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Of puck and self
Hockey and the making of Canadian identity

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1 Of what it is all about: an introduction

It is a simple fact of life in Canada that hockey, directly or indirectly, touches virtually anyone.\(^1\)

Hockey is the Canadian metaphor, the rink a symbol of this country’s vast stretches of water and wilderness, its extremes of climate, the player a symbol of our struggle to civilize such a land.\(^2\)

On a fine Sunday afternoon in the middle of February 2005, more than three hundred Vancouverites blocked off the city’s eclectic Commercial Drive to protest the expansion of the Trans-Canada Highway…what could have been just another street protest was made striking by how the protesters chose to express themselves: they played a game of street hockey.\(^3\)

Hockey is part of life in Canada. Thousands play it, millions follow it, and millions more surely try their best to ignore it altogether. But if they do, their disregard must be purposeful.\(^4\)

Like many Canadian men of our generation, we have vivid memories of the seemingly endless pick-up hockey games that made winter fun in our youth.\(^5\)

Avoiding the laborious and troublesome quest for introductorily grandeur, the formulation of this thesis’ appropriate opening lines has been left to the likes of Podniecks, Kidd, Macfarlane, McKinley, Dryden, MacGregor, Gruneau and Whitson. No matter the actual heterogeneity of their findings, these writers’ eye-catching opening phrases all assure of a common appropriateness for a discussion of hockey within the framework of a typical Canadian self’s selfing. In short, little appears more natural than the apparently all-too obvious bond between puck and self.

Subsequently, this thesis’ outline will be briefly introduced. Throughout the text’s main body, chapters consisting of multiple subsections, namely chapters two through six, will feature separate, more elaborate introductorily comments, explaining each subsections’ structure and respective focus. Furthermore, many continuative elaborations have been shifted towards numerous footnotes in order to increase this work’s concreteness. Even though such footnoted elaborations are highly recommendable for the interested reader, the text’s main findings are largely comprehendible without.

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\(^1\) Podnieks, Andrew: *A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country* (Greystone Books, Vancouver, Canada, 2006), page 3

\(^2\) Kidd, Bruce and Macfarlane, John: *The Death of Hockey* (New Press, Toronto, Canada, 1972), page 4

\(^3\) McKinley, Michael: *Hockey: A People’s History* (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and McClelland & Stewart Ltd., Toronto, Canada, 2006), page 1

\(^4\) Dryden, Ken and MacGregor, Roy: *Home Game: Hockey and Life in Canada* (McClelland & Stewart Inc., Toronto, Canada), page 9

\(^5\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics* (Garamond Press, Toronto, Canada, 1993), page 1
In short, “Of Puck and Self” aims at a multi-layered analysis of the complex relationship between the makings of “self” and hockey as a supposable integral component of such Canadian manifestations and experiences of identity, typically perceived in reference to somewhat distinctive conceptions of place. Therefore, puck’s significance will be analysed in regard of municipal, regional and national perceptions of identity and belonging. What shall be questioned is not only the true substance behind above quoted, allegedly all-encompassing assurances of experienced commonality, but also the reasons why such assurances are deemed highly significant, both in past and present.

In a first step, important conceptualisations necessary for puck and self’s further discussion will be introduced in chapter two, namely the concept of culture, its contemporary studies, sports’ significance within and the general concept of a community’s making.

Based upon this foundation, chapter three will explain codified hockey’s early development within an emergent Canadian nation state, including references to the Victorian Era’s ideological framework of proper physical recreation and gendered restrictions of such. As a modern nation state, Canada was based upon the populace’s common willingness to imagine the self as part of the nation’s relative and individually unknowable arbitrariness, a willingness fostered by the invention of popular traditions. Modern hockey quickly became one of them – as puck met self. However, the process of its increasingly popular nation-wide assertion was far from natural and required the unifying means of a trophy’s quests and journeys, as will be explained.

Chapter four’s focus will rest upon the manufacture of we-ness and other-ness, both in general terms and in reference to specific levels of imagined identity. As the Canadian self’s assumed symbolic relation to puck occurs on numerous, even simultaneously held or imagined senses of we-ness, the game’s specific significance for the manufacture of municipal, regional and national perceptions of such will be introduced.

Often purposefully enacted, such perceptions of we-ness, based upon the currency of hockey as a means of identification among strangers, allowed for the amassment of currency in the hands of the game’s professional athletes and the successful sporting entrepreneur, as chapter five will illustrate. What is more, US-based entrepreneurs
appeared to take over hockey, perceived as a threatened “Canadian specific”. An analysis of such perceived fears of a cultural sellout will round out the chapter.

Chapter six will focus upon a gendered analysis of hockey and this thesis’ previous findings. Firstly focusing on “him”, it will be shown what kind of manliness it helped to promote, both historically and ever since. Equally, it will be analysed how the game coped with the perpetual issue of violence and how universal the experience of hockey, both for him and her, actually is. Equally, a telling, gendered account of the nation’s most storied mass ritual, *Hockey Night in Canada*, will be introduced, opening up new perspectives for a thorough discussion of puck and self. Do totalising claims in regard of hockey’s cultural significance stand up to gendered scrutiny – or not? If not, how does this alter its cultural significance? Analysing hockey’s history, what kind of herstory, cloaked by the amnesia of manufactured commonality, is there to be found?

Chapter seven will focus upon the present-day issues of globalization, modernity and subsequent practices of selfing, especially in regard of an allegedly post-national commonality of consumed triviality. Based upon previous conceptualisations regarding a community’s making, the continuous existence, or non-existence, of somewhat typical national identities will be scrutinized in the face of current world affairs. It will be explained how the process of a self’s selfing has changed and how individuated individuals challenge past, apparently more homogenous, conceptualisations of imagined identity. Equally, it will be shown how Canada has actively begun a promotion of lived diversity, commonly perceived as a cultural en-masse empowerment by some and, in lockstep with modernity’s core ideologies, an en-masse fostering of asociality by others.

Drawing upon chapter seven’s conclusions, this thesis’ final chapter will attempt to analyse what an apparently post-national and post-cultural future holds in store for puck and self. It will be shown where and how puck and self contemporarily meet, not only in reference to the actual, rink-based, on- or off-ice experience, but equally in regard of its continuous significance as a mutually shared and sporadically consumed anchor of imagined commonality. As it is commonly claimed that current-day Canada appears to come apart under the strains of modernity, what truth remains in this introduction’s initial citations? Looking backwards how puck and self have evolved, what is there to be seen glancing forwards?
2 Of culture, community and sports

Before the first puck is dropped, several key conceptualisations necessary for the analysis of hockey’s impact on what is perceived as a distinctive Canadian identity shall be introduced. Therefore, the phenomena of culture (2.1), its contemporary studies (2.2), sports significance within (2.3) and the general concept of a community’s making (2.4) serve as viable starting blocks.

Historically, a cultural analysis of hockey in all its now common manifestations, ranging from a frozen backyard pond to a sport bar’s giant screen, would have taken place within a hierarchical understanding of what culture entails. Many contemporary manifestations of hockey would have been analysed outside the framework of culture or within the limits of a lower mass culture, not only dismissed as of lesser value by proponents of a distinctive high culture, but also as an opportunity missed from the political Left. It is therefore sensible to clarify historical distinctions between high and mass culture and to touch upon significant critiques, especially of the latter. Equally, it shall be sketched how such distinctions tend to become obsolete once national cultural expressions are threatened by others (2.1).

No longer based upon hierarchical distinctions, contemporary cultural studies focus on differing conceptions of what culture entails, which is the focus of subsequent analysis (2.2).

In a next step, the place and significance of sports within modern cultural studies will be scrutinized (2.3). Despite a recent rejection of hierarchical distinctions of cultural expressions, the relationship between cultural studies and sports remains questionable. As will be shown, sports are frequently marginalized and interpreted from the basis of unreasonable, yet unquestioned assumptions.

Also, central to any analysis of cultural expressions and their symbolic meanings is the concept of community, its constant substantiation and its often imagined nature. An answer to the question why communal feelings stand a chance in an area as incomprehensible as the modern nation-state shall round out this thesis’ introduction of key conceptualisation (2.4).
2.1 Of high, mass and Canadian culture

Culture, as a concept, has a complex and contested history, based on constantly shifting background assumptions and doomed attempts of objective interpretation. Nevertheless, what gets defined as “culture” has always been a matter of negotiation and struggle between powerful and less powerful groups, attempting to establish preferred versions of cultural achievement in regard of a renegotiated past, a manufactured present and a longed for future. Broadly speaking, it is historically possible to distinguish somewhat objectively between Western high- and mass culture. Both terms shall be subsequently disentangled. They have marked discursive polarities ever since the emergence of a distinctive mass culture throughout the nineteenth century. Even though both understandings of culture have subsequently blurred into each other, their respective critiques shall be touched upon - with a focus on the Left critique of popular mass culture. Concerning the Canadian context, typical threats towards a perceived cultural distinctiveness and subsequent argumentative fallacies concerning its defence shall be equally sketched.

Originally, the process of “cultivation” was reserved for the cultivation of crops and animals, thus in its biological sense. Setting off from its agrarian connotation, the process of cultivation has been metaphorically extended to the cultivation of human intelligence and sensibilities. The concept of cultural development, thus of a peoples’ thrust towards an en masse realization of unfulfilled humanly or divinely inspired capacities, became entangled and equated with human progress. Culture, in itself, became a synonym for civilization. The very concept of civilization clearly distinguished between those institutions and achievements erected by Western societies in the longstanding tradition of classical Greece’s civilizing process, thus “high cultures”, and those of “primitive” societies, thus “low” cultures. Enlightened cultural relativism equated the process of cultivation to those practices of thinking, speaking and aesthetic appreciation exhibited by European men with a nineteenth-century upper-class education, generally limiting the very idea of “being cultivated” to a certain class, gender, race and adherence to the

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7 As Schlesinger Jr. illustrates with references towards the remaking of history under the influence of movements for women’s and civil rights, as “we bring to history the preconceptions of our personalities and our age. We cannot seize on ultimate and absolute truths. So the historian is committed to a doomed enterprise – the quest for an unattainable objectivity”. Schlesinger Jr., Arthur M.: America needs history as never before (International Herald Tribune, Neuilly-Sur-Seine, France, 02.01.07), page 6
8 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 27
9 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 5
perceived ideals of high culture. Based on such assumptions, the great mass of people within European societies - and even more so on a global scale - was easily rendered uncultured\textsuperscript{10}.

As, fuelled by industrial advances driven by a new entrepreneurial class, modern economic growth became self-sustaining during the nineteenth- and twentieth century, Western societies entered the stage of economic “take off”\textsuperscript{11}. During economic “take off”, the traditional construct of culture and an individuals’ status as “being cultured or not” came to be called into question by the democratising and popularising forces at work within transforming societies\textsuperscript{12} undergoing structural change\textsuperscript{13}. Such societies, no longer mainly engaged in a constant quest for mere subsistence nor adhering to fixed social orders depending on a static, agrarian economic setting\textsuperscript{14}, were the contemporary pinnacle of the modernist project. In this apparently progressive context, the emergent Western modernist ideology allowed for the individuation of the rationalistic self, adhering to the doctrines of democracy, the market and human rights\textsuperscript{15}.

On the one hand, the high arts, representing formerly elitist conceptions of high culture, began to receive greater exposure throughout societies slowly unleashed from the grim shackles of early industrial capitalism or agrarian subsistence. On the other hand, the en masse availability of disposable incomes and newly won time “off work” propelled the growth of “undesirable recreations”. What emerged was a highly visible and commonly shared mass culture, fuelled in its rapid growth by its nature of being a popular mass desire lending itself to profitable exploitation by the shrewd entrepreneur\textsuperscript{16}.

Many mass cultural expressions contradicted attempts to direct working class people towards what was perceived as a fuller life via an appreciation of high cultural ideals. Consequently, the “uncivilized masses” became the immediate object of attempted reform by privileged intellectuals and political leaders, attempting to construct a vision of

\textsuperscript{10} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 14-16
\textsuperscript{11} See Rostow’s \textit{The Stages of Economic Growth: A non-communist manifesto} (1960). In essence, Rostow’s thesis proclaims that it is logically and practically possible to identify stages of development and to classify societies according to those stages. Five such stages get distinguished: traditional, transitional, take-off, maturity and high mass consumption. Thirlwall, A.P.: \textit{Growth & Development} (Palgrave Macmillan, New York, United States of America, eight edition, 2006), page 107-114
\textsuperscript{12} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 16
\textsuperscript{13} see Fisher (1939) and Clark (1940), who employed the distinction between primary, secondary and tertiary production as a basis of a development theory; Thirlwall, A.P.: \textit{Growth & Development}, page 105
\textsuperscript{14} Sachs, Jeffrey: \textit{The End of Poverty: How We Can Make It Happen In Our Lifetime} (Penguin Books, London, Great Britain, 2005), page 36
\textsuperscript{15} Pettman, Ralph: \textit{Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs} (M.E. Sharpe Inc., Armonk, New York, United States of America, 2000), page 71-90
\textsuperscript{16} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 16
commonality from above\textsuperscript{17}. Simultaneously, a growing entertainment industry fed off contrasting bottom-up demands.

Striving for the construction of a common high culture, reaffirming cultural conceptions of the privileged classes, the “great project of modern development” was closely attached to the arts and literature and generally objected to popular entertainments, especially when associated with drink, gambling and spectacle. Instead, the concert hall, public library and modern playing field came to be seen as potential sites for proper education and class reconciliation, thus sites offering immediate opportunities for the cultivation of the masses on the terms of those who perceived themselves as superiorly cultured. However, those sites, once successfully established, proofed hard to shelter from commercial ambitions.

Proponents of high culture tended - and still tend - to apply hierarchical distinctions towards what Gruneau et al. describe as an “elite minority culture” at one end of the pole and “mass culture” at the other, with the latter accused of having undermined the pinnacle of cultural advancement achieved by enlightened Western intellectual capacities. Not capable to appreciate the finer aspects of human civilization, the “unschooled masses” quickly turned - and still happily turn - towards mere amusement and humdrum diversion, culturally trivial at best and frequently mass-produced primarily for commercial purposes, the claim goes.

Not necessarily advancing hierarchical interpretations of cultural expressions, the political Left offers a different critique of mass culture. Viewed from the Left, it not only emerged as the aforementioned obstacle for the rather exclusionary and equally dismissible advancement of modern human development via the superior means of elitist high culture, but also as an opportunity for commercial recreation abused, supported and fostered for the masses’ oppression in the longstanding tradition of “bread and circuses”. Mass culture’s emergence and subsequent popularity thus became an opportunity missed\textsuperscript{18}.

As such, the emergence of a commodified mass culture linked the working classes’ historical loss of potential for common emancipation and human liberation to the willing

\textsuperscript{17} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 273
\textsuperscript{18} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 16-22
consumption of what the apparently democratized pleasure market put up for sale. False needs were proliferated, social repression remained as persistent as before and man became “one-dimensional”, as Marcuse argued. What is, as the reasoning by him and like-minded intellectuals goes, effectively cloaked by a willing mass appreciation of mass culture’s commodified expressions is the unequal, violent and exploitative nature of modern capitalism. It is cloaked, in essence, by capitalism itself.

In his media analysis, Chomsky explains how a working classes’ more proliferated self consciousness was initially mediated and reinforced by the “alternative press”. Despite its powerful presence within early industrial societies, it was subsequently undermined by the emerging advertising license to do business, as mass circulated voices of social discontent were progressively strangled out of the market by a lack of advertising support. Filtered by the advertising license to operate profitably, the remaining media began to “manufacture consent” for the requirements of social order. Whereas mass autonomy, creativity and authenticity have thus been extinguished, the ongoing support of dominant institutions for institutionalised mass spectacle, including sports, provides for the constant occupation of the masses’ mind and thus the deadening of the working classes’ radical consciousness. Not only attempts of cultural reform by those historically perceived as superiorly “cultured” are thus frowned upon by the Left, but also mass culture’s repressive abilities, exploited and abused by capitalist interests. As core elements of the Left’s reasoning linger within the contemporary sphere of cultural studies, sports and its spectre of the Roman coliseum will be scrutinized in depth in 2.3.

As introduced above, hierarchical or value-laden interpretations of cultural manifestations not only emerged within nationally-inspired or class-related discourses, but also on the international level, especially concerning cultural imperialism. However, cultural imperialism apparently occurred, and appears to continue to do so, not only in reference to a supposedly modernized first world and the un- or other-cultured “rest”, but also within the former.

19 Hansen, Ursula and Bode, Matthias: Marketing & Konsum: Theorie und Praxis von der Industrialisierung bis ins 21. Jahrhundert (Verlag Franz Vahlen, Munich, Germany, 1999), page 123
20 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 20-21
22 Herman, Edwards S. and Chomsky, Noam: Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media, page 1VI
23 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 21
24 Chomsky, Noam: Understanding Power: The Indispensable Chomsky (Footnotes, 2002), http://terasima.gooside.com/article1sports2spectator.html (01.02.2007)
25 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 20
As Gruneau et al. point out, many Canadian intellectuals have articulated their own variations of cultural theories, frequently agreeing on a familiar threat towards a perceived Canadian distinctiveness well worthy of protection. The villain, commonly perceived as a threat to allegedly civilizing European traditions well persistent within a distinctive Canadian culture, most often appears in the form of a commercially driven and technologically dominant American mass culture, colonizing an “apparently indigenous Canadian popular culture”. Often ignored, Gruneau et al. argue, remains that supposedly threatened national traditions themselves have, for the means of their specific legitimation, drawn on the theories of elite minority culture and/or mass culture. As a result, some thus tend to place superior value upon cultural expressions drawing upon reasonings that are strictly opposed if they lie at the core of cultural expressions emerging outside the Canadian framework, but radiating towards it. In short and somewhat simplified, one’s own mass cultural expressions are somewhat exempt from the criticism voiced towards the other’s mass cultural expressions and, once threatened by such, are deemed in need of intensified protection, no matter any well-founded criticism happily voiced before the threat’s arousal.

Recapitulating, the emergence of a highly visible and commodified mass culture due to the subsequent economic successes of early capitalism often contradicted what was perceived as a precious high culture by those who could afford their own cultivation on preferred terms by mere social affiliation to selective circles. According to such equations of culture with high cultural ideals, few were cultured and most were not. Despite the fact that attempts to broaden access to “improving activities” often proofed less appealing to the masses than what emerged as a distinctive mass culture, this was not only frowned upon by the self-perceived guardians of a civilizing high culture, sensing an erosion of the values Western civilization rested upon. Similarly opposed to emergent mass cultural expressions, but not focused on hierarchical orderings of such in reference to a superior high culture, those arguing from the Left sensed the masses’ squandered opportunity to unmask the exploitative nature of modern capitalism. Commenting on the function of modern commodified sports, Chomsky thus argues that the attention devoted towards such manifestations of popular mass culture accordingly “keeps them (the masses) from trying to get involved with things that really matter”.28

26 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 24-25
27 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 16-20
28 Chomsky, Noam: Understanding Power: The Indispensable Chomsky
2.2 Of Cultural Studies

The focus of cultural recognition and its subsequent studies has shifted from an equation of culture with what has been introduced as the high culture towards more inclusive interpretations. But what are contemporary cultural studies - and how have they come about?

As a starting point for the discursive dismantling of culture’s hierarchical categorizations, the appreciation of man’s evolutionary uniqueness deserves recognition. Subsequently, man became equated with the only living species possessing a culture. Culture, in itself, began to be understood as an “either-or” situation distinguishing man from subhuman animals. It thus originated simultaneously with man’s emergence on the face of the earth. With his unique ability to symbol, man, “as an animal”, became capable of expression - and thus “all people in all places” possessed culture merely by possessing man’s uniquely enabling characteristics.

Habitually, cultural critics had erected an intellectual distinction between cultural expressions well worthy of academic scrutiny and such generally less so, namely what has become known as popular mass culture. In short, the intellectual distinction between high and mass culture had become a one-sided debate and most applications of man’s unique ability to symbol were not fully recognized as such. As mentioned (see 2.1), the popular mass culture was even accused of undermining the pinnacle of human cultural advancement achieved via the evolution of the high arts. Within heterogeneous twentieth-century societies however, the struggle over the rightful allocation of resources and power gained in significance. Nevertheless, popular mass culture’s relevance as a respected field of study only emerged from the 1960s onwards, when the concept of cultural studies originated within the Birmingham School.

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29 White utilizes, among others, the example of holy water in order to support her argument, as “only man can appreciate the difference between holy water and ordinary water; no ape, rat, dog, or any other subhuman animal can have the slightest conception of the meaning of holy water”; White, Leslie A.: The Evolution of Culture: The Development of Civilization to the Fall of Rome (McGraw Hill Book Company Inc., New York, United States of America, 1959), page 3-5
31 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 4-5
Ever since, the study of mass culture is no longer perceived as little but a somewhat derogative analysis of media fare and consumer goods and has achieved unprecedented intellectual legitimacy. Generally, it has begun to focus upon the nature of the good life and its purpose, articulated and expressed by those previously stamped off as uncultured, uneducated, unsophisticated and less affluent - basically those whose cultural expressions only deserved previous attention when remade in accordance to the “cultured’s” preferred values.

A major influence has been the continuous blurring of distinctive cultural categorization. As the unprecedented post-war affluence in favoured parts of the world eliminated en masse poverty as an all-pervasive fact of human existence, cultural choices were no longer determined by class position alone. Whereas it was still relatively easy to distinguish between cultural high- and lowbrow expressions until the 1950s, the increased incorporation of the former into the popular mass culture rendered any such clear dichotomy obsolete. Consequently, contemporary cultural studies no longer erected dichotomised categorizations of cultural expressions along the lines of “high” or “low”, “good” or “bad” and “educative” or “diversionary”. Instead, the exploration of the complex relationships between culture and society, history and meaning, image and context were focused upon, as all cultural forms and practices were deemed worthy of unbiased analysis and interpretation.

The beginnings of contemporary cultural studies, based on man’s ability to symbol, are commonly ascribed to Hoggart and Williams’ mobilization of textual criticism to the “reading” of non-literary cultural forms. Considered less prestigious and therefore unworthy of study before, cultural objects as jukebox music or family magazines were suddenly deemed comparable to Shakespeare plays in so far as they reflected society and everyday life just the same - and thus became the focus of cultural studies. Nevertheless, as Hall points out, the academic field of contemporary cultural studies has a number of different histories. Never mind Hoggart and Williams’ apparently pioneering

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33 Gans, Herbert J.: Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste, page 3-4
34 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 4
35 Gans, Herbert J.: Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste, page 3-4
36 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 17
38 Gans, Herbert J.: Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste, page 5-6
39 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 5
41 Alasuutari, Perti: Researching Culture: Qualitative Method and Cultural Studies, page 25
works originating within the Birmingham School: the field of cultural studies depended on much already existing in the works of others. Hence, albeit tempting, the search for its origins is illusory.

Exemplarily, Hoggart and Williams drew on insights gained by structuralists as Saussure, who recognized that relations between words and meanings are constructed, not given. If extended beyond language, cultural systems of symbolization thus became interpretable as signifying practices of constructed meaning. High culture, in its traditional manifestation as a “separate and autonomous activity” by the nineteenth-century leisure classes and equated with culture per se, thus merely reflected the outcome of social struggles and negotiations concerning what gets defined as culture at a certain time and place.

Traditional themes of mass cultural critique based upon the negative character of popular culture creation, its negative counter-effects on high culture, negative effects on its audiences and negative effects on society as a whole have therefore been shunned in favour of cultural interpretations along the lines of various “taste cultures”, cultures as “nouns of configuration” or cultures as “collective subjectivities”.

The construct of taste cultures, as explained by Gans, refers to expressions of popular and high culture – including both and turning personal preferences into a matter of un-hierarchical choice. Differing taste cultures in pluralist societies can be described as subcultures, often co-existing around a commonly shared core - usually vague and in itself limited both in content and adherents. Common to all cultural manifestations is their functioning as means to, among others, entertain, inform and beautify life, thus their expressing of various, specific standards of taste and aesthetics. The term “taste culture”

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42 Hall, Stuart: Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacy in Grossberg, Lawrence et al: Cultural Studies (Routledge, New York, United Stats of America, 1992), page 277-278
44 A classical examples of the arbitrariness between word and meaning is the word “tree”, as there is not only no apparent reason why this word should be as it is, but there are also different words for the same concept in different language, as every language constitutes its own thought-world. What is more, no universal law defines where distinctive lines of semantic meaning have to be drawn, as Australian Aboriginal cultures inhibit a world defined by a multitude of expressible landscape conditions; conditions perceived as little but empty desert by white Australians. Turner, Graemer: British Cultural Studies: An Introduction, page 13
46 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 28
48 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 28
49 Alasuutari, Pertti: Researching Culture: Qualitative Method and Cultural Studies, page 25
50 It is important to add that Gans not only provides the analytically valuable construct of “taste cultures”, but adheres to a vision of a society enabling all its members via appropriate policies to choose high taste cultures, implying that given specific socio-economic and educational opportunities, everyone would be inclined to do so.
in itself is merely an abstraction, as it separates values and practical expressions from the people themselves. Such separations are unjustifiable outside the context of inherently limited analytical purposes, as culture, constantly in flux as it naturally is, “does not exist apart from people who create and use it, except perhaps in unvisited museums”\textsuperscript{52}.

All expressions of taste culture are of equal validity and desirability in relation to their specific publics, as individuals choose from the contents related to their standards and derive emotional and intellectual reward from their choices, even though, for Gans, it is still legitimate to evaluate differing choices in regard of their incremental aesthetic reward, thus the person’s progress beyond his or her own past experience\textsuperscript{53}.

Similar to Gans’ somewhat value-ridden concept of taste cultures, Gruneau et al. introduce the concept of popular culture as “a noun of configurations”, thus different ways of living. The rather similar concept of culture advanced by the Birmingham School is best described as a “collective subjectivity”, thus a way of living or outlook on life adopted by certain collectives, no matter whether the focal point of analysis refers to a community or trans-communal social classes. Nevertheless, as there are, and have always been, many simultaneously expressed ways of living within any given society, hierarchical orders of cultural distinction are still present and the continuous result of attempts to establish preferred visions of civilization and cultural quality\textsuperscript{54}.

What contemporary constructs of culture, whether labelled taste cultures\textsuperscript{55}, nouns of configurations or collective subjectivities, have in common is a clear ex ante rejection of formerly predominant hierarchic notions and the implicit consequence of cultural marginalization. As argued by Hall, such cultural marginalization often resulted in the discursive absence of non dominant cultural orders, which “had been naturalized out of existence”\textsuperscript{56}. Instead, the relationships between various manifestations of cultural production, pleasure, meaning and inequalities in power, thus often a collective’s mere ability to exhibit cultural expressions, have become defining issues for contemporary cultural studies.\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{52} Gans, Herbert J.: Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste, page 11-13
\textsuperscript{53} Gans, Herbert J.: Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste, page 127-8
\textsuperscript{54} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 27-29
\textsuperscript{55} Referred to as the concept of taste culture in itself, not Gans’ subsequent and value-laden reasoning that a society should provide means of social mobility allowing all its members to choose high taste cultures, implicitly assuming that this would be so.
\textsuperscript{57} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 5
2.3 Of sports and Cultural Studies

Despite more inclusive understandings of what constitutes culture, sports tend to be marginalized towards the fringes of academic pursuits. Also, modern sports are still beset with prejudice grounded in a lingering critique of mass culture, especially concerning the spectre of the Roman coliseum. In reference to Canada’s academia and sports, Gruneau et al. postulate that “one’s work should be about more important things”, as sports are generally not deemed suitable for serious social and cultural analysis. Accordingly, hockey’s obvious success as an element of a national popular culture has never impressed many Canadian intellectuals, accused by Gruneau et al. of fostering a “lingering resentment…for the game”.

Nevertheless, “it is a simple fact of life in Canada that hockey, directly or indirectly, touches virtually everyone”, Podniecks states. It contravenes common sense to deny such claims’ legitimacy. What is more, they are easily transferable to different cultural settings featuring different populaces and sports, no matter an individuals’ subjective valuation of such.

Despite a growing willingness to view and interpret culture as a complex, broad web of meanings, beliefs and ways of living, sports are often marginalized by their perceived nature of mere amusement and inherently limited contribution to civilizing processes, a claim that shall be subsequently dismantled. Based upon such assumptions, it is possible to affirm sports continuous existence, but to deny its relative cultural significance. Sports “are”, in a sense of “being there”, but mean little. Concerning hockey, Gruneau et al. thus formulate that, “(it) has largely fallen beneath the higher earnestness of Canadian intellectual practice”. Apparently, subjects as the constitution, the fur trade, social inequality, poststructuralism or the Canadian novel appear in need of more urgent academic attention. Contemporary cultural studies ignoring immensely popular pastimes as sports thus have their priorities wrong, they accusingly state.

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58 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: *Hockey Night in Canada*, page 4-5
59 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: *Hockey Night in Canada*, page 215
60 Podnieks, Andrew: *A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country*, page 3
61 Nevertheless, it should be admitted that those works cited in this thesis have, in most cases, been published by authors attracted by sports. They are thus inclined to place a higher cultural value on sports than those less attracted to it, who are consequently more inclined to devote their attention towards other parts of any culture’s multipartite mosaic. Just as sports tend to touch everyone in any given society, many other symbols of cultural expression do the same. However, they do so to subjectively differing degrees, as the objectifying gaze we all aspire to cannot escape the filter of subjective being and perceiving none of us ought to deny.
62 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: *Hockey Night in Canada*, page 4-13
Supporting an even significant cultural impact of sports, Huizinga argues that “the play element in culture is the foundation for everything that is civilizing in Western life”. Accordingly, there is no persuasive argument limiting sports’ cultural significance in opposition to “other forms of autonomous cultural expression”. Sports even deserve a recognition as high culture in themselves, if such distinctions, as in cultural expressions’ classical categorizations (see 2.1), are desired. Clearly, sporting pastimes share in the free creativity animating the arts. Therefore, athletic endeavours are part of artistry’s special role as a contributing influence on the development of civilization\textsuperscript{63}.

For the playfully engaged individual, the “purposefulness without purpose” is as easily found in games as in arts, Inglis illustrates by quoting Kant. Arts’ “good-for-nothingness” turns it into a valuable counterweights against modernity’s dominant values of “profitability, work-discipline and the rest”, including the “commodified time which effects its authority”. Accordingly, the participation in playful sports as a form of humane protest against the pressure of domineering institutions brings about “alike the happiness” of “playing a Mozart quartet”. It also counters modernity’s glorification of individualism, especially “consumer individualism”, by the lure of membership\textsuperscript{64}. Throughout man’s history, physical cultures resulting in playfully enacted sports have evolved, which points towards their naturalism and universalism\textsuperscript{65}. To be sportive thus equals being artistic. To shun the studies of sports of the intellectual radar, especially once culture becomes focused upon, equals ignorance.

None the less, as proponents of the civilizing character and significance of modern sports often substantiate their arguing by references to the high culture of classical Greece, they “have always been haunted by the spectre of the Roman coliseum”, Gruneau et al. state\textsuperscript{66}. Playfully pursued sports have always been more readily accepted as artistic or even high cultural expressions than modern, codified sports (see 3.3 for the example of hockey). For the latter, this is particularly true in the case of its commodified manifestations within the sphere of mass entertainment, which are claimed to turn “art into wage labour”\textsuperscript{67} and render spectators passive\textsuperscript{68}.

\textsuperscript{63} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 12-13
\textsuperscript{64} Inglis, Fred: Popular Culture and Political Power, page 132-135
\textsuperscript{65} Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Canada, 1999), page 14
\textsuperscript{66} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 29
\textsuperscript{67} Inglis, Fred: Popular Culture and Political Power (Harvester & Wheatsheaf, Hempstead, United Kingdom, 1988), page 136
\textsuperscript{68} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 22
The coliseum’s spectre tends to reappear once such modern expressions of commodified sports are dismissed as little more than “bread and circuses”, thus mere amusement, which is a common reasoning lying at the core of academia’s relative negligence towards sports - especially under the influence of the New Left’s rhetoric. Intellectuals as Chomsky would probably object to any serious consideration of modern sports as a continuous part of any civilizing process. For them, modern sports, manufactured for passive audiences willingly manipulated by dominating, non-representative ideologies, thus serve repressive functions for the ordering of the public arena.

However, as Gruneau et al. point out, such arguments are “highly problematic”, no matter their pervasiveness within the sphere of cultural studies. Nevertheless, Chomsky argues, those purposefully entertained out of the public sphere “are allowed to vote every once in a while, pick out one of us smart guys. But then they are supposed to go home and do something else like watch football or whatever it may be.” Obviously, it is possible to interpret modern sports based on such assumptions and claim to partake in cultural studies by doing so, but assuming beforehand that modern sports are endorsed as means of public repression, chances are that little else is seen. As a consequence, interpretations of cultural practices are oversimplified.

Living up to the ideal of understanding cultures as relatively value-free nouns of configurations or collective subjectivities, it becomes possible to rediscover the creative artistry sometimes reserved for playfully pursued sports within the realm of the commercially entertained masses, as “sports fans sometimes reveal a surprisingly active side” and contradict the blanket dismissal of monolithic passivity. As Alkemeyer points out in his analysis of soccer as a mass ritual, the “cement bowl soccer stadiums are among the only places where the masses in western democracies can still be seen in action”. Such stadiums first became places of oral and, especially under the influence of television, visual culture, thus well worth academic scrutiny beyond the simplistic reasoning of “bread and circuses”. If “almost nowhere else” it is possible to encounter crowds of people as “a united, collective body”, with various sub-segments of this crowd
 contribution differently to its overall appearance, it is obvious that the “intellectual snobbery” Gruneau et al. observe regarding sports and their cultural significance is as unjustified as a blank dismissal of sports as mere amusement. What is more, civilizing values, such as an individual’s willingness to pursue excellence in non-athletic endeavours, can easily be appreciated by their passively consumed introduction via the means of modern sports, as an undeniable artistry is associated with sports’ mastery by its greatest athletes. 

In conclusion, the significance of sports within cultural studies is highly contested and often in need of extensive justification. More than other expressions of artistry, sports are beset with academic prejudice and often loaded with “leftist” assumptions. Sports are accused of diverting attention from serious social issues, of undermining critical sensibilities and of manufacturing a passive citizenry readily willing to accept existing class and gender relations. However, as Alkemeyer points out, matters are not that simple. Nonetheless, contemporary cultural studies exhibit a tendency to shun popular pastimes capable of drawing large, “passive” masses in favour of issues deemed more important - or to interpret them on the basis of biased, critical assumptions. Historically, the same has been true in regard of sport’s classification as either high or mass culture - with the consequence of a relative neglect. Little but playfully enacted sports were perceived as contributing forces to civilizing processes. Nevertheless, if cultures are understood as nouns of configurations or collective subjectivities, sports were, are and will be of major significance for the pursuit of holistic interpretations. Whether on the playing field, inside the arena or in front of the television set, sports are “central dimensions of popular experience and collective memory” and remain one of the most visible social settings of exhibited or perceived community in individualized western societies; settings clearly deserving academic attention.

But what is the nature of communities, and how did modern communities come about?

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73 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 12-29
74 Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Canada, 2001), page 7
75 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 30
2.4 Of community and train

Historically, the process of agrarian cultivation had been metaphorically extended to the cultivation of human intelligence and sensibilities (see 2.1). Over time, the focus of cultural recognition and studies shifted away from an equation of culture with what has been introduced as elitist high culture towards more inclusive interpretations (see 2.2). Drawing upon these findings, further attention shall be devoted to the process of a self’s selfing, especially the individual’s arousal of cultural identity and communal belonging.

Laying the groundwork for the analysis of an apparently typical Canadian identity, its coming into being, its current state as a collective subjectivity and hockey’s particular significance therefore, it shall be highlighted how modern communities, especially nation-states, came about. What constitutes the nature of identities connected to particular places, regions, or nations? How are they substantiated?

In contemporary world affairs, perceived identities are generally connected to particular places\(^76\), and, as most people are also members of a nation, nations\(^77\). The universality of nationality is a result of a world where “everyone can, should, will have a nationality, as he or she has a gender”\(^78\). Typical attributes of a sense of nation include items as “homeland, common myths, public culture, legal rights and duties and a common economy”, but none of these attributes are genetically endowed. Rather, they are socially acquired. Nevertheless, outside the family, “this (the nation) is home”.\(^79\)

Such places of home-ness, along with the way they are symbolized, nurture feelings of inclusion and comfort\(^80\) – or equally quite the opposite. The enmeshed and taken-for-granted nature of identity, on the one hand, and home/place’s significance thereof, even on the imagined level above personal day-to-day or face-to face experiences, on the other\(^81\), rests on the little-questioned assumption that the world one is born into is essentially all there is. If this is so, it becomes possible to attach certain symbols, such as athletic expressions, to certain qualities of certain places and perceive this as given,

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\(^{77}\) Nevertheless, whole people, such as the Gypsies, may be atypical, as their we-ness is generally considered strong whereas their here-ness takes a less fixed territorial form. Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 137
\(^{78}\) Anderson, Benedict: Imagined Communities (Verso, London, United Kingdom, 2006), page 5
\(^{79}\) Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 136-137
\(^{80}\) Rose, G: Place and identity: a sense of place in, page 89
representative and natural. On an individual level, world affairs are continuously made and remade - based on learned practices. As these practices are taken for granted “like the air we breathe and the water we drink”, people oversee the degree to which such practices can be, and constantly are, unlearned or relearned in different ways. In short, even though we tend to assume that the process of individual selfing will resume as we have grown accustomed to, “if the past is anything to go by, it will not”, Pettman proposes\(^\text{82}\).

Accordingly, such processes of identity making are part of a “world in train”. The construction of meaning is equally “in train”, as “whatever is found in a seemingly finished fashion in the world is, on closer inspection, revealed to have been made before. It is also in the process of being made again”. In this context, Pettman proposes the concept of “commonsense constructivism”, arguing that for the purpose of cultural analysis, verbs should replace nouns. Since manifestations of human practices are little but repeated patterns, it is highly problematic to “stand back to look at (these patterns) and to label them, to hypothesize about and to systematize them”. Such attempts of rationalized objectification and abstraction are doomed to fall short of their inherent purposes, as everyday world affairs are in a continuous state of flux. