saskatchewan)	2000-2006
Michael Clemons* (Toronto)	2000 (interim, 6 games), 2002 (interim, 8 games), 2003-2007
Ritchie Hall (Edmonton)	2009-2010
Kavis Reed (Edmonton)	2011-2013
(Montréal)	2017 (interim, 7 games)
Corey Chamblin (Saskatchewan)	2012-2015 (fired after 9 games in '15)
(Toronto)	2019 (fired at end of season)
DeVone Claybrooks (BC)	2019 (fired at end of season)
Orlando Steinauer (Hamilton)	2019-**
Khari Jones (Montréal)	2019-**

GMs

Roy Shivers (Saskatchewan)	1999-2006
Ed Hervey (Edmonton)	2012-2017
(BC)	2017-2020 (resigned)
Kavis Reed (Montréal)	2016-2019
Michael Clemons* (Toronto)	2003; 2019-**

* Michael Clemons also held other Toronto Argonauts' 'power structure' positions such as President (2001-02), CEO (2007-08) and Vice-Chair of the team (2009-19).

** The 2020 season was cancelled in the CFL.

These appointments (except for Woods) have all been since 1999, but have been increasing. Four Black HCs were appointed for 2019, and two still hold their positions, as does one GM. But the nine HCs and four GMs have not been distributed evenly. One-third of the teams in the league (Calgary, Winnipeg and Ottawa) have never had a Black HC or GM. Another one-third (Edmonton, Saskatchewan and Montréal) have had two Black HCs, while Toronto has had three. The BC Lions and Hamilton each had/have one Black HC.

The players interviewed by Smith and Grindstaff mentioned that Black players seeking HC positions were frequently told to be patient, to gain experience, while they watched White players with less experience being appointed to HC positions in the 1960s. In 2021, the NFL is once again being asked to respond to the lack of Black HCs in the league. "The league used to tell African Americans they would get lead jobs if they just put in more patient years learning the craft. Done. Then came the all-too-familiar course correction: The series of recently hired white coaches who are heralded for their genius despite their glaring inexperience" (Streeter, 2021).

Nine Black HCs in 40 years is not a reason for the CFL to celebrate. Smith and Grindstaff's interviews about Black leadership, and many of the excuses offered for not hiring Black HCs, remain relevant 50 years later. How patient do Black coaches have to be before they are promoted to a Head Coach position?

Players and Leaders, but not Coaches? The Study's Origin, Rationale and Methods (Garry Smith)

Growing up in Edmonton in the 1950s and early 60s it was rare for me to encounter any Black citizens in daily life. The most prominent Black individuals in town were members of the Edmonton Eskimos football club. The Eskimos were the dominant CFL team in the late 1950s, winning three Grey Cups in succession. Some of their best players were perennial league all-stars, Schenley Award winners and later CFL Hall of Fame inductee Black athletes (e.g., Johnny Bright, Rollie Miles, and Art Walker). These individuals lived in Edmonton year-round and were employed as teachers and coaches in the Edmonton Public and Catholic school systems.

My high school football and basketball coach, Johnny Bright, was a highly successful mentor for many years and a respected educator and leader who later had an Edmonton Public school named after him. At the age of 53, after entering the hospital for a routine knee operation, Bright died due to an anesthetic complication.

Bright was an NFL first round draft choice, but chose to play in Canada because, believe it or not, in the early 1950s the pay for an All American was higher in Canada, and well paid teaching jobs were readily available. Another reason for Bright's choice of the CFL may have been his victimization in a high-profile racial incident during his last year of US university football. His team, Drake University, had some other Black players on their roster; they were scheduled to play the University of Oklahoma, a university that was opposed to competing against Black athletes. There was talk about cancelling the game, but it was eventually played. While carrying the ball early in the game, Bright was viciously punched in the face by an Oklahoma linebacker and suffered a broken jaw. The incident became a *cause célèbre* and was featured on the cover of *Life* magazine (see also Wright, 2017).

As a football coach at the University of Western Ontario I knew some CFL players and coaches. Based on my student-teacher interaction with varsity and professional footballers, I became curious about how they perceived their choice to play in the CFL. Were they happy in the CFL or did they regret their decision? What, if any, racially motivated hardships did they face in Canada, both in their sport and in everyday living? I was also interested in gaining both White and Black players' perspectives about how Black players were treated in the CFL and in Canadian society.

In terms of research strategy, I used snowball sampling to locate respondents. An obvious limitation of this study is that the sampling was not systematic, which meant that I could not claim the findings as representative of the entire CFL. In addition, since travel was involved in conducting the interviews and there was no budget for this study, I had to manage with a small

sample size. The sample included active players from both the Eastern and Western conferences and was relatively easy to assemble because everyone I approached found the topic interesting and was willing to comment on the record. All interviews were conducted face-to-face and notes were taken.

Feedback on the finished paper was generally favourable in academic circles and among the participants. The lone exception was the football beat writer for the *Vancouver Sun*, who wrote a column in the summer of 1970 castigating myself and LaVerne Barnes for saying that there was racism in the CFL. The writer claimed that in all his years of covering the CFL he had never seen or heard of any blatant racial incidents. Our general response was that: a) like most beat reporters at the time he was a cheerleader who only reported positive news about the team; and b) if he had not encountered racism when covering the CFL we questioned his competence, because with only a little digging, we found considerable data on the subject.

Obviously, conditions and situations for Black CFL players have improved over the past 50 years. There are now more than twice as many US import players (also known as internationals) allowed per team (3/4 of the starting line-ups are Americans) and of those, some two-thirds are Black. Black athletes now play all positions but tend to be concentrated in specific positions (e.g., running back, receiver and defensive back). On many CFL teams, all five defensive back positions are held by Black American athletes. Numerous Black quarterbacks have played in the CFL and there have been some Black coaches and general managers. With expanded rosters came more assistant coaches, many of them former Black players. I am pleased to say that the increase in the number of Black former players in the CFL power structure is a salutary development, although there is still a long way to go before there is equitable representation and treatment on and off the field.

Looking back, I am still disappointed by Johnny Bright's exclusion from the power structure. On the field a many time all-star, Schenley Award winner and first ballot CFL hall-of-famer. Off the field a renowned coach and teacher and a respected school principal with a Master's degree. Despite his meritorious credentials, he was never offered the CFL coaching job that he aspired to and deserved.

A Note on Language Use

When Smith and Grindstaff wrote this paper (1970) the language used in matters relating to race was quite different, and it was in transition. Throughout the original version of the paper the authors use the terms 'Negro' (upper-case) and 'black' (lower-case) interchangeably. 'Negro' was still widely used in academic and bureaucratic contexts as a descriptive racial category, but it was being recognized as pejorative by people of African heritage in North America who were increasingly identifying themselves as 'Black'. White scholars and some journalists were slowly beginning to take up the use of the 'black' (lower case), but in media and popular discourse the term was controversial because of its use by political activist and social justice movements (e.g., Black Power, Black Panthers, Black Muslims) and its association with an emerging sense of racial pride (e.g., Black is Beautiful).

So that modern readers not be distracted by the language politics and usage of the period, we have (with permission of the authors) removed the term 'Negro', replacing it with 'Black' (upper-case; and replacing 'white' with 'White') in all cases except titles and quotes where we have replaced the term with 'N_____'. The use of the term 'black' (lower-case) has only been retained in quotes. Similarly, in recognition of the pain caused by what is now referred to as the "n-word", which appears several times in quotes in the original paper, we have replaced this term with a blank line (_____). The term 'Indians' has also been replaced with 'Indigenous peoples'.

All other edits for clarification are indicated by [ed.].

Notes

1. Around the time that Smith and Grindstaff's paper was written a number of books were published that were highly critical of the sport system in North America. These muckraking (sometimes referred to as 'jockraking') books, most written by authors who were former players or who had direct access to players, critiqued the racist, sexist, classist, militarist and injurious system of modern high performance and professional sport (e.g., Bouton, 1970; Flood, 1971; Hoch, 1972; Megyssey, 1970; Scott, 1971; Shaw, 1972). *The Plastic Orgasm* (Barnes, 1971) is a controversial (at the time) exposé of racism and other nefarious practices including drug use in the CFL and, as far as we are aware, the only jockraking book at this time written by a woman.

2. In this case, Canadian and Québec nationalisms were essentially White settler nationalisms confronting the original European colonizers, and economic, military and cultural colonization by the United States. Ideological, political and physical battles for Indigenous sovereignty were also prevalent during the 1960s, as evidenced by the 1969 White paper proposing to eliminate the status of Indigenous peoples and abolish existing treaties (Government of Canada, 1969). This was withdrawn as a result of widespread Indigenous criticism.

3. Canadian professional football did not officially become the CFL until 1958. In the 1920s and 1930s the Ku Klux Klan was quite well established in Canada, especially Western Canada.

4. The first Black player was drafted by the National Football League (NFL) in 1949, but the NFL was still struggling to integrate as late as 1961, when the federal government threatened the Washington NFL team with eviction from their stadium if they did not recruit Black players (Bruyneel, 2016).

5. It was not until the 1963-64 basketball season that the Boston Celtics fielded five Black players. "At the time, there was said to be an unwritten 'gentleman's agreement' among the league to assure each team had one white player on the floor at all times" (Irving, 2021).

6. In 1951, Custis became the first ever Black quarterback in professional football in North America, playing for the Hamilton Tiger-Cats in the CFL, some 17 years before a Black quarterback started a game in the NFL.

7. These are the best data we have been able to obtain, gleaned from various sources. If we have missed any Black HCs or GMs during our records search we would appreciate hearing about it so that we may correct the record.

There is a 12th Black individual who occupied **the** highest position in the CFL 'power structure', but he had not been a player. Jeffrey Orridge was the Commissioner of the CFL, 2015-2017.

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RACE AND SPORT IN CANADA

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Photocopy of the cover page of a mimeographed draft of the paper held by the editor.

RACE AND SPORT IN CANADA

INTRODUCTION

In the past, Canadians have taken pride in asserting that minority group relations in their country were much better than the racial situation in the United States (US). Prejudice and discrimination against minority groups were less evident in Canada because of the more "mature and civilized" outlook of economic, political, religious and social groups in the society. In recent years, however, the contention that minority groups in Canada are treated more equitably than in the US has come under severe attack, especially with regard to racial minorities such as Indigenous peoples and Black people. As one West Indian person in Toronto said: "The fundamental difference between Canada and the United States *vis a vis* the black man is not that you are less prejudiced -- you just have fewer black people" (O'Malley, 19:132).

There are indeed broad structural differences in Black-White relations when comparing Canada and the US. Absolute numbers and proportions, historical backgrounds, socio-economic positions, concentrations of population -- all make meaningful comparisons very difficult. For these and other reasons, little research has been undertaken to examine the extent of prejudice and discrimination against Black people in Canada. However, such research can and should be undertaken and valid comparisons made if the results are generalized to both countries. In this paper we make such an examination employing both objective and subjective (quantitative and qualitative [ed.]) measures in one general area of Canadian life, sports; and one specific sport, (Canadian) professional football. The objective is two-fold. First, to determine, irrespective of comparisons with the United States, if prejudice and discrimination exist in Canadian football, both on and off the field, and to determine if our results are applicable to other institutions in Canadian society. Second, to compare Canada to the US, using professional football as the bench-mark.

