

“Pure Hockey,” Community and “Canada’s Game” in Documentary Film¹

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Two relatively recent documentary films, *Shinny, the Game in All of Us* (2001), and *Pond Hockey* (2008), portray hockey in its simplest form – outside, the river, the backyard rink.² In many ways, these are essentially the same films. Both feature themes of joy, simplicity, and a longing for childhood, and stress how the game creates friendships, a sense of equality and community. Outdoor hockey is mythologized as “the way that it’s meant to be played” and “what hockey’s all about.” Meanwhile, there are key differences in the ways the films approach issues of landscape and nation, and the relationship of outdoor hockey to the organized game. *Shinny* is awash in nationalism and images of iconic Canadian scenery, with hockey in the broad sense constructed as “part of the landscape of Canada” and as reflecting universal aspects of Canadian culture. In the American film *Pond Hockey*, the relationship to community is much more local and understated, and there is a section of the film that offers a sustained critique of organized hockey.

This paper presents an analysis of the structure and themes of each film, with *Pond Hockey* considered first. After looking at each film, it turns to the key differences — *Shinny*’s major focus on nature and on images of the Canadian landscape, and *Pond Hockey*’s critique of organized hockey. Comparing these documentaries allows consideration of the construction of narratives around different types of hockey, and of the stories Canadians particularly like to tell themselves about the sport.

Pond Hockey – *Structure and Themes*

Pond Hockey is loosely structured around following two teams at the first US Pond Hockey Championships (USPHC) held at Lake Calhoun, in Minneapolis, in 2006. One team named “Sofa King Lazy,” a team of “everymen,” grew up playing hockey together and still maintain a love of the game. The second team, the “Federal League Allstars” was made up mainly of former NCAA Division One players. It was one of the contenders and made it to the finals. The film interweaves the story of the USPHC with interviews with the players and others from the tournament, and a series of hockey writers, Minnesota politicians, former US international and Division One players, and American players in the National Hockey League (as well as brief snippets from Wayne Gretzky and Sidney Crosby).

The film is focused on these interviews, exploring through them the values and meanings of outdoor hockey on rivers, ponds, and in parks and backyard rinks. As described by Ian McDonald in his overview of sporting documentaries, the film follows a convention of using a “story-led narrative designed to engage and entertain,” while relying on a combination of expository and participatory filmmaking to make points. As opposed to the “observational mode” that the idea of a “documentary” typically evokes, where the filmmaker simply documents reality as it happens, the “expository mode” directly addresses the viewers, with voices that advance arguments. The “participatory mode” acknowledges the presence and influence of the filmmakers, and privileges the voices of social actors recruited by and interacting with the filmmaker.³ *Pond Hockey* exist somewhere in between the expository and the participatory; individuals address the audience through the film crew, but the crew or anyone involved in producing the film never appear on screen.

The style of filmmaking leads to a number of themes being consistently advanced throughout the film, coming out primarily through the voices of people featured on camera. These themes should come as no surprise to anyone who has studied or thought about ice hockey from a cultural perspective. Outdoor hockey is constructed as simple and pure, as “the game as Nature intended,” as in the film poster blurb. Many of the interviewees speak of their love of the game, and how this endured from their childhood. Jeff Sorem, one of the main figures in the film, discusses how he cannot live without playing park hockey, or that his wife cannot live with him without him playing park hockey. There is a strong sense of nostalgia, of longing for childhood and the simplicity of being able to play as much as you wanted. Several interviewees talk about long evenings spent at the local outdoor rink during their childhood, of warming their feet in the hut and going out to play for hours again. Continuing to play is framed as reliving childhood dreams, as having “Peter Pan moments.”

In a similar vein, the backyard rink, its strengthening of families, and the father-son relationship, is a focus of the film. On their backyard rinks, we meet families with young children, families with several sons who went on to play top-level hockey, and intergenerational families with grandchildren playing on the rink that their fathers skated on. Hockey writer Jack Falla talks about the work he put into his rink (flooding it three times a day), the famous players that skated there, the meaning of it all to his family, and how he will lose an ‘unquantifiable something’ when he can no longer do it.

The outdoor game is also described as the place where truly great players learn their skills. Tied to a critique of organized hockey (discussed later), many interviewees talk about how playing outdoors gives children a chance to flourish, teaching creativity, independence, and problem-solving. Sports writer Ross Bernstein discusses an idea often voiced in hockey circles,

that a child playing informally can shoot 100 pucks in half an hour, and has much more opportunity to work on their individual skills. In one of two brief snippets with Wayne Gretzky, he discusses how he spent hours in his backyard shooting pucks at a picnic table turned on its side.

Shinny – Structure and Themes

We will leave *Pond Hockey* for now and turn to the Canadian film, *Shinny*, produced for the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) in 2001. The description of the film from the back jacket of the DVD package, which is also used on the NFB web-site, gives a good indicator of what the film is like, so it is worth quoting extensively:

Whether on a spectacular lake set amidst the Rocky Mountains or a frozen patch of the Arctic Ocean, a 200-year-old pond in Nova Scotia or a slew in southern Saskatchewan, Canadians take to the ice to play hockey in all its winter splendour. Men and women, boys and girls, retirees and up-and-comers, prime ministers and plumbers - all are equal on the rink. Director David Battistella presents the unwritten codes learned on ponds and backyard rinks, and passed down from generation to generation. Capturing the nation's favourite game in its purest form, *Shinny: The Hockey in All of Us* focuses on a few of the millions in Canada who have written their own rules of the game.⁴

This promotional blurb captures many prevalent themes – landscapes across the whole country, equality, tradition, nationalism and the universality of hockey for Canadians.

The film travels back and forth across the country, finding games in such places as Lake Louise, Alberta, Orangeville, Ontario, and Kugluktuk, Nunavut. Like in *Pond Hockey*, there are frequent interviews, except with *Shinny*, the interviewees are typically more “everyday” people – old-timers, an Australian migrant worker who is using the game to integrate into her new community, volunteers who maintain community rinks, and dads that build their own. The few famous people featured are not hockey players or coaches, but the then Governor-General

Adrienne Clarkson and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, and author Roch Carrier, widely known and loved for his story “le chandail de hockey.”⁵

As the film proceeds, the audience is given ten “unwritten rules” of shinny. Each of these comes up as a black screen with stylized words on them. They serve as cut scenes, and each unwritten rule takes viewers off to a new location and on a different tangent. The ten rules are as follows:

- 10) Pass the puck.
- 9) Mother Nature owns the rink.
- 8) If Daddy builds the rink, the rink gets used.
- 7) Everyone is welcome.
- 6) If you want to play, you have to shovel.
- 5) All ice is home ice.
- 4) Be your own hero.
- 3) No fighting.
- 2) You play for fun.
- 1) Make your own rules.

The film’s major themes come across fairly clearly in these rules. Like in *Pond Hockey*, we get notions of free play, community, childhood, nostalgia, nature, family, and an absence of boundaries. In all but a few crucial ways, these are essentially the same film – a running series of interviews, interspersed with winter scenes, that offers an idealized and nostalgic vision of hockey occurring in a pristine, natural state where anyone with skates and a stick is welcome. The similarity in approach was demonstrated by the web-sites that supported each film around the time of release – both films ran web-sites where viewers could write in and share their own stories of playing hockey outdoors, thereby encouraging interaction around the central themes.⁶

Equality and Universality

Having now insisted that the documentaries are largely the same, similarly treating consistent themes, the focus needs to shift to some of the few major differences. One thing that

Shinny stresses, much more so than *Pond Hockey*, is the notion of equality – that all are welcome, and on the rink, everyone is a social equal. This notion recurs frequently in the film, through visual means and spoken commentary. Partnered with this, and tied to *Shinny*'s promotion of nationalism, is the notion of universality – that hockey matters to all Canadians, and that shinny, as in the subtitle, is “in all of us.”

The outdoor rink at the Governor-General's residence at Rideau Hall is a setting that *Shinny* features prominently. In several scenes, a mixed group of people are seen playing hockey at the rink. The Prime minister at the time, Jean Chrétien, joins them (sporting a Shawinigan Chiefs jersey). Then-Governor General Adrienne Clarkson is interviewed, mostly in voice-over, and she comments that it is an accessible and open rink, that everyone belongs and “that's what's really Canadian about it.”

Another recurring setting which emphasizes equality and universality is the open ice behind Chateau Lake Louise in Alberta, where a group of the resort hotel's staff are portrayed playing a game of shinny. Here, there is an extended visual of the ritual of stick-sorting, where everyone places their stick in a pile and teams are created by randomly throwing sticks to one side or the other. One scene has a number of these players skating up to the camera individually, stating their name, what city or town they are from, and what their job is at the hotel. The players come from all over the country, and their positions range from administration and marketing, to custodial staff and retirees. Less than subtly, this stresses equality by occupation and age, and universality by region.

A third major construction of equality and universality brings the North of Canada and First Nations peoples into the frame. One storyline that stretches across the film follows goalie equipment that is being donated, from the shop where it is constructed in Toronto, to an office in

the Yukon, down the Ice Road and via plane to a remote native community in Nunavut, where the Arctic Ocean is tagged by sub-title as “The World’s Largest Ice Rink.” This particular story ends with happy children playing with the equipment, while the voice of popular aboriginal singer Susan Aglukark sings in Inuktitut to the tune of “Amazing Grace.”

These are prominent examples of themes that carry across the documentary in many places. Shinny, and by extension other forms of hockey, is mythologized as a place where “Everyone is welcome” (as per rule #7), and a social practice that holds cultural relevance for Canadians collectively. In saying “mythologized,” I do not mean to say these constructions are untrue. Rather, following on Daniel Francis who has considered many mythologies that Canadians hold dear, there are certain grains of truth that are taken out of proportion for ideological purposes.⁷

Deconstructing aspects of these mythologies of equality and universality is unfortunately easy business. Writing in 1976, Howard Nixon III could easily claim that “because the cultural significance of hockey in Canada is so considerable, growing up male in this society almost necessarily implies some exposure to hockey.”⁸ But a key point there (which Nixon makes) is the focus on men and masculinity. Hockey has long been a male preserve, with certain types of masculinity promoted both within the sub-culture itself and by the extensive Canadian media coverage.⁹ Gruneau and Whitson point out that even though they grew up feeling that hockey was universal, they knew boys who did not play either due to interest or to cost.¹⁰

Women have long struggled to find a place in hockey. After strong growth from the early 1900s through the 1920s, women’s hockey all but disappeared in Canada until the 1970s.¹¹ From then until the 2000s, women’s leagues had to fight for equal opportunity and ice time. Even with the explosive growth of women’s hockey after the rise of world championships and

Olympic competition, women's hockey is still much less visible in the media, and the media constructs it as "other than" and inferior to the men's games.¹²

While these critiques could mostly be applied to organized forms of the game, the trickle-down to outdoor hockey makes sense. If women struggle to perceive a place for themselves in hockey, then going to the outdoor rink or pond is less than natural. The absence of women playing the outdoor game motivated the city of Toronto to set aside "Women's only" times on their rinks.¹³ Both of the documentaries unconsciously stress gender hierarchies, despite the promotion of equality and universality. Of all the interviewees in *Pond Hockey*, the only female player who gets screen-time of more than a few seconds is Krissy Wendell, NCAA star and Olympian. *Shinny* does feature women playing hockey in several scenes, and two even focus on women. While Australian immigrant Margaret Mitchell talks about how she is using shinny as a way to integrate herself, she is only pictured skating alone. The only other women pictured playing for any extended time are part of a family in Saskatchewan, including the mother and two daughters. However, only the father is interviewed, and he talks about how he got them into playing, subtly reinforcing gender roles.

People of color are noticeably absent, in both of these documentaries and in wider forms of hockey, as well. Popular histories and biographies note the bias and overt racism that Black and aboriginal players have faced, particularly as they went up through the ranks of organized hockey.¹⁴ Hockey has low rates of players from immigrant backgrounds, and this even extends to the outdoor game.¹⁵ Robert Pitter astutely notes that the proportional lack of players of color may have as much to do with economics as with racism, but that even raising race as an issue within hockey, and Canadian culture more widely, "is not a Canadian thing to do."¹⁶ The only people of color to appear in either of the documentaries under discussion are people from the

northern community that receive the donation of equipment. This is not at all to deny the good intentions of those involved, or the very real importance of hockey to many First Nations communities,¹⁷ but a scholar working from a Native Studies or postcolonial perspective might point out that this act of charity could be interpreted as the ‘gifting’ of White culture to a minority group.

I would be even more cynical about these themes, but for an experience I had last winter. Two young journalists, Ryan Lum and Mark Dance, travelled from Northern Ontario to Halifax, on what they called their “Outdoor Rinks Project.” They played outdoors along the way, and wrote a weekly series of newspaper articles for the *Halifax Chronicle-Herald*.¹⁸ When they came to Fredericton, I took them to different locations over an afternoon, where we were always invited to play in pick-up games soon after our arrival. Despite being clearly the oldest player (near 40 years old) and most obviously the least skilled, I was always included in the stick shuffle and players still consistently passed to me. So the notion of welcome and inclusion has some veracity. At the same time, I cannot help but think that this was eased by us all being White males.

Nationalism in Shiny

Much more could be written on the notions of equality and universality, but *Shiny*’s primary theme of nationalism needs discussion. In terms of the prominence of the theme, and the number of times the film returns to it in some way, nationalism is the most important one in *Shiny*. While there are some overt instances that cannot be missed by even the most casual viewer, much of it is constructed rhetorically through commentators insisting that “hockey is Canada” and vice versa, and visually through the deployment of winter landscape scenes.

One example of explicit nationalism occurs right at the beginning of the documentary. The first scene portrays a middle aged man walking through the woods and skating on a clear pond. Some good camera work goes from him, down through the ice to underwater, then back to him skating at the camera. This fades to an image of the Canadian flag blowing in the breeze, over which the title of the film appears. Thus in the first few minutes of the movie, there are easy associations made between the outdoors, hockey, Canada and Canadian nationalism, with all the cultural inferences that the flag arouses. The later inclusion of interviews with the Governor General and the Prime Minister also make clear nationalistic appeals, with the iconic status that these offices hold.

Throughout the film, the idea of “hockey is Canada” is frequently cited by a variety of people being interviewed. It is not just that hockey is important to Canada; hockey is equated to Canada itself. Adrienne Clarkson comments that “everybody who comes to Canada understands it’s an important part of the way of life here.” From the Staley family backyard in Orangeville, Ontario, we hear that shinny is “a certain part of Canadiana, a certain part of our heritage, entwined with our country.” One unnamed old-timer playing at the Bow River in Alberta puts it most simply, “Shinny is the basis of everything in Canada, isn’t it?” That was meant to be tongue-in-cheek, but such statements indicate the powerful and widely held idea of hockey and Canada being inseparably intertwined.

By comparison, in *Pond Hockey* there is some discussion of hockey being important to small towns in Minnesota, as being a marker of local identity and community. But it never extends beyond that. The community constructed in *Shinny* is very much a national one. The unsaid in comments about hockey and nation, with the assumption that the audience can fill in the blanks, is *as* important as what actually is said.

Arguably, the main way that *Shinny* ties into nationalistic visions of Canada is through its visual aesthetic, which privileges winter landscape scenes and iconic Canadian scenery. Viewers are almost constantly presented with scenes that linger over mountains with frozen lakes spread out before them, of specific places like the Ice Road in the Yukon, stretching off into the distance with tiny houses far off, of open prairies with a line of telephone poles, and highways off in the distance. Even backyard rinks are occasionally portrayed from a long camera angle, making small spaces seem vast. The focus on the hockey game at Lake Louise, with the hotel in the background, plays upon an iconic image frequently seen in tourism advertising in the early 1900s which came to represent Canada to the world.¹⁹ All of this interacts with and promotes the conceptualization of Canada as a northern nation, as a land of wild, open spaces, and of the “northern character myth,” whereby Canadians are seen to be strengthened, hardened and invigorated by our interaction with climate and geography (even though most of us live in urban environments).²⁰

The conflation of nature, winter landscape, hockey and Canada is nothing new to critical scholars of hockey. However, *Shinny* gives its viewers a highly visual, and visually appealing, version. In discussing the corollary of hockey and the north, Daniel Francis notes that, “The blank expanse of ice represents the vast, frigid, dispassionate wilderness, or so the metaphorically-inclined tell us, and every game dramatizes the struggle for survival in such a difficult land.”²¹ If that can be said of the indoor game, then *Shinny* takes the corollary to an even greater level by actually presenting vast, blank expanses of ice.

Again, a comparison to the approach in *Pond Hockey*, the American film, offers insights. *Pond Hockey* does include a number of landscape shots, of parks, ponds, backyards, etc. There is also some sense of the winter environment being invigorating, with appropriate quotes from

Thoreau. The film opens and closes with shots from a helicopter looking down on a remote, shovelled-off riverbed. However, its landscapes are always populated. In all but the opening sequence (which then quickly moves onto a hockey game), the frozen landscapes have people playing hockey in them. *Shinny*, on the other hand, features many scenes of nothing but empty landscapes, with no hockey at all. Frozen nature becomes its own character in a film ostensibly about hockey.

The cultural blending of hockey, Canadianness and nature has been the subject of much criticism by hockey scholars, historians and media critics. The literature on this offers a number of critiques. For one, this cultural conception is incredibly powerful because of its prevalence. As Dopp and Harrison discuss,

Canada's great narrative of its own "northern character" with its emphasis on the personal virtues of hardiness, self-reliance, and self-sacrifice, and on the social values of small-town life and loyalty to the collective good, all leavened with a touch of ironic humor, has been told so often in the language of hockey that the two stories – of game and nation – can be seen as one.²²

There is something to be said for the argument that hockey reflects Canadians' engagement with winter and a sometime harsh geography, but "the myth of hockey as a 'natural adaptation to ice, snow and open space is a particularly graphic example...about how history can be confused with nature."²³ This naturalization misses out on the way hockey can exclude certain people, as discussed earlier, and how vested interests seek to promote such naturalization for its own ends.

As noted by media scholars Jackson, Scherer and Martin,

While it is often argued that ice hockey one of the most – if not *the* – defining features of Canadian identity, we need to understand that it is not something natural, essential or inevitable. Rather, a vast range of state, corporate and media agencies have combined to ensure ice hockey's central position in Canadian culture and the Canadian marketplace, often at a cost to others.²⁴

So while there is something to the mythology of Canada, nature and hockey, the mythos has been manipulated and managed by commercial interests (read the National Hockey League and other professional forms), since at least the 1920s.²⁵ The question becomes, how does a film about the purity of *shinny* hockey play into the interests of more commercialized forms? In part, it is because the conflation of nature, nation and all types of hockey is made so often in Canada that it is rarely questioned. But contrasting back to *Pond Hockey* offers further insights.

Pond Hockey, as noted much earlier in the paper, contains a section, about 4 minutes long, that offers a sustained critique of organized hockey. In this section, a string of the interviewees discuss how organized hockey stifles creativity, kills the fun for players, stresses competition too much, and forces children into over-specialization in one sport. Sport psychologist Brenda Bredemeier comes in as an expert to critique the way that children are overscheduled and pushed too hard. It makes sense that in a film about the “pure hockey” that occurs outside, in informal, player-run environments, would target the organized form of the sport for critique. And *Pond Hockey*, the American-made film that has no real nationalistic investment, does just that.

With *Shinny*, on the other hand, references to organized hockey are all but absent. In this way, the links from outdoor, informal play, through to highly commercialized professional sport are never really questioned – a very Canadian approach to hockey. The only direct reference that is made to organized hockey in the whole film serves to reinforce the similarity. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien is asked about the differences in the “two games,” outdoor and indoor. He responds: “C'est le même jeu, mais c'est pas le même niveau” (it's the same game, but not the same level), which the English subtitle translates as “it's just a different level.” He goes on to explain one is for competition, and the other for fun. But in this one instance where organized

hockey is raised, it is pointedly said to be the same, by no less significant a person than the country's leading politician.

Conclusions

A naïve perspective on documentaries might assume that such films tell “the truth,” that they reflect reality as it happens. A more realistic interpretation would say that documentaries have always involved the construction of particular narratives, of particular “truths.” Both *Shinny* and *Pond Hockey* capture certain truths about hockey played informally, outside, in the elements. Anyone who goes with skates and stick will find camaraderie, fun, excitement, and a certain amount of acceptance (although this could be said of many informal versions of sports other than hockey).²⁶ In many ways, *Pond Hockey* and *Shinny* are the same film. Both films emphasize positive outcomes for those involved, which cannot be denied.

Meanwhile, looking at the ways that *Shinny* differs and moves in other directions from *Pond Hockey* enables us to discern how a Canadian approach to outdoor hockey must come into contact with wider cultural understandings. We have the typical, constant equations of hockey, nation, national character, “Canada’s Game” and commercial interests. In its promotion of hockey-related nationalism, *Shinny* has tapped into something in which people can find a sense of community, in a large country which shares few common reference points. The many themes that come through the film, tie into and feed off each other. Perceptions of equality and a universally shared experience in hockey are ways that Canadians like to see themselves. If such attributes can be seen in hockey, and “hockey is Canada” as told by ubiquitous cultural products (of which this is just one, but a visually powerful one), then Canada is equitable and we gain some sense of communion and national belonging. Hockey, as Gruneau and Whitson commented nearly 20 years ago, is a story that Canadians tell themselves, about what it means to

be Canadian.”²⁷ In hockey, even (perhaps most importantly) in its simplest forms, we can collectively find the “truths” that we want.

ENDNOTES

¹ This paper was presented at the 2012 hockey conference - *Putting it on the Ice III - Constructing the Hockey Family: Home, Community, Bureaucracy and Marketplace* - held at Saint Mary's University in Halifax from July 12-14, 2012. Author contact: Fred Mason, Associate Professor, Faculty of Kinesiology, University of New Brunswick, PO Box 4400, Fredericton, NB, Canada, E3B 5A3. Phone: (506) 453-5021. Email: fmason@unb.ca.

² *Pond Hockey*, DVD, Directed by Tommy Haines (Saint Paul, MN: Northland Films, 2008); *Shinny: The Hockey in All of Us*, DVD, Directed by David Battistella (Montreal, PQ: National Film Board of Canada, 2001).

³ Quote from page 212. McDonald's article details different traditions in documentary filmmaking, and then categorizes sports documentaries into these modes. Ian McDonald, "Situating the Sport Documentary," *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, Vol. 31, no 3 (2007), 208-225; see 211-214 particularly for descriptions of documentary traditions.

⁴ Quotation taken from the NFB web-site devoted to the film under "Our Collections", available at: <http://www.onf-nfb.gc.ca/eng/collection/film/?id=50781>. Accessed December 7, 2012.

⁵ "Le chandail de hockey" (The Hockey Sweater) was first collected in Carrier's *Les Enfants du bonhomme dans la lune* (Montréal: Éditions internationales Alain Stanké, 1979), appearing in English translation as *The Hockey Sweater and Other Stories*. A cartoon version of the story, narrated by Carrier, was produced by the NFB - *The Sweater*, Directed by Sheldon Cohen (Montreal, PQ: National Film Board of Canada, 1980). It is available for free viewing at <http://www.nfb.a/film/sweater/>. Demonstrating its popularity and cultural reach, an excerpt from the story appears on the Canadian five dollar bill, in English and French.

⁶ Unfortunately, these sites have since been shut down, meaning that I cannot do any analysis of what viewers wrote. The current web site for *Shinny*, as part of the NFB collections, is cited above. *Pond Hockey's* current web-site offers basic description and essentially operates as a vehicle for selling copies of the video. See: <http://www.pondhockeymovie.com/>. A children's picture book was produced in association with *Pond Hockey*, written by the film's producer - Andrew Sherburne, illustrated by Kevin Cannon, *Ben and Lucy Play Pond Hockey* (Edina, MN: Beaver Pond Books, 2010). It further reinforces (and simplifies) many of the ideas in the films, such as free play, and winter fun.

⁷ Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory and Canadian History* (Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997), 11-12. In this work, Francis takes on many foundational mythologies of Canada, including those associated with the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and notions of heroism, wilderness, and the North.

⁸ Howard L. Nixon II, "Growing up with Hockey in Canada," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 11, no. 1 (1976), 37.

⁹ On hockey as a traditional male preserve, see Richard Gruneau and David Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*. For a recent take on the construction of masculinity, see Kristi A. Allain, "'Real Fast and Tough': The Construction of Canadian Hockey Masculinity," *Sociology of Sport Journal*, Vol. 25 (2008), 462-481. On media, see Kristi A. Allain, "Kid Crosby or Golden Boy: Sidney Crosby, Canadian National Identity, and the Policing of Hockey Masculinity," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 46 (2010), 3-22; and Sarah Gee, "Mediating Sport, Myth and Masculinity: The National Hockey League's 'Inside the Warrior' Advertising Campaign," *Sociology of Sport Journal*, Vol. 26 (2009), 578-598.

¹⁰ Richard Gruneau and David Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities and Cultural Politics* (Toronto: Garamond, 1993), 2.

¹¹ Julie Stevens, "Women's Hockey in Canada: After the 'Gold Rush'", in *Artificial Ice: Hockey, Culture and Commerce*, ed. David Whitson and Richard Gruneau (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2006), 85-99. For in-depth study of women's hockey at a time of major change, see Nancy Theberge, *Higher Goals: Women's Ice Hockey and the Politics of Gender* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2000). This time period, along with some history, is also captured well by Elizabeth Etue and Melissa K. Williams, *On the Edge: Women Making Hockey History* (Toronto: Second Story Press, 1996).

¹² Michelle Helstein, "Producing the Canadian Female Athlete: Negotiating the Popular Logics of Sport and Citizenship," in *How Canadians Communicate III: Contexts of Canadian Popular Culture*, eds. Bart Beaty, Derek Briton, Gloria Filax, and Rebecca Sullivan, (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2010), 241-258. For comparisons of coverage of men's and women's Olympic hockey in Canada, see Mary Louise Adams, "The Game of Whose Lives? Gender, Race and Entitlement in Canada's 'National' Game" in *Artificial Ice: Hockey, Culture and Commerce*, ed. David Whitson and Richard Gruneau (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2006), 71-84; Fred Mason, Scott Hill and Meghan MacLatchy, "Whose National Team? Which Games? A Comparison of Television Coverage of Canadian Women's, Men's and Sledge Hockey at Vancouver 2010," in *Rethinking Matters Olympic: Investigations into the Socio-Cultural Study of the Modern Olympic Movement – Tenth International Symposium for Olympic Research*, ed. Robert K. Barney, Janice Forsyth and Michael K. Heine (London, ON: International Centre for Olympic Studies, 2010), 239-247.

¹³ Ryan Lum and Mark Dance, "Outdoor Rinks Must Stop Freezing Out Minorities," *Halifax Chronicle-Herald*, 12 February 2012. Available online at: <http://thechronicleherald.ca/novascotia/61938-outdoor-rinks-must-stop-freezing-out-minorities>.

¹⁴ For example, see Cecil Harris, *Breaking the Ice: The Black Experience in Professional Hockey* (Toronto: Insomniac Press, 2003); Don Marks, *They Call Me Chief: Warriors on Ice* (Winnipeg: J. G. Shillingford, 2008). Georges Laraque, a recently retired NHL enforcer of Haitian background, talks about how racism became a motivator for him, as something to overcome. See Georges Laraque, with Pierre Thibault, *The Story of the NHL's Unlikeliest Tough Guy* (Toronto: Viking, 2011).

¹⁵ Bill Kaufmann, "Getting Immigrants Interested in Hockey Not Easy," *Calgary Sun*, 29 October 2011. Available online at: <http://www.sunnewsnetwork.ca/sunnews/sports/archives/2011/10/20111029-162305.html>. Lum and Dance, "Outdoor rinks."

¹⁶ Robert Pitter, "Racialization of Hockey in Canada: From Personal Troubles to a Canadian Challenge," in *Artificial Ice: Hockey, Culture and Commerce*, ed. David Whitson and Richard Gruneau (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2006), 123-139. For a more radical critique of the place of Black players in hockey, which makes interesting analogies to Black authors in Canadian literature, see Peter James Hudson, "Honkey Night in Canada," *Transition*, Issue 96 (2006), 68-85.

¹⁷ Michael A. Robidoux, "The Subaltern Framework of Aboriginal Hockey: Gnoseology and Thinking Along the Borders," in *Putting it on Ice, Volume I: Hockey and Cultural Identities*, ed. Colin D. Howell, (Halifax, NS: St. Mary's University, 2002), 29-33.

¹⁸ Ryan Lum and Mark Dance went from North Bay, Ontario, to Halifax between December 2011 and February 2012, playing on and writing stories about outdoor rinks. They published weekly articles in the *Halifax Chronicle-Herald* between January 8, 2012, and February 26, 2012, and maintained a running blog with articles, commentaries, images and audio interviews. The initial entry is available at: <http://outdoorrinks.wordpress.com/2011/12/28/ottawa-on-introduction-to-the-game>. It was interesting that the articles and blog posts started out very celebratory, but before their trip was done, issues with language, race, gender and the environment came up.

¹⁹ On early tourism and the iconic imagery of mountains and hotels in western Canada, see E.J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Canmore, AB: Altitude Publishing, 1983); Daniel Francis, *Selling Canada: Three Propaganda Campaigns that Shaped the Nation* (Vancouver: Stanton Atkins & Dosil, 2011). One of the three campaigns is tourism advertising; see 124-170.

²⁰ The "Northern Character" was a favorite trope of Canadian poets, artists and other cultural creative in the late 1800s and early 1900s. For a discussion in a sporting context, see Dave Brown, "The Northern Character Theme and Sport in Nineteenth-Century Canada," *Canadian Journal of the History of Sport/Revue Canadienne de l'histoire des sports*, Vol. 20, no. 1, 47-56.

²¹ Francis, *National Dreams*, 167.

²² Jamie Dopp and Richard Harrison, "Introduction," in *Now is the Winter: Thinking about Hockey*, ed. Dopp and Harrison (Hamilton, ON: Wolsak & Wynn, 2009), 11.

²³ Gruneau & Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 132.

²⁴ Steve Jackson, Jay Scherer and Scott Martyn, "Sport and the Media," in *Canadian Sport Sociology*, ed. Jane Crossman (Toronto: Thomson-Nelson, 2nd ed., 2008), 116.

²⁵ Gruneau and Whitson's *Hockey Night in Canada* has some of the classic critiques and demythologizations. For further on this, see Martin Laba, "Myths and Markets: Hockey as Popular Culture in Canada" in *Seeing Ourselves: Media Power and Policy in Canada*, ed. Helen Holmes and David Taras (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992), 333-344; David Whitson, "Hockey and Canadian Identities: From Frozen Rivers to Revenue Streams," in *A Passion for Identity: Canadian Studies for the 21st Century*, ed. David Taras and Beverly Rasporich (Scarborough, ON: Thomson-Nelson, 2001), 217-236.

²⁶ For a basic, but insightful discussion of the characteristics of informal sports, see Jay Coakley and Peter Donnelly, *Sports in Society: Issues and Controversies*, 2nd Canadian ed. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 2009), 117-120, 130-135.

²⁷ Gruneau & Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 13.