Two recent books have thoroughly documented the extent of prejudice and discrimination in the US against Black athletes, particularly football players: Jack Olsen's *The Black Athlete*, and Harry Edwards' *The Revolt of the Black Athlete*. We use some of the same methods and concepts as Olsen and Edwards to illustrate our analysis -- team rosters, "stacking," and central vs. non-central positions. In addition, we interviewed players, both Black and White, to discuss their perceptions of the situation in Canadian football from the point of view of both races. As W.I. Thomas indicated, perceptions of the situation and how individuals define that situation (even when the perception of the situation is not accurate from an objective standpoint) have important consequences for concomitant and future attitudes and behaviour (26).

The significance of this paper is evident. In sports, it is presumed to be the individual's skills, or more accurately, the quality of his/her [ed.] performance, that is the criterion for judgment about whether s/he [ed.] "makes the team." Unlike many other performances in society, the quality of a professional football player's performance is subject to precise quantification -- speed, points, completions, receptions, interceptions, yardage, and so on. Thus, if prejudice or discrimination on the basis of race exists in sports, where quality is measurable and important, such findings might be an indication of similar attitudes and behaviour patterns in the larger society where quality of performance is not measured quite so easily or precisely.

This is not to say that quality in sports performance is completely standardized, nor that quality in other fields such as teaching, sales, acting, and so on, are completely unstandardized -- only that in comparison to many other occupations in society, it is easier to determine the quality of participants in a sporting event. In addition, a team sport such as football requires cooperation between individuals on the same team as well as competition against another team. In some ways, the competitive-cooperative aspects of team sports parallel the type of society we live in. If race is found to be a discriminating criterion on the athletic field, it is likely to be an important factor in other areas of society.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Erland (8:18) estimates that there are between 75,000 and 100,000 Black people in Canada today. This would place the percentage of Black people in the total population at approximately one-half of one percent. This estimate takes into account people who racially are Black, but who choose to report themselves to census enumerators under a different label. Although there is only an approximation of the number of Black people in Canada, the point is that currently they represent a very small part of the country's total population.¹

There are few Black athletes in Canadian sports, but more than the proportion of Black people in the population would indicate. This is because most Black athletes in Canada come from the United States. There are a few native born Black Canadians who have achieved fame in the international sports world, the most prominent being Harry Jerome (a world class sprinter from 1960-68) and Ferguson Jenkins (an outstanding baseball pitcher for the Chicago Cubs). As noted, the majority of Black athletes in Canadian professional sport are US citizens, hired by sports promoters to play. Of the three main professional sports in Canada, only professional football has a large number of Black athletes. During the 1969 season, approximately one-sixth of all players in the Canadian Football League (CFL) were Black. Because of the significant representation of Black athletes in the CFL, our study is confined to this group.

First, it must be recognized that Canadian professional football is largely controlled by Americans. Six of the nine general managers are American as are all nine head coaches and 31 of the 32 assistant coaches. In this case, US control is not economic control -- all teams are Canadian owned, either by persons of wealth as in Montréal and Ottawa, or by the community as in some teams in the Western conference. Control in this case involves the day to day operations of the teams. The people in control who are in closest contact with the players are the coaches and general managers, the majority of whom are American.

One of the major effects of this US control in the CFL is that a US system of training is applied to a Canadian sport. The system involves large budgets and a large reservoir of manpower from which to draw. As a result, the system is highly regarded for producing top calibre football players and coaches. However, US society's attitudes are also built into the system, and in relation to Black players this is experienced as the social problems of prejudice and discrimination (7, 18). Thus, it is possible that, with the predominance of US coaches and general managers in the CFL, the level of prejudice and discrimination in Canadian football would be similar to that in US university and professional football.

This leads to the first hypothesis:

(1) Black players on CFL teams will be subject to similar occupational discrimination practices as exist on US professional football teams. We refer specifically to the discriminatory practices of: (a) a quota system, i.e., a restriction on the number of Black players allowed on a team; (b) stacking, i.e., minority athletes limited to playing certain positions, and competing with each other to be assigned to those positions; (c) concentration of minority players at "non-central" positions and (d) Black players' restricted progress to the league's "power structure," i.e., coaching and managerial positions.

The question of social discrimination against Black athletes in Canada is also examined. As indicated in the introduction, Canadians have a reputation for being tolerant and liberal toward Black people. This dates to the mid-1800s when Canada became a haven for slaves escaping from the US. In some circles, Canada is seen as a country "in contrast to the United States, that is unfettered by the chains of racial injustice" (25: 8). The consensus seems to be that discrimination against Black people is not a major social problem. It may exist to some degree, but the situation in Canada is better than in the US.

In Canada, the general climate that may lead to discrimination against Black people is complicated, ranging from perceived equality to severe oppression. Toronto Argonaut player, Dave Raimy, stated: "I've never been happier in any city in the US or Canada. I haven't experienced a single case of blatant discrimination during the six months I've lived in the city. I'm

comfortable here" (22: 10). This contrasts with the appalling treatment of people in Africville, the Black township of Halifax, Nova Scotia.²

In all likelihood, the degree of racial discrimination that is experienced by the average Black person in Canada lies somewhere between these two extremes. Although Canada has not experienced the Black militancy evident in the US, recently a vocal minority of Black Canadians contends that Canada is as racist as any other Western country (28). However, there have been few altercations or even vociferous protests by Black people in Canada. This could mean that Black people feel that they are treated with relative dignity and equality in Canada, or it may merely mean that there are so few Black people in Canada, and they are so geographically scattered, that it has been difficult to come together to declare grievances with a common voice. Groups such as the Canadian Civil Liberties Association and the Ontario Human Rights Commission are working industriously in an effort to combat racial discrimination. So far, their efforts have met with some success, particularly with landlords and employers.

There is evidence in Canada that Black people are limited in terms of their careers and social and business interactions. Frequently, they must take jobs that are beneath their education and training levels (25). Many social and athletic clubs refuse membership to Black people, and there are still many landlords who have rented their apartments "a few moments ago" when Black individuals apply.

Perhaps White Canadians have been too self-satisfied in their attitude about Black Canadians. For various reasons, few Canadian discrimination problems come to the attention of the mass media. For example, the Human Rights Commission in Ontario settles most racial discrimination cases out of court and refuses to publicize their activities in the areas of prejudice and discrimination. As a result, many Canadians are content to congratulate themselves on their humanistic outlook toward Black people. Unfortunately, self-satisfaction is not a precise gauge for measuring the scope of this problem. Few Canadians have been in a position to make a decision which has affected a Black person; for example, should I hire him? should I rent to him? should I let him date my daughter? A comparison of what people say with how they behave would be useful.

At least two Black Canadians hold the opinion that Canada's liberal label, when applied to the treatment of Black people, is a myth. Campbell (4: 10) claims "that black people in Canada are suffering from White tokenism. This society is basically racist." Koné sums up the racial situation in Canada as seen through the eyes of Black people when he states: "It's always lurking there in the background. You can't see it and it strikes you when you least expect it. It's subtle" (12: 9).

This leads to the second hypothesis:

(2) Black players on CFL teams will be confronted with various types of social discrimination. The forms of social discrimination may not be as numerous, nor the extent as severe as those documented for Black athletes in the US (7, 13, 18, 24). Nevertheless, discrimination will exist, particularly with regard to: (a) restricted housing, (b) bans on interracial dating, (c) lack of occupational opportunities for players to advance outside professional football, and (d) restrictions on joining social and athletic clubs.

The following reviews some aspects of the history of Black athletes in North America, and research relating to occupational and social discrimination as it relates to Black athletes.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The problem of racism in sports recently received a great deal of attention in the mass media. The (1968 [ed.]) Olympic boycott threat by Black athletes in the US dramatized the plight of Black people in general and Black athletes in particular. It received worldwide attention, as did the banning of South Africa from certain international sports because of their policy of apartheid. Several recent, and widely read books consider the problems of prejudice and discrimination that Black athletes face (7, 18). These are supplemented by books written by well-known Black athletes such as Bob Gibson, who documents the fact that racism in sport exists even for the Black athlete "who has made it" (10). Although the issue of racism in sport has a long history (9), it has only come into sharp focus in North America in the last 100 years.

In the late 19th century, the main sport where Black athletes could compete against Whites was prize fighting/boxing. Some prominent Black boxers at this time raised doubts about the White man's supposed supremacy in the boxing ring, and in 1908, Jack Johnson became the first Black Heavyweight Champion of the world. This focused a great deal of public attention on the issue of race in sport. Davis (6: 782) claimed that: "Jack Johnson's fists rocked the world. Not just the helpless victims he conquered in the ring, but men of high and low degree everywhere."

Johnson proved to be a great champion, despite the fact that he was often a marked man by promoters and the press. Promoters scoured the country searching for what the press termed the "great white hope." Johnson was eventually defeated by Jess Willard in 1915, but this did not detract from his previous accomplishments. Johnson's reign as champion proved significant with regard to dramatizing racism in sport and damaging the myth of White superiority, at least in boxing. Many Black youths started boxing, inspired by the legend of Jack Johnson and a chance to acquire prominence in the ring. Since the mid-1930s, Black athletes have dominated professional boxing. The most prestigious heavyweight division has had a Black champion for all but five years since 1937.

Track and field, like boxing, is a sport where Black athletes have achieved success, but only within the last 30 years. Black athletes in track and field may have experienced less discrimination than those in other sports, and they have consistently achieved success. Meade (17) notes that track was one of the first competitive sports where Blacks were able to compete with Whites, and they more than held their own. Success in sprinting and the long jump were followed by success in the high jump and triple jump, and more recently in endurance events.

The success of Black athletes in track and field also made it possible for the problem of racism in sport to receive international attention. Perhaps the most famous example was at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin; after Hitler snubbed America's "Black Auxiliaries," sprinter and long jumper Jesse Owens went on to win four gold medals. At the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City, sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos symbolically demonstrated their opposition to racial conditions in the United States with their famed "Black Glove" protest.

In track and field, and other sports such as football, baseball and basketball, Black athletes have progressed to the point of "superiority." Why is this the case? Is it because Black people are inherently better athletes? A Black man, Bob Gibson, disagrees (10). Black athletes excel in certain athletic endeavours because they are the only ones open for social mobility. Thus, Black athletes are obliged to spend a disproportionate amount of time and energy in certain sports where they are able to compete. They become "superior" in certain sports because all their energies must be channeled in that direction in order to achieve occupational success. It does little good to study drafting or bricklaying or electrical wiring if jobs are not open to Black people in these areas; they may not even be able to join a union. Black individuals who become athletes "study" certain sports such as track and boxing, and emerge as experts. However, there are many other sports where participation by Black athletes is a recent occurrence, and still not totally accepted (10).

In the sports of horse racing and bicycle racing, Black athletes have achieved some success. Isaac Murphy, a Black jockey, rode three Kentucky Derby winners in the 1880s. In 1912, a rule was passed barring Black jockeys from the Derby and, as Quarles (21: 247) notes, "Other major tracks adopted similar policies of exclusion." A Black bicycle racer, Marshall Taylor, was the American sprint champion in 1898. During his time, he was known as "the fastest bicycle rider in the world." Following Taylor's retirement, Black cyclists were also excluded from this sport.³

Other sports which have been largely inaccessible to Black athletes are: golf, tennis, swimming, bowling, and hockey. Golf, tennis and to some extent, swimming are "social sports" and traditionally, they have been associated with higher income groups. The top competition

(athletes and events) in these sports is at private clubs. Many of these clubs also have a policy of racial segregation, and even in those that were integrated, the occupational segregation of many Black people to lower income jobs would likely make it too expensive to join. In recent years there have been some gains in Black participation in these sports. Althea Gibson was recognized as the best woman tennis player in the world in the late-1950s; since then she has gone on to become the first Black player on the women's professional tennis tour. Arthur Ashe is one of the top male tennis players in the world.

Charlie Sifford, Pete Brown and Lee Elder are Black golfers who have achieved success on the professional golf circuit. Both Brown and Sifford have won major P.G.A. tournaments.⁴

With regard to the low number of Black competitive swimmers, Bishop (1: 35) states:

College swimming teams have turned up with non-white participants for the first time, though the ban on N_____ at many a public beach or swimming pool has taken its toll through lack of practice time and proficiency.

Davis (6) reinforced this point, noting that Black children have traditionally learned to swim at unprotected beach and river bank sites. Undoubtedly, a combination of factors has affected Black participation in swimming, the most prominent of which are lack of proper instruction and the difficulty in obtaining access to proper facilities.

Ploski and Brown (20) attribute the paucity of topflight Black bowlers to "separate competition." In the case of hockey, there are few Black players because: (1) hockey is indigenous to Canada and the percentage of Black people in Canada is small; and (2) the lack of proper facilities (or access to facilities) and high cost of equipment have mitigated against Black participation.

Black participation and success in the popular team sports of baseball, basketball and football is a recent phenomenon. Olsen (18: 170) wrote:

In a surprisingly short period of time, N_____ have reached the point where in 1968: eight of the ten starters in the NBA (basketball) all-star game was black and 25% of the players in the two major baseball leagues were black, and of these a disproportionate number were stars.

This has all happened within the past 25 years. Now, the excellence of Black athletes in these sports borders on domination. The best basketball players, for example, Lew Alcindor, Willis Reed and Walt Frazier, are Black; and the greatest running backs, receivers, and defensive backs in US professional football are Black, for example, Gale Sayers, LeRoy Kelly, Bob Hayes, Charley Taylor, Lem Barney and George Webster. Again, it is important to emphasize that this is more a result of limited opportunities in other areas of endeavour than some natural proclivity for sport.

How much does this "on the field" success really matter? Perhaps not a great deal. Sport has given Black athletes the opportunity to display the fact that they are able to compete if given a chance, but sport has not led to more widespread recognition of Black athletes' social equality and human dignity. Olsen (18: 19) highlighted this problem with regard to the social position of Black athletes in the United States:

The white American is able to compartmentalize his attitude about the N_____, to admire his exploits on the field but put him in the back of the bus on the way home. He must perform, but afterwards know his place.

The following sections review the occupational and social discrimination to which Black individuals are subjected on and off the athletic field.

OCCUPATIONAL DISCRIMINATION

Many statements have been made claiming that sport has served to integrate Black people. The athletic setting purportedly is relatively free of the racial prejudice and discrimination which characterize society at large. The following are some examples of the 'sport as an integrator' theme.

Tobin (27: 32) claimed, "the world of sport has now become... an undeniable force in moving the United States toward full integration." Boyle (3: 100) supported this view:

Sport has often served minority groups as the first rung on the social ladder. As such, it has helped further assimilation into American life. It would not be too far-fetched to say that it has done more in this regard than any other agency, including church and school.

The argument is reinforced by Davis (6: 823):

Perhaps in American sports, to a larger degree than anywhere else in American society, does one see the emergence of the American dream of freedom and equality... Good sportsmanship transcends distinctions of race, class and religion.

Young (29: 277) borders on hyperbole when paying tribute to the value of sport for Black people:

...sports today provide for American N_____ the closest approach to the great goal they dream about, talk about, sing about, pray and work for, every moment of every living day that comes and piles into weeks, months and years. Only in sports has the wondering lament - How long, oh Lord, how long? - become passé.

Goodhart and Chataway (11: 77) are adamant in their belief that sport has been a democratizing agent for Black athletes:

The integration of N_____ athletes into the mainstream of American sporting life was the most important psychological advance in the field of civil rights between the ending

of segregation in the armed forces after the Second World War and the Supreme Court decision integrating schools in 1954. Between 1949 and 1954, profit-seeking baseball clubs did more for the position of the N_____ in America than the churches or the main political parties.

These claims are not without validity. In certain cases, sport has been a useful vehicle in moving Black athletes closer to social and economic freedom. Blalock (2) supported these claims with his theoretical propositions about why the sport of professional baseball would be free from occupational discrimination: (1) A premium is placed on skill, therefore race should not be a factor; (2) It is easy to evaluate performance in baseball; (3) High performance by an individual works to the benefit of the whole team; and (4) Success in baseball is not necessarily related to highly developed verbal and social skills. These points, and others outlined by Blalock (2), are carefully considered and seem to have face validity. Recent empirical studies, however, do not support his optimistic viewpoint.

For example, Rosenblatt (23) examined the batting statistics of players in the American and National leagues and found that a disproportionately high number of Black players were in the upper quartile, and conversely, an inordinately small number were in the lower quartile. From this, Rosenblatt concluded that marginal Black players have less opportunity to play regularly than "the equally undistinguished white player," and that "the N_____ ballplayer, to be treated equally, must be better."

Loy and McElvogue's (15) research supports the view that there is discrimination against Black athletes in professional sport settings. In a study of professional football and baseball in the US, the authors focused on the concept of *centrality*, which includes; (a) physical proximity to the centre of the group, (b) the frequency of verbal interaction between group members, and (c) the degree of task coordination required between group members. Operating on the premise that the more central the position, the more important the position, Loy and McElvogue (15: 5) hypothesized that:

"Racial segregation in professional team sports is positively related to centrality." After dividing the field positions in football and baseball into "non-central" and "central" categories, and determining the number of Black and White athletes in each category, the authors found substantial support for their hypothesis.

Olsen (18) may have done more than any other author to highlight the plight of Black athletes. Reporting on both US university and professional sports, Olsen identified the following ways in which Black athletes were discriminated against:

(1) *Quota System*. For example: On the University of Kansas football team, the Black players are convinced that there is a very formal quota system and that it is rigidly enforced. They say that Kansas will never play more than two Black players in the backfield, and seldom more than three on the whole offensive team, and only a few more than that on defence (18: 156).

(2) *Stacking*. A system used by some teams whereby Black athletes are restricted to certain playing positions and must compete against each other for those positions.

(3) *Inequality*. Black athletes have to be better than their White teammates. Olsen notes, "that the N_____ athlete has to be what Muhammed Ali once called himself: 'Superspade'."

(4) *Double Standard Regarding Injuries*. Black athletes are not given the same training care as White athletes. Often, a White coach thought a Black player was loafing when he was actually hurt.

(5) *Restricted Earning Power*. Generally, Black athletes are paid lower salaries, receive smaller bonuses, and have more difficulty gaining endorsements than their White counterparts.

(6) *Limited Mobility*. Black athletes have almost no access to the power structure of professional sports.

These same points were reiterated and further amplified by Edwards (7). Typical of Edwards' (7: 25) comments, is his acerbic analysis of the plight of professional Black athletes:

The black professional is slurred by his teammates, discriminated against by the public, humiliated and harassed by the fans, and emasculated by his coaches, and if he isn't smart, he winds up broke to boot. In this last instance, the black professional boxer comes readily to mind.

One of the key occupational issues raised by Black athletes is that they have been denied entry into the power structure of professional sport. Ernie McMillan (16: 70), a Black professional football player stated:

If you have the desire to go into coaching or administration you are limited. You just didn't think in terms of it... people never consider a black individual or black player as coaching material. This is automatically not his field.

Koppett (13: 7), discussing professional baseball, made a similar point:

It is inconceivable that of hundreds of N_____ major leaguers over a 20-year span, practically none has ever been "qualified" to manage, coach, umpire, or scout, while literally dozens of their white contemporaries have been filling such positions from precisely the same backgrounds... especially since every baseball man I meet happily points the finger at numerous white 'incompetents' in the baseball structure.

Edwards (7: 26) summarized the prevailing thinking in this area:

After their playing days are over, few black athletes become managers or coaches in the major professional leagues. Blacks virtually never receive offers to coach at any of the many colleges that yearly employ professional athletic greats. By and large, these are rewards for meritorious service given and for expertise acquired, but are reserved for whites only.

Progress in this sensitive area is slow at best. However, there are some indications that a change is imminent. A recent newspaper headline read, "Black Manager Soon for Majors" (14). The item related how three Black baseball players were being groomed for management positions. Russell (24: 88) noted that, in professional basketball, which is now probably the sport with the least racial discrimination, "blacks have even reached a point where we have achieved the right to failure." He is referring to the fact that a Black basketball coach may fail without jeopardizing the employment possibilities of other Black players to become coaches. This is a significant step forward, but Russell (24: 88) cautions the need to "evaluate progress from two standards -- not just how far we have gone, but how far we still must go."

SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION

Frequently Black athletes find themselves in situations where they are praised and lionized on the sports field but ignored and treated with disrespect off the field. The major complaints about off-field treatment documented by Olsen (18) and Edwards (7) are: (1) Lack of adequate housing, (2) Tendency for teams to assign roommates on a racial basis, (3) Restrictions on interracial dating, (4) Lack of opportunity to join fraternities and other social clubs, and (5) Frequent use of derogatory names such as "_____", "Boy" or "Animal."

With regard to housing restrictions, it is not surprising that many Black athletes would have difficulties in this area. This is a major problem for most Black people, so why should a Black person be exempt just because he is an athlete? One might assume that the more famous an athlete, the less trouble he would have finding suitable accommodation. This does not seem to be the case, however, as Edwards (7: 24) explains:

After Wilt Chamberlain won the 'Most Valuable Player' Award in the National Basketball Association, he was promptly turned down when he tried to buy a home in cosmopolitan San Francisco, the home city of his team. Willie Mays suffered a similar affront in the same city - and San Francisco has a reputation of being the most liberal city in the country.

Black athletes also find that they are segregated even when travelling with their own team. Charnofsky's (5: 52), study of professional baseball players, found a wide social gulf separating White players from Latin Americans and Black Americans. The separation is often maintained by

team policies assigning roommates on the basis of colour: Whites with Whites and Blacks with Blacks. According to Edwards (7: 23), in 1967 only one professional football team in the US roomed their players on an interracial basis -- the Green Bay Packers.

Many Black players lament the fact that their feelings are never considered. This is one of the subtlest forms of prejudice and is often done subconsciously. Olsen (18: 115) gave a poignant example of this from his interview with Black athlete, Don Shanklin. Shanklin had been assigned a White roommate. This didn't bother him particularly until he found out that the coaches had asked the White player if he would mind being roomed with a Black player. "Why," asked Shanklin, "didn't they ask me, the N____, if it would be all right to be roomed with him, a white?"

Perhaps the biggest social problem facing Black athletes is the matter of interracial dating. One of the first things they learn in university is to stay away from White girls. The message comes from their coaches, teammates, and even racially intolerant townspeople. What bothers the Black athletes most is that, in many university towns, there are very few Black girls to date. If they are restricted to only Black girls, they have a limited selection and often very little social life. Black athletes are frustrated on this point because they are enticed to come to university campuses by glib coaches who give a sugar-coated version of what campus life is like. When they are confronted with the reality of a restricted social life, they often rebel (18: 133).

Bans on interracial dating, like most discriminatory practices, cannot be justified on rational grounds. This angers Black athletes because they know that restrictions on interracial dating stem from the fact that, subconsciously, many Whites feel that Black men are superior in sexual matters. Some coaches justify their policies on interracial dating by saying: "this community isn't ready for it yet," or "I don't mind but some of the people downtown wouldn't understand."

Black athletes have also complained about not being allowed to join fraternities or other social clubs. As Olsen (18: 115) noted, "many black athletes find their social relationships away from the town and away from their teammates." This is because they are rarely invited to social gatherings with their White teammates; they go separate ways after the games and practices. Mike Garrett, the Black All-American football player, described to Olsen (18: 117) the difficulty he had in adapting to the university social scene:

All the social life at USC was centred on Fraternity Row... and this was out of bounds to N____. But when I became prominent because of football, a previously all-Jewish fraternity asked me to join. They wanted me to break the colour line. So I joined, but I didn't stick for more than a few months. I just felt out of place on Fraternity Row.

In a similar vein, Edwards (7: 14) described the social problems that arise when a Black athlete who is being recruited is brought to campus for a visit:

The black athletes do not have access to Fraternities or Sororities and so they cannot go to parties, dances, and other 'after game' activities that might be scheduled. And woe to him who is naive enough to go, uninvited, to a social gathering sponsored by a white fraternity or sorority even though all his white teammates and their guests might be there.

Another point of contention raised by Black athletes is that they are often dehumanized and humiliated "by coaches who look on them as watermelon eating idiots" (18: 9). It irks them to be called "_____" or "Animal" by either the coaches or the other players. Some coaches, when asked why they persist in doing this, say either they didn't realize that it was so important to Black players, or that they are trying to quit. Olsen (18: 111) mentioned one coach whose favourite word for Black players is "Animal:"

He is known for his rages, and he can become angered at a white athlete. The difference is that the white athlete will be called a 'Jerk' or a 'Dope' or an 'Idiot'. The N_____ athlete will be called an 'Animal'.

The point has been made that racial intolerance exists in US sports at both the university and professional levels. What is needed now is for sporting institutions to recognize that it exists, both overtly and subconsciously, and to take steps to eliminate it as quickly as possible. As Olsen (18) noted, Vince Lombardi (then coach of the Green Bay Packers [ed.]) has shown that it is the efficient thing to do. It is good business. Prentice Gault (18: 223), a Black coach in university football, outlined his view of the matter when he stated:

The long-range problems will take a long time to solve. But if they can't be solved in sports, where can they be solved? Sports have been following when it's supposed to lead. The change should start today. Not tomorrow. Today!

How does Canada compare to the situation in the US? Are Black football players in Canada forced to compete only against each other by being 'stacked' in certain positions? Are there quota systems in operation? Are Black players socially ostracized? Can they live in any neighbourhood or attend any club or organization they can afford? How do White and Black players in Canada feel about each other? Do they think discrimination operates both on and off the field? We hope to provide answers to these questions in the following pages.

DATA COLLECTION

Through CFL team rosters, we obtained quantitative data about the number of Black players and the positions they played. We also interviewed five Black CFL players and 11 White CFL players to

gain qualitative data relating to their perspectives on the extent of racism in their profession, and specifically concerning the degree of prejudice and discrimination both in the CFL, and in Canada in general.

The next two sections present the interview data carried out by the principal investigator across Canada. Summaries of data from interviews with the Black players are followed by summaries of data from the White players.

INTERVIEW ANALYSIS

Black Players

Question 1

Can you recall any incidents of overt discrimination against Black players during your career in professional football?

All the Black players interviewed were adamant on this point; that they had encountered overt discrimination against Black players in the CFL. One player mentioned that although he had not been discriminated against personally in a football context, he had seen it happen to other Black players.

The type of complaints voiced by the Black players ranged from mildly irritating, as in the occasional racial taunt from opposing White players (which is rare), to personally humiliating as in being warned to stop dating White girls.

One player was called in by an assistant coach, and asked if he would give a message to his roommate who was another Black member of the squad. The message concerned the team's annual end-of-season banquet which was to be held following the final game. The player was to tell his roommate not to bring his White girlfriend to the banquet. It seems that some of the White players' wives had pressured the team's General Manager, requesting that there be no interracial couples at the party. More bluntly, the message was: Come alone or stay home. The athlete in question stayed home.

It is difficult to believe that such discrimination could be condoned, but it was. Complain, especially if you are a marginal player (as the person in question was), and you will be released or traded within the week. Certainly, the situation could have been handled with more finesse.

The head coach could at least have approached the player directly rather than relaying the message through an intermediary.

Interracial dating by Black athletes is a delicate issue, and one that was mentioned frequently. One player felt that this was the basis for his eventual release. He was called into the head coach's office during the off-season and asked to refrain from seeing his White girlfriend in the daytime. The player retorted that "since she wasn't a whore" and that he "definitely wasn't ashamed to be seen with her, he certainly would not stop seeing her in the daytime." Several weeks later the player received a letter from the coach advising him that he been released from the team. He is not sure if he was "black-balled" by the coach, but he never received a reply from the other CFL teams that he contacted to discuss possible employment. This is surprising given that the player was rated very highly by his own teammates (Black and White) and, after being released from the CFL, he had no difficulty in securing employment with a National Football League (NFL) team. The player himself was not surprised, pointing out that, "in Canada many boys with more experience and ability than I have been 'black-balled', including Cookie Gilchrist and Earle Edwards."

The players asked their own question: Who should we date? In many of the CFL cities, particularly in the West, there are not many Black families. If players are interested in any kind of social life and dating, how can they avoid dating White girls? A number of the Black players have White wives, but this more permanent union seems to cause less resentment.

There did not seem to be much discrimination from their own teammates. In many cases, the two groups, Black and White, went their separate ways. One Black player characterized the situation by saying that many of the White players were prejudiced against Blacks but they did not discriminate against them. They seemed to fall in line with the accepted social patterns of the community and the team by not raising racial issues, yet they remained aloof from the Black players and did little to integrate with them.

One coach was supposedly concerned about having any unmarried Black players on the team. He was afraid that they would get into trouble in the community. Married Black players were alright, or if unmarried, you had to be an "Uncle Tom." A check of this coach's team roster showed that few of the Black players on his team were unmarried.

Question 2

Do you think that any of the following exist in the CFL?

(a) Quota System – All Black players interviewed believed that there was a quota system for Black players. They cite numerous examples of Black players who were cut even though the interviewee considered that they had more talent than White players who were kept. The consensus among the Black players was that each team will limit the number of Black players to four or five, particularly those in the West. This is obviously a highly subjective situation, yet the Black players are very vocal in denouncing teams for adhering to this type of quota. It's an unwritten law, it's subtle, but they believe that it is there.

It is important to be careful about basing belief in the existence of quotas on the basis of who is cut. There are various reasons why players are released, and lack of ability is only one of them. Some Black players who showed high ability were released, according to comments made in the interviews because: (1) they hated Whites, (2) they carried a gun, (3) they refused to do what the coach asked, e.g., run back punts, play on the kick-off team, and so on. It could be that in these cases, even though they were talented players, any perception by a White coach that they may have had a belligerent attitude was grounds for opting for a less talented player who was perceived to be able to work more harmoniously with the rest of the team.

(b) Stacking – Again the consensus was that this is prevalent in the CFL. Teams traditionally bring a large number of imports (US players) to the pre-season tryout camps. In some cases, it appeared that many of the Black job aspirants were competing for the same position, usually offensive back or receiver. Through the process of cutting the roster to size, only one Black player is retained for the position. The others, even though they might be better than White players at other positions, are rarely permitted to try out for those positions. This helps to maintain the quota as certain positions appear to be designated as "black." One player said that stacking was common, but it was used to eliminate White Americans as well as Blacks.

Another method of stacking and quota maintenance consists of shifting a player to an unfamiliar position behind someone who is an all-league or all-Canadian player. The transferred player fails to replace the veteran in that position and is cut because he failed to win the position. The player was always going to be released, but the decision was delayed. This method is used by a coach to provide a justification for releasing a player, and it is frequently used in the case of veterans. The coach wants to release a fan favourite, but at the same time tries to disguise it from the fans. More than one Black player claimed that his release came in this way.

(c) That a Black player has to be better than a White player to make the team – All of the Black players answered this question directly and unequivocally, using terms such as "definitely," "unquestionably," and "certainly." They believe that in order for a Black player to make the team,

he must be exceptional. Rarely can a journeyman Black player find a position with a team, while journeymen White American players dot every roster.

(d) That Black athletes only play a few stereotyped positions – The Black players do not agree with this, but believe that coaches think along these lines. “Why else”, they ask, “would you see Black players predominant in the offensive backfield and at end, and conversely, very few in the key positions of quarterback, middle linebacker and centre?” However, there have been some Black quarterbacks and middle linebackers in the CFL. Quarterbacks include Sandy Stephens (Montreal) and Carroll Williams (Montreal). Middle linebackers include Bill Burrell (Regina), Cookie Gilchrist (Hamilton, Toronto, Regina) and Allen Ray Aldridge (Toronto).

Question 3

Are certain teams in the CFL more likely to have Black players? If so, which teams and why?

Two schools of thought emerged on this question. One was of the opinion that certain teams did have more Black players than others, but it was strictly a function of the attitude of the particular coach and general manager. As examples, they cite a city such as Regina, which had Black baseball players in the 1940s and early 1950s, but it wasn't until 1956 or so that they had Black football players. Thus, they conclude that a lack of Black players on the team is not related to the city; rather it is the product of a racist management.

The other school contends that the larger cities in the league have more Black players, that they are more cosmopolitan, that it is easier for Black athletes to assimilate or, perhaps, easier for them to hide. This being the case, the management of the big-city teams may be less inhibited about hiring Black players.

One player mentioned that, in general, Eastern teams had more Black players than Western teams. He related this to the people in the West being more conservative. One player felt that in most of the Western cities Black people were too conspicuous. Apart from the porters and the 'shoe-shine boy' at the CNR (railroad station), the only other Black people in town were football players. As a result, they have very little privacy. Non-athletic activities such as interracial dating, which are frowned on by the more conservative Westerners, are noticed almost immediately.

Some players mentioned certain teams because they knew that certain coaches had a reputation for being liberal. The coaches mentioned in this context were Leo Cahill of Toronto and Jackie Parker of Vancouver. Cahill was mentioned frequently as being a renegade coach; renegade in the sense that he is anti-establishment, he is not afraid to play Black players, he is only concerned about winning. This is perhaps borne out by examining the (Toronto) Argonauts 1969

roster, where nine Black players are listed, the most for any CFL team in the history of the league to that point. It is too early to judge Parker, as he is just now entering his first full season as a head coach. By the same token some teams or coaches were mentioned because they were supposedly anti-Black.

The consensus was that Toronto and Montreal would have the most Black players while teams such as Regina, Calgary, Edmonton and Winnipeg would have the fewest. The reason for this is not absolutely clear; it is a variable or alternating situation, sometimes the result of a liberal-minded or racist coach, or the product of enlightened or restrictive community attitudes.

Question 4

Do you think fans care how many Black players are on a team?

The unanimous answer to this question was “No! – The fans are just concerned about winning.” One player believed that even on losing teams there would not be a problem. This point is augmented by the fact that many teams have popularity contests based on fan votes. Frequently these contests are won by Black players.

Question 5

Would it present a problem if all of a team’s import players were Black? (obviously, a hypothetical question).

The standard reply was, “As long as you play as a team, it doesn’t matter if you are White or black.” They believed that it would not cause any problems at all if they were winning, but it might if they were losing. It should not pose a problem if they were losing, but it would be too simple and convenient for the fans and the management to rationalize the team’s record by saying that there were too many Black players on the team. Again, this suggests that the Black players feel a tension that might erupt given the right circumstances.

Question 6

How would you compare the racial situation in the CFL with US football? Is the CFL more or less liberal-minded?

This was a difficult question for the players to answer since they had no recent direct experience with the situation in the US. One player noted that the American professional teams have many more Black players on their rosters. This may not be meaningful, however, as the US teams have larger rosters and the Canadian teams are limited to 14 imported players.

The point was also made that on US teams the taxi squads (substitute players) are comprised mostly of Black players, which suggests that journeymen Black players have less opportunity than White players on the first team, but specific data are lacking here.

Question 7

If Black players had the opportunity to go to the US professional league, do you think most would go?

Most players would go back to the U.S. They would probably make more money, they would be going to a more prestigious league, and know that if things do not work out they can always come back to Canada.

If, however, the situation was equal, (same money in Canada as U.S.), the interviewees believed that most Black athletes would stay in Canada. Many clubs, in their recruiting pitch, use the fact that Canada has a more tolerant racial climate to attract recruits. The Black players considered that this has some validity, particularly if you are not a well-known player. They believe that well-known players such as O.J. Simpson and Leroy Keyes are treated as well in the US as they would be in Canada, but the more average players consider that they are treated better in Canada.

Question 8

Are Canadians in general more tolerant than Americans toward Black people?

The Black players felt that this was probably true. However, they did not believe that Canadians could “pat themselves on the back” for their benevolence toward Black people. Racial prejudice is less of an issue in Canada primarily because there are so few Black people. The interviewees argued that prejudice does exist, but is more subtle than it is in the US. They also suggested that racial prejudice is more difficult to change in Canada because Black people have little power.

Question 9

Do Canadian teams do anything in an attempt to integrate Black players?

(a) Find jobs for the players – CFL recruiters frequently attract prospective players from the US (Black and White) with the promise that they will provide them with a job (outside football) to supplement their football salary. While this is one major advantage that the CFL has over professional football in the US, namely, that a player may hold two jobs, the Black players interviewed all felt that they had been cheated in this regard by the CFL. One player mentioned that his team promised jobs to Black players as a recruiting ploy, but rarely fulfilled these promises. Another player, on a different team, stated: “This football team hasn’t given or got a

real responsible job for a black player yet.” Other players mentioned that Black players were assisted to some extent in finding work, but invariably the jobs they were offered were inferior to the jobs that were secured for the White players.

One Black player, a university graduate and an All-American, was offered a job washing cars. Another player mentioned that he was offered a job pumping gas, while a White player with a comparable educational background was given a job as a representative for an oil company at twice the pay offered to the Black player. The Black player, in this case, was a league all-star, while the White player was an average player. Another Black player stated that the reason most Black players go home after the season is because they are unable to find jobs that match their level of training. The teams rarely live up to their recruiting commitments. One Schenley Award winning Black player never found a 'decent job' in eight years with his team.

(b) Find accommodations for the players – The general rule appeared to be that, White or Black, players were on their own with regard to finding accommodation until they established their place on the team. The clubs often suggested places to try, based on good reports from other Black players, but that was all. There were very few accounts of teams going out of their way to find accommodation for Black players. Meanwhile, there were reports of teams finding houses for White players from the US.

(c) Assigning White and Black players to room together – Most CFL teams are liberal in this regard, with no reservations about rooming White and Black players together. Traditionally, room assignments have been made in one of three ways: (1) personal preference of the players, (2) by playing position, or (3) by random selection. Some teams rotate roommates over the course of the season in order that players get to know one another better. When personal preference is the basis for room assignments, there is a tendency for Black players to be with Black players and White players to be with White players. However, the interviewees reported many cases of integrated rooms, and they raised an additional point in connection with this question -- the question of an uneven number of Black players? Would the team assign the extra player to room with a White player, or would he be given a room by himself? The Black players believed that, on almost all teams, the Black player would be paired with a White player. The major reason given for this policy was economic. Only one team was mentioned as an exception to this rule.

Question 10

Why are there so few Black individuals in the power structure of the C.F.L.? (e.g., only one assistant coach).

One player was succinct: “strictly because they are Black.” The standard reply was that the league is not ready for it yet. This was attributed to the phobia of White players, particularly those from the southern US, about taking orders from a Black coach. Perhaps the main reason for the lack of Black coaches in the CFL is that team owners are afraid that their relationships with professional and university football leagues in the US would be damaged by appointing Black coaches. A university coach in the southern US may advise his players not to go to Canada and play for a “_____ coach.” Another reason given was that very few Black players were interested in a coaching career, and those who were interested were not qualified.

These reasons may provide a logical explanation of the situation. However, it is important to acknowledge that there are some Black players still residing in Canada who are interested in coaching, and who are eminently qualified to coach, but have been unable to enter the White power structure.

Perhaps the best example in this category is a Black player with 12 distinguished years in the CFL. He was frequently an all-Canadian selection, and was once chosen as the CFL player of the year. He is a highly intelligent person (has a Master’s degree) and has taught and coached with a great deal of success in high school for 16 years. This individual has frequently applied for coaching jobs in the CFL without success. Often, he has not even received the courtesy of a reply to his application. Most of the players interviewed mentioned this person as being a likely candidate for a professional coaching job, and many were amazed that he had not yet been offered an opportunity to coach in the CFL.

Question 11

Do Black players have as much of an opportunity to do as well after their playing careers in Canada as White American players?

All of the athletes believed that Black players were at a disadvantage when compared with White players, except in occupations such as teaching or working for a government. Black players find it difficult to obtain good jobs in business, and very few Black athletes go into business for themselves. One reason given for this was that it was difficult to obtain loans.

Question 12

Why do most Black players return to the U.S.?

The major reasons listed were: (1) better value for the dollar in the US; (2) unable to obtain good jobs in Canada; (3) strong family ties; (4) an obligation to help their Black brothers in the struggle for power that was occurring in the US in the late 1960s.

One Black athlete mentioned had a very successful business in the city where he played. He was a popular player with the fans, and seemed to like the city and the people. Yet, a few years after his playing career finished, he sold his business and moved back to his home in the US. The rationale behind the move was supposedly to be closer to his family, and to make some contribution to the Black struggle for power.

Summary

Although the Black athletes interviewed were persuaded that the racial situation in Canada was better than in the US, they still experienced prejudice and discrimination both on and off the field. Specifically, they saw quota systems and stacking as methods to limit Black participants in the CFL. They expressed bitterness that White players were able to obtain good jobs while playing football, even though they were not better qualified. They especially thought that Black players were not given a fair deal when it came to finding employment in the power structure of the CFL.

INTERVIEW ANALYSIS

White Players

Question 1

Can you recall any incidents of overt discrimination against Black players during your career in professional football?

All 11 White players interviewed were able to recall specific incidents where Black athletes had been discriminated against. They pointed out that many White players from the southern US were prejudiced against Black people. This prejudice was more evident in off-the-field activities rather than in any situation relating to practices or games. It seems that these White players were able to subdue their racist feelings during games and practices, and were able to work harmoniously toward the common goal. After games, they tended to remain aloof from the Black players.

Some of the White players mentioned that, in games, they had overheard White players hurling racial slurs at some of the Black players on the other team. Epithets such as “_____” and “black bastard” were the most common. One incident in this area received wide publicity in the 1969 season. Montreal quarterback Sonny Wade allegedly called Black Toronto defensive end Ed Harrington a “_____.” This created bad feelings between the two teams to the extent that their final game of the season was billed as a “grudge match.”

One White player argued that, just because a player directed racial comments toward a Black athlete, this did not mean that he was prejudiced. He mentioned that some players will do this consciously, hoping to upset or “psych” a Black player, not because they feel that he is inherently inferior. Some of the White interviewees suggested that certain teammates often tried to ease racial tensions through joking relationships. White players would jokingly tell Black players to go to the back of the bus, or ask them to shine their shoes. Most of the Black players laugh it off, but a few others did not take it as a joke. One player noted that discrimination was often evident at practices during a team’s “rough work” period. Certain White players would go all out to give the Black players a “good shot.”

Other incidents occurred during off-the-field activities. One Black player attempted to purchase a home in a fairly wealthy suburb in one of the western CFL cities. The residents in this particular area circulated a petition in an effort to block the purchase. The Black player in question was not deterred and still wanted to move in. He felt that people would change their minds once they got to know him personally. Eventually, he did move into this area.

Another form of discrimination pointed out by the White players concerned interracial dating. Many teams warned Black players about dating White girls. When these warnings were ignored, the players were quickly traded or put on waivers. Many teams prefer to have players who are married, assuming that they are less likely to get into 'trouble'.

The point was also made that if Black players ever do get into trouble, the penalties are much harsher than they would be for a White player. To some extent, being given a second or third chance is related to ability. Even outstanding Black players who have trouble with the law or team management have been treated more leniently. It does seem, however, that management has much more patience with White players. A player mentioned one team where some of the White players were constantly causing trouble. Very little came of the matter other than a warning. If a Black player stepped out of line, no matter how slightly, he would soon be gone.

Question 2

Do you think that any of the following exist in the CFL?

(a) Quota System – Six of the 11 players believed that there was a quota for the number of Black players, four did not believe there was a quota, and one player suggested that there was a quota only on certain teams. Some comments about the existence of a quota: “There can’t be, it is based strictly on ability.” “Yes, there is a quota system and it is there because of guys like Willie Ross” (a militant Black football player who caused a few disturbances during his brief stay with

one of the CFL teams). Another argued that it may not be a quota on Black players necessarily, just on “bad actors,” implying that the two were synonymous.

(b) Stacking – Three of the 11 White interviewees felt that this was a problem for Black athletes in the CFL, while eight did not believe that this practice existed. The three who considered that stacking was a problem noted that often in training camp there would be 14 or 15 Black players trying out for the team, many of them at the same position. Halfback, fullback and end were named as the positions where stacking occurred most frequently.

The majority of the White players argued that stacking was not common in the CFL, and on teams where there was such a procedure, it affected White players as much as Black players. Examples were given of many White American players being brought to training camp to try out for only a few positions.

The prevalence of stacking in the CFL is difficult to assess because of the league limitation on the number of Americans who may play on each team. Currently the rules allow 14 US 'imports' and 18 Canadians on a 32-player roster. Most teams evidently have preferred "Canadian" and "American" positions. The key positions – quarterback and middle linebacker – are almost always held by Americans, while positions generally acknowledged to require less skill and leadership capability are usually held by Canadians. The most common "Canadian" positions are centre, defensive halfback, and flanker. It is rare to see Canadian running backs or quarterbacks.

This delicate balance between Canadians and Americans encourages stacking to a great extent as the coaches have their "American" and "Canadian" positions in mind before training camp begins. As a result, most of the American players (White or Black) are restricted to certain positions.

(c) That the Black players have to be better than the White players in order to make the team -- Six of the 11 White players believed this was true, while the other five disagreed.

One player stated that this was true because of the social stereotyping. Coaches routinely consider that Black players will present more of a social problem than White players and, as a result, would be more likely to be dropped from the team, all other factors being equal. Another player who felt that Black players had to be better to make the team stated that coaches may even discriminate according to shades of colour. He felt that lighter-skinned players had a better chance than a darker-skinned player if they were close in ability.

Another player believed that certain coaches stereotyped Black players as having a relaxed style of play; that they did not seem to care as much as the White players. Coaches hold the view that Black players do not hustle, and often brand them as being lazy. The White players who raised this point felt that a relaxed outward appearance by some Black players was merely a facade. They were just as nervous and concerned as White players, but were able to give the illusion of being relaxed.

From another perspective, an individual in a management capacity with a CFL team stated that "ability is the only consideration in deciding who is cut." He went on to mention that "Whites have a higher pain tolerance than Blacks, and this is a factor involved in letting them (Black players) go." This is a good example of a subtle form of prejudice.

Two players claimed that in some cases Black players receive more favourable treatment than White players. They suggested that coaches are so conscious about not being prejudiced that they give special concessions to Black players. Also, some coaches equate Black athlete with super athlete; they anticipate that a new rookie will be another Bob Hayes or Paul Warfield and, as a result, may keep him around much longer than his ability warrants. Two Black players who seemed to fit this category were Frank Budd, former world record holder in the 100-yard dash, and Milt Campbell, former Olympic decathlon gold medalist. Both were given a number of opportunities to make it in the CFL, but were unable to make the grade.

In another example, a Black player refused to play half-back and was shifted to fullback over a White player who had been a frequent all-league selection. The situation raised eyebrows because most observers felt that, at the time, the White player was better. The coach's decision was justified when the Black player went on to a highly successful career in the CFL.

(d) That Black athletes only play a few restricted positions -- The consensus on this point was that there is no evidence that Black players are incapable of playing any position in football. The reason for a high percentage of Black players in certain positions in the professional league is that these are the only positions open to them in the lower leagues. In other words, the problem exists at the high school and university level; by the time players become professionals it may be too late to change. It is true that Black professional quarterbacks are rare, but is this because coaches refuse to assign Black players to this position, or is it because there just are not enough skilled Black quarterbacks being trained in universities? There is no easy answer to this question. Some White players were convinced that coaches stereotyped Black players. There are not many Black quarterbacks because some coaches believe that Black players lack leadership ability. Conversely, coaches assign Black players to offensive and defensive backfield positions because they hold the stereotype that Black athletes are naturally fast and have quick reactions.

Question 3

Are certain CFL teams more likely to have Black players? If so, which teams and why?

Three of the White players mentioned that Montreal, through the 1960s, had a lot of Black players on their teams. The major reasons given for this were: (1) Black players are less expensive (i.e., are paid less); (2) the team had a long losing streak, so were willing to try anything to find a winning combination; (3) Montreal is a cultural melting pot. It is easier for Black athletes to assimilate.

Other cities mentioned as being likely to have a higher percentage of Black players were Toronto and Hamilton; Toronto supposedly because they are a wealthy team and are able to bring in more players than other teams, and because they have an enlightened coach; Hamilton because they are notorious "penny-pinchers" and Black players are relatively inexpensive, and because they have a liberal management.

The cities of Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver were singled out as being less likely to have Black football players. Some of the reasons listed were:

(1) Calgary has the largest percentage of American citizens *per capita* of any Canadian city, which may help to explain why their team has so few Black players.

(2) These three teams seem to focus their recruiting in the southwest US (e.g., Oklahoma, Texas, Arizona, Utah, etc.). Perhaps there are fewer quality Black players from these areas; or perhaps the large number of White American players from the southwest would object to having more than a token number of Black players on their teams.

(3) Vancouver and Edmonton were mentioned as having racist coaches in the past.

Question 4

Do you think that fans care how many Black players are on the team?

Seven of the White players said that it did not make a difference to the fans how many Black players were on the team. Fans were interested in having a good team capable of winning. However, several of the White players suggested that if the team began to lose, fans might blame the Black players. The interviewees indicated that a team that had more than the "normal" number of Black players would have a great deal of pressure on it, win or lose. To some, it would simply be a matter of winning the confidence of the fans.

One of the players mentioned that in one city, where the professional team had been a perennial also-ran, the fans wondered why there were not more Black players on the team. Many of the other teams had more Black players and the fans felt that this put the other teams

at an advantage. Although there may be some subtle prejudice in operation here, the fact is that Black players add to the skill pool. If some teams do not make use of that additional talent, it may be reflected in game performance.

Several of the athletes made the point that Black players often win fan popularity contests, suggesting that the fans do not care what colour a player is as long as he is able to play well. Herm Harrison, Jim Thomas, and Dave Raimey are just a few of the Black players who have been chosen by fans as their team's most valuable player. Generally, the White players' opinion was that fans only evaluate on the basis of quality, and not skin colour.

Question 5

Would it present any problems if all of the team's 14 imports were Black?

Most of the respondent indicated that this would not be a problem if the Black players were "good citizens." They feel that because the Black players are often conscious of their colour, they might come together to oppose some of the coaching rules and regulations. This, they felt, would be a negative influence on team morale. The fact that this was brought up as a possibility indicates a form of prejudice; why should Black players form an alliance any more than White players to oppose a coaching decision? Most of the players cited examples where, from their point of view, Black players got together as a group and caused some difficulties.

As in the previous question, some of the respondents said that if the team began losing, Black players could become scapegoats in the eyes of management and fans. One player expressed the opinion that, in this situation, with so many Black players, there might be discrimination by the Black players against the Whites. Several of the players felt that the question was inappropriate. They argued that, given the fairly low percentage of Black people in Canada, Black players should not have a high representation in Canadian football. Some of the players believed that the Black-White issue in Canadian football was not as significant as the Canadian-American issue. The Canadian players felt that they were treated in a manner that was inferior to the American players, regardless of whether they were White or Black. In terms of off field assistance or on field acclaim, Canadian players did not feel that they had been fairly treated.

Question 6

How would you compare the racial situation in the CFL with US football?

All of the White players felt that conditions in the CFL are better than in the US for Black players. They considered that Black players were more accepted in Canada; that racism is not a problem in Canada. One player was adamant on this point when he stated:

"Black players feel that they deserve special attention. There may be some justification for it in the US, but not up here. Black guys who raise hell in Canada have no justification; they are treated well."

Question 7

If Black players had the opportunity to play professional football in the US, do you think most would go?

The answers given by White players to this question were very similar to those given by Black players. All things being equal, they would likely stay in Canada. The criteria they would consider in making their decision, in order of priority, were: (a) money offered; (b) the prestige of the league; (c) the city in the US league (i.e., they may have more concerns about cities such as Atlanta and New Orleans); and (d) they could return to Canada if they do not make it.

Question 8

Are Canadians in general more tolerant than Americans toward Black people?

Eight of the respondents answered yes to this question. The reason they gave for this answer was that Black people are treated well because there are so few of them; they may perhaps be seen as a novelty. The other three White players felt that the situation regarding race prejudice was about the same in Canada as in the United States. While there may be less overt prejudice in Canada because fewer people have been exposed to Black people, the latent prejudice is still there.

Question 9

Do Canadian teams do anything to integrate Black players?

(a) Find jobs for Black players -- Opinions on this question varied considerably. Many teams do not actually find jobs for players, but they do arrange for interviews. Some teams find jobs for star players, but not for marginal players. One player stated that, on his team, both Black and White players were treated equally insofar as the job situation was concerned. He also said that Black players tended to leave their jobs fairly quickly. This made it difficult to place new Black players in suitable employment. In some cities, Black people are only able to work in menial jobs.

One specific account by a person in a CFL team management position explained the procedure with regard to players' jobs. A company contacted his club and was interested in someone to do public relations work. The football team suggested two players who had the necessary qualifications, one Black and the other White. The club was asked to recommend the candidate

they considered to be most suitable, and responded that the Black player was by far the best person for the job. The company, after interviewing both applicants, reached the same conclusion, so the club was shocked to find, a few days later, that the company had hired the White player. The company's rationale was that if they hired the Black player, and if for some reason he did not work out, they would be accused of discrimination if they let him go.

(b) Find accommodation for Black players -- The White players were not aware of any team policies with regard to player accommodations. The players are usually left to find their own lodgings. Teams sometimes suggest places to try, or may even enlist the help of other players who are already settled. One player mentioned that there were some landlords who would not rent to football players. It was also reported that one Black player was refused accommodation when he tried to rent an apartment. The player felt it was because of his colour, and reported the incident to his coaches and teammates, but nothing ever came of it.

(c) Room White and Black players together -- This appears to be quite a common practice in the CFL. The White players believed that, on most teams, there would be a mixing of the races. There does not seem to be a problem in this regard even though roommates are assigned in various ways. (See analysis of interviews with Black players.) One team posts a tentative rooming list which is subject to change if either of the two players do not agree. The team claimed that there had never been a negative reaction when a Black and White player were assigned as roommates.

Question 10

Why are there so few Black individuals in the power structure of the CFL (for example, only one assistant coach)?

The major reason listed by six of the White players was that very few of the Black athletes were qualified. Several also made the point that, to be a head coach, it is necessary to go through a period of apprenticeship, and the Black players who were qualified were unwilling to do this. They were said to have wanted to become head coaches right away. Some also mentioned that a Black coach would have to be exceptional because some White players would find it difficult to take orders from a Black coach. The elements of prejudice are rather obvious here.

Another major reason cited for the absence of Black players in the power structure was discrimination. Some of the White players indicated that even qualified Black players were not offered positions in the CFL after their playing days. However, it was also suggested that since there is only a small percentage of Black players in the CFL, it was only natural that there would not be many in the power structure. As a compounding factor, the few Black players who could

potentially make it as a coach may not apply for the jobs because they are already aware of the problems involved. By and large, according to the White interviewees, Black players do not even think about going into coaching as a career. One player said that nobody seems to be particularly upset about the situation, so it is more expedient to avoid the situation and not incur possible problems.

This seems to be one of the major areas of discrimination in the CFL -- to appoint a Black coach or a Black general manager, no matter how qualified, would be too big a step. The point raised about Black players not being qualified is difficult to accept, because at least five former players were mentioned who could qualify: Rollie Miles, Johnny Bright, Emery Barnes, Art Walker and George Dixon.

There have been two Black assistant coaches. It is assumed that they were just as competent as their White counterparts. Ralph Goldston coached in Montreal from 1966-1969 and currently, Gene Gaines is a coach in Montreal. The suggestion that Black players would have to go through the apprenticeship system is also absurd since some White former star players have stepped directly into head coaching and general manager positions. These include: Bud Grant, Sam Etcheverry, Ken Carpenter, Glenn Dobbs, Frank Tripucka as coaches, and Jim Finks and Red O'Quinn as general managers.

Question 11

Do Black players have as much opportunity to do well after their playing careers in Canada as White American players?

Most of the players suggested that if Black players have the education and/or the ambition, they can succeed as well as anyone. The White players argued that it was strictly up to the individual. Players have the chance to become well-known through success in football, but to then succeed in business, they must do it on their own. Some of the White players felt that even with education and ambition, the chances of Black players are limited because of prejudice and discrimination. Many people or businesses are afraid to hire Black people because they think they are taking a chance, especially with regard to public acceptance, when the position is in a service organization.

Five of the White players said that Black players are less likely to succeed, not because of discrimination, but because they refuse to settle down and they are less mature than White players. Many of the Black players do not want to "hustle" in business while they are still playing; they are too transient and looking for a "good time." The elements of prejudice here are again obvious.

Five of the White athletes placed a great deal of emphasis on the individual initiative of Black players, claiming that they can make it if they really want to. They were quick to emphasize the few Black players who have done well in Canada after their football careers; men such as Tom Casey (doctor), Emery Barnes (politics), John Bright (education and TV), Rollie Miles (education), Dave Mann (restaurant owner) and George Dixon (university football coach). Unfortunately, these players are the exception; for every success in the business world, there are many failures, especially in comparison to White players. Individuals may try very hard, but they face many obstacles simply because they are Black.

Question 12

Why do most Black players return to the United States?

Although the majority of our respondents felt that the Black players would be subject to less racial hostility in Canada, most also knew that Black players preferred to return to the US. However, if Black players did find good occupational positions in Canada, they usually remained. The reasons given for returning to the US were many: (a) family ties, (b) civil rights and Black power, (c) no commitment to Canada, (d) lure of more money. Most of the White players said that the Black players returned to the States because that was their home.

Summary

In general, the White players said that Canada was probably less likely to be a place where Black players would suffer racial indignities in comparison to the US, but there is still discrimination in Canada, both on the football field and in social situations. Most of the White players felt that Black players could make it if they really tried, but a few indicated that they were at a disadvantage, especially in competition for jobs.

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF QUANTITATIVE DATA

The following section compares the nine teams in the CFL since 1954 with respect to the number of Black players on the team, positions played, and the number of Black all-star selections. The rosters of all CFL teams between the years 1954-1969 were analyzed to determine if there was evidence of occupational discrimination against Black athletes.

Table 1 illustrates the number of Black players who played regularly in the CFL between 1954 and 1969.

Table 1. Number of Black Players in the CFL, 1954-1969.

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of Black Players in the CFL</i>
1954	14
1955	12
1956	15
1957	24
1958	25
1959	32
1960	32
1961	37
1962	36
1963	43
1964	49
1965	44
1966	47
1967	45
1968	42
1969	50

The number of Black players in the CFL has risen from a low of 12 in 1955 to a high of 50 in 1969.

The major reasons for this increase seem to be:

- (1) An increase in the total number of 'imports' permitted for each team. The number has gradually increased from eight in 1954 to 14 in 1969.
- (2) Many Black players have been stars in the CFL. To some extent, this has helped to pave the way for an increasing number of Black players.⁵
- (3) In recent years, there has been a growing awareness of the problems experienced by Black people. This increasing social awareness has had a liberalizing effect on the owners, coaches and even fans -- the net result being that there is a more favourable racial climate for Black players.

Even though the opportunities for Black athletes in the CFL have improved considerably over the past 15 years, it should be noted that they represent a small percentage of the total number of players in the league. In 1969, 17 percent of the CFL players were Black. This figure is somewhat misleading in that most of the Black players are Americans, and are therefore competing for only fourteen positions on a team roster. The percentage of American players who are Black is a more realistic figure. In 1969, this was 37%.

Figures 1 to 9 show the number of Black players on each CFL team, and the positions they played, from 1954 to 1969. These data reveal the possible existence of a quota system for Black players on certain CFL teams. There are Black players on the rosters of every team for almost every year; some teams have greater numbers than others. Very few teams have had more than six Black players on their mid-season rosters.⁶ Most teams have had fewer than six Black players, the average is four or five per team.

It appears that all CFL teams at one time or another have restricted the number of Black players. Recent indications are that this may be changing, as Black players are coming into the league in greater numbers. The teams that have had the highest number of Black players over the years have been the Eastern Conference teams, Toronto, Montreal and Hamilton. The teams with the fewest number of Black players have been the Western Conference teams, Regina, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. Ottawa, Calgary and Edmonton lie between the two extremes.

Does the fact that some teams have had relatively few Black players prove the existence of a quota system? Obviously, this is not necessarily the case; there may be a number of explanations other than racial discrimination. There are so many variables in these situations that any conclusive proof is impossible. Team management would never admit to having a quota for Black players but, if that is the case, why do teams rarely have more than six Black players? Some of the points raised during the interviews may be relevant in answering this question.

(1) The CFL power structure keeps the number of Black players low because:

- (a) it would be difficult to recruit southern White Americans.
- (b) of community pressure (real or imagined). They do not feel that fans would support a team with 'too many' Black players.
- (c) there are still many myths associated with Black athletes. Some coaches still believe one or more of the following:
 - (i) Black players cannot block;
 - (ii) Black players are more prone than White players to getting into difficulties in the community;
 - (iii) Black players "choke up" in a crisis;
 - (iv) Black players are lazy;
 - (v) Black players tend to fumble;
 - (vi) Black players are ignorant.

Whatever the reasons, opportunities for Black athletes on certain CFL teams are limited.

Figure 1. *Montreal Alouettes*

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of Black Players</i>
1954	1
1955	2
1956	1
1957	5
1958	1
1959	3
1960	4
1961	6
1962	8
1963	7
1964	5
1965	4
1966	6
1967	4
1968	7
1969	6

<i>Offense</i>		<i>Defence</i>		<i>All Star Players</i>
HB	13	DE	5	1. Dixon - HB
FB	3	DT	2	2. Clark - HB
QB	2	MLB	0	3. Trawick - OG
FI	5	OLB	5	4. Baker - DE
OE	4	DB	9	5. Luster - OE
OT	0			
OG	2			
C	0			
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	29*		21*	

* Some players played more than one position.
 Total number of Black players since 1954 - 36

Figure 2. *Ottawa Rough Riders*

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of Black Players</i>
1954	2
1955	2
1956	2
1957	3
1958	3
1959	2
1960	2
1961	4
1962	4
1963	4
1964	4
1965	3
1966	3
1967	3
1968	6
1969	4

Black Players by Position

Offense

HB	10
FB	2
QB	0
FI	1
OE	2
OT	1
OG	0
C	0

Defence

DE	2
DT	1
MLB	0
OLB	1
DB	3
<hr/>	
	7*

- All Star Players***
1. Stone - HB
 2. Jones - OT
 3. Gaines - DB
 4. Watkins - OE
 5. Scott - FB
 6. Adkins - OE
 7. Washington - HB

* Some players played more than one position.
 Total number of Black players since 1954 - **20**

16*

Figure 3. *Toronto Argonauts*

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of Black Players</i>
1954	2
1955	1
1956	2
1957	3
1958	4
1959	2
1960	4
1961	3
1962	4
1963	6
1964	7
1965	4
1966	6
1967	6
1968	5
1969	9

Black Players by Position

Offense

HB	12
FB	2
QB	2
FI	2
OE	4
OT	1
OG	2
C	0

Defence

DE	5
DT	1
MLB	1
OLB	4
DB	4
<hr/>	
15*	

- All Star Players***
1. Luster - DB
 2. Harrington - DE
 3. Mann - HB
 4. Gilchrist - FB
 5. Bray - OG

25*

* Some players played more than one position.
Total number of Black players since 1954 - **36**

Figure 4. *Hamilton Tiger-Cats*

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of Black Players</i>
1954	2
1955	0
1956	2
1957	3
1958	3
1959	4
1960	5
1961	6
1962	5
1963	6
1964	8
1965	8
1966	5
1967	7
1968	5
1969	6

Black Players by Position

Offense

HB	13
FB	3
QB	0
FI	0
OE	2
OT	2
OG	3
C	0

Defence

DE	2
DT	1
MLB	2
OLB	3
DB	7
<hr/>	
	15*

- All Star Players***
1. Kelly - OG, OT
 2. Locklin - DE
 3. Bethea - FB
 4. Goldston - DB
 5. Gilchrist - FB

23*

* Some players played more than one position.
Total number of Black players since 1954 - **32**

Figure 5. *Winnipeg Blue Bombers*

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of Black Players</i>
1954	1
1955	2
1956	2
1957	3
1958	3
1959	4
1960	3
1961	3
1962	4
1963	5
1964	5
1965	6
1966	5
1967	4
1968	4
1969	4

<i>Offense</i>		<i>Defence</i>		<i>All Star Players</i>
HB	8	DE	1	1. Lewis - HB
FB	1	DT	0	2. Pitts - DHB, OE
QB	0	MLB	0	3. Raimey - HB
FI	1	OLB	0	4. Jones - OG
OE	4*	DB	2*	5. Gilliam - OE
OT	0			6. Ulmer - DB
OG	2			7. Casey - HB
C	0			
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	16		3	

* One player played half his career as an end and half as a DB.
 Total number of Black players since 1954 - **18**

16

Figure 6. Regina - Saskatchewan Roughriders

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of Black Players</i>
1954	0
1955	0
1956	1
1957	0
1958	4
1959	3
1960	3
1961	2
1962	2
1963	5
1964	5
1965	3
1966	3
1967	3
1968	3
1969	4

Black Players by Position

Offense

HB	9
FB	2
QB	0
FI	1
OE	3
OT	0
OG	1
C	0

Defence

DE	0
DT	1
MLB	1
OLB	0
DB	1
<hr/>	
	3*

All Star Players

1. Gilchrist - FB
2. Vaughn - OE
3. Burrell - LB
4. Reed - FB
5. Buchanan - DT
6. McQuarters - DT

16*

* Some players played more than one position.
Total number of Black players since 1954 - **16**

Figure 7. *Edmonton Eskimos*⁷

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of Black Players</i>
1954	2
1955	3
1956	3
1957	3
1958	3
1959	6
1960	5
1961	4
1962	1
1963	3
1964	6
1965	4
1966	7
1967	7
1968	6
1969	4

Black Players by Position

Offense

HB	11
FB	2
QB	0
FI	1
OE	2
OT	0
OG	2
C	0

18*

Defense

DE	3
DT	1
MLB	0
OLB	3
DB	4
<hr/>	
11*	

All Star Players

1. Miles - HB, DB
2. Bright - FB
3. Walker - DT
4. Simms - DE
5. Thomas - HB

* Some players played more than one position.
Total number of Black players since 1954 - **23**

Figure 8. *Calgary Stampeders*

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of Black Players</i>
1954	3
1955	2
1956	0
1957	3
1958	4
1959	1
1960	3
1961	4
1962	3
1963	3
1964	5
1965	5
1966	7
1967	5
1968	4
1969	6

<i>Offense</i>		<i>Black Players by Position</i>		<i>All Star Players</i>
		<i>Defense</i>		
HB	13	DE	4	1. Warlick - DE
FB	2	DT	1	2. Coleman - FB
QB	0	MLB	0	3. Macon - DB
FI	4	OLB	0	4. Harrison - DE
OE	5	DB	7	5. Liggins - DT
OT	0			
OG	0			
C	0			
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	24*		12*	

* Some players played more than one position.
 Total number of Black players since 1954 - **26**

Figure 9. Vancouver - BC Lions

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of Black Players</i>
1954	1
1955	0
1956	1
1957	0
1958	0
1959	2
1960	3
1961	4
1962	5
1963	4
1964	6
1965	6
1966	4
1967	2
1968	2
1969	4

Black Players by Position

Offense

HB	10
FB	1
QB	0
FI	1
OE	5
OT	1
OG	1
C	0

Defence

DE	1
DT	0
MLB	0
OLB	1
DB	2

- All Star Players***
1. Fleming - HB
 2. Munsey - DB
 3. Burton - OE
 4. Gilliam - OE

4*

* Some players played more than one position.
 Total number of Black players since 1954 - **19**

19*

Figures 1 to 9 also include a breakdown of positions played by Black athletes, showing that:

- (1) Black players are concentrated at the positions of: offensive half-back, offensive end and defensive back;
- (2) There have been very few Black players at the positions of: quarterback, defensive tackle, centre, offensive tackle and offensive guard;
- (3) There is a greater percentage of Black players on offense rather than defense.

The first two points corroborate Loy and McElvogue's (15) results with regard to racial segregation in US football. They argued that the central offensive positions were quarterback, centre, and the two guards. If their concept of centrality is applied to the CFL, it shows that between 1954 and 1969, only 15 Black players occupied these positions (see Table 2). This means that of all the Black offensive players in the CFL in the past 15 years, only 11 percent occupied central positions. The positions played by Blacks on offense over the past 15 years are shown in Table 2 (Column A, observed). This can be compared with the number of Black players who would have played these positions if they had been randomly assigned (Column B, expected). Note that on offense, Black players are over-represented at offensive half-back (OHB) and under-represented at tackle (OT), guard, (OG), centre (C), and quarterback (QB). There have only been two Black quarterbacks and no Black centres in the CFL. The "stacking" of Black players on offense is borne out, and Blacks tend to play "non-central" positions.

On defense, Loy and McElvogue argued that the central positions were the three linebacker positions. Since 1954 in the CFL, 23 Black players have occupied these positions, 26 percent of all defensive Black players. Table 2 also shows defensive positions, both observed (Column C) and expected (Column D). On defense, the Black players were not significantly over- or under-represented at any of the central or non-central positions. Thus, "stacking" at non-central positions on defense is not evident.

The fact that there are more Black players on offense (65%) rather than defense was expected, as this is usually the case with all American players, both Black and White. CFL teams play more of their imports on offense rather than defense because coaches believe that it takes more talent and experience to play offense, and that Canadian players with less experience are easier to train to play defense.

Table 2. *Black Players' Positions in the CFL from 1954-1969*

Offense			Defense		
Col. A (Observed)	Col. B (Expected)		Col. C (Observed)	Col. D (Expected)	
OHB	96	41	DB	36	37
FB	18	14	DT	8	15
QB	2	14	DE.	22	15
OE	33	28	LB	23	22
OG	13	28			
OT	5	28			
C	0	14			
	<hr/>			<hr/>	
	167	167		89	89

Another method of evaluating "stacking" is to compare training camp (pre-season) rosters with the mid-season rosters of players. Select rosters were chosen at random, and this comparison was made to see how many Black players tried out at the various positions and how many eventually made the team. Tables 3 to 5 show these comparisons.

Table 3. *Black Players in Toronto (1967), Pre- and Mid-Season*

<i>Pre-Season</i>	<i>Position Breakdown</i>	
No. of Black Players - 17	OHB	8
	DHB	1
	Punter	1
	LB	2
	DT	3
	FB	1
	DE	1

<i>Mid-Season</i>	<i>Position Breakdown</i>	
No. of Black Players - 6	LB	2
	DB	1
	P	1
	HB	1
	DE	1

Table 4. *Black Players in Winnipeg (1967), Pre- and Mid-Season*

<i>Pre-Season</i>	<i>Position Breakdown</i>	
No. of Black Players - 7	FB	1
	OE	1
	DHB	2
	OHB	1
	OG	1
	DE	1

<i>Mid-Season</i>	<i>Position Breakdown</i>	
No. of Black Players - 4	DB	2
	DE	1
	OHB	1

Table 5. *Black Players in Edmonton (1967), Pre- and Mid-Season*

<i>Pre-Season</i>	<i>Position Breakdown</i>	
No. of Black Players - 9	DE	1
	OT	1
	OHB	4
	FB	1
	LB	2
<i>Mid-Season</i>	<i>Position Breakdown</i>	
No. of Black Players - 6	LB	1
	DT	1
	HB	3
	FB	1

This limited comparison of pre- and mid-season rosters provides no support for the stacking hypothesis. Toronto brought 17 Black players to training camp, and kept six. This is probably less an indication of stacking than a representation of the financial resources available to the Toronto team. They have traditionally invited more US players to training camp than most of the other teams, and have a larger base from which to make their team selections.

Winnipeg and Edmonton invited fewer Black players to training camp, but retained a higher percentage for the team. This may indicate that having fewer financial resources makes the teams more selective with their invitations to training camp, only inviting players with a high potential for making the team.

Because of the Canadian-American distribution in the CFL, it is possible that White American players are being stacked.⁸ There are usually twice as many Americans trying out for positions as there are positions available. Therefore, both Black and White players may be affected by stacking. However, if White Americans are stacked at certain positions, it is likely that Black Americans are even more likely to face this problem in trying to make the team.

Even though there have been relatively few Black players in the CFL, their playing achievements have been striking. League records and all-star selections demonstrate how much impact Black players have had on the CFL (see Table 6). Black players have made a disproportionately large contribution to football excellence in the league.

Table 6. Number of Black Players on Canadian All-Star Teams Since 1962

<i>Year</i>	<i>Offense</i>	<i>Defense</i>
1962	2	0
1963	3	0
1964	3	1
1965	4	2
1966	3	5
1967	3	4
1968	3	4
1969	7	3

CFL Records Held by Black Players

Most Singles Career - Dave Mann
 Rushing, Most Yards Gained (career) - John Bright
 Most Yards on a Single Play - (tie) George Dixon, Willie Fleming
 Most Times Carried (career) - John Bright
 Most Times Carried (season) - George Reed
 Most Times Carried (game) - George Reed
 Most Times a Played Gained 1,000 Yards in a Season - George Reed
 Most Touchdowns Scored, Rushing - George Reed
 Most Touchdowns on Passes (game) - Ernie Pitts
 Most Yards Punting (career) - Dave Mann
 Longest Punt - Dave Mann
 Most Times Punted (season) - Avatus Stone
 Most Times Punted (career) - Dave Mann
 Most Yards on Punt Returns (season) - Mike Hagler
 Longest Punt Return - Dave Mann
 Most Yards on Kickoff Returns (career) - Leo Lewis
 Most Yards on Kickoff Returns (season) - Dave Raimey
 Longest Kickoff Return -- Gene Gaines
 Most Kickoffs Returned (career) - Leo Lewis

Black Schenley Award Winners

Most Valuable Player - George Reed - 1965
 Lovell Coleman - 1964
 George Dixon - 1962
 John Bright - 1959
 Most Valuable Lineman - Ed McQuarters - 1967

Black Players Now in the Power Structure of the CFL

Ralph Goldston - Assistant Coach, 1966-69
 Gene Gaines - Assistant Coach, 1970
 Johnny Bright - TV Commentator, 1970

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The data indicate that the position of Black players in the CFL has improved in the past 15 years, at least on the field of play. The overall number of Black players has increased from 14 to 50, they are playing some central/leadership positions (especially on defense), and many Black players are rated highly by both fans and their teammates as being among the top players in the league. However, the data also show that Black players are discriminated against, both socially and occupationally, and generally do not receive equal treatment with White players. In short, while conditions for Black athletes have improved, they have not improved to the point where they could be described as satisfactory. From the point of view of Black players, there is still a long way to go.

In equating the Black experience in Canadian sport to that in the larger Canadian society, which is at best a tenuous undertaking, we conclude that although racism is not overtly present to the same extent as in the United States, prejudice and discrimination are evident in the society, in a more subtle way. However, housing problems, employment discrimination, racial slurs and personal acrimony were all documented in this study. It is possible that serious racial problems have been limited primarily because the Black population is small and widely dispersed.

Conclusions

(1) Opportunities for Black players in the CFL are limited. There are seldom more than six Black players on a team, and those players are not usually in central/leadership positions. This limitation is more evident in Western division teams.

(2) Black players are more likely to play certain positions, particularly offensive halfback, a position that places a premium on speed. Conversely, there are few Black players in the positions of quarterback, centre, offensive guard and offensive tackle. These positions are often referred to as the 'guts' of any team and, in the case of quarterback, a thinking position.

(3) The form of discrimination identified in the US as "stacking" seems to be less prevalent in the CFL, but offensive positions appear to be "stacked" to an extent greater than would be expected by chance.

(4) Black players have been denied access to the power structure of the CFL, the extent of representation amounting to two assistant coaches (one currently active). Exclusion on the basis of lack of qualifications does not appear to be justified.

(5) Black players are obliged to adhere to more rigid standards of social behaviour than White players, especially with regard to dating.

(6) Black players face prejudice and discrimination in Canada from white teammates, from White coaches, and from the community where teams are located. Black players often return to the US after retirement, rather than remaining in Canada.

(7) The "Canadians are more tolerant toward N_____" thesis should be re-examined.

(8) Other than assigning Black and White players as roommates, there is little evidence that CFL teams make any attempt to integrate Black players.

NOTES

1. At the time of writing (February, 2021) the most recent census data for Canada (2016) indicates that there were some 1.2m Black Canadians, 3.5% of the population [ed.].
2. Mention of Africville was particularly significant at the time this paper was written since it drew widespread attention to racial issues in Canada. Africville was one of the earliest Black communities in Canada, founded in 1749. Over time it became a safe and prosperous community for Black citizens, who paid taxes to the city of Halifax but received no services in return. The city zoned the land for industrial development in the 1940s and began expropriating properties, evicting residents and demolishing houses in the 1960s. The last house was demolished in 1969, and a protest camp (which lasted for almost 50 years) started on the site in 1970. In 1996, Africville was declared a National Historic Site of Canada, and in 2016 the Mayor of Halifax gave an official apology for the way the city had treated the community [ed.].
3. While not specifically identified as such in the paper, these historical examples represent the implementation of Jim Crow laws in sport. Jim Crow laws were introduced in the Southern United States during the late 19th and into the 20th century. They implemented segregation, disenfranchised Black Americans, and removed economic gains made by Black Americans following the Civil War. They remained in place until the start of desegregation in schools in 1954, but are still evident almost 70 years later in, for example, segregated schooling and voter suppression [ed.].
4. For a more in-depth account of the tribulations of Black professional golfers see, W. Johnson (1969), "Call back the years." *Sports Illustrated*, March 31, pp. 57-69.
5. In 1957, there was an overall increase of nine Black players from the year before. One possible explanation for this is that Edmonton had won the Grey Cup for three consecutive years (1954-56). Three of their most prominent players were Black. This may have gone a long way toward convincing rival coaches that not only could you win with Black players, but by not using them, you were decreasing your chances of winning.
6. Exceptions to this 'rule' of four or five during the time period covered were: Montreal - 1962, 1963, 1968; Toronto - 1964, 1969; Hamilton - 1965, 1967; and Edmonton - 1967.
7. In the summer of 2020, the Edmonton CFL team, following years of protest that the team's name was racist, finally changed its name to Edmonton Football Team, or 'EE'. A competition for a new name is currently under way [ed.].

8. In a more systematic analysis of stacking in the CFL, Ball (1973) concluded that, rather than Black American players being 'stacked', it was Canadian players who were being 'stacked' (in lower 'skilled' and non-central positions) in this Americanized version of the CFL [ed.].

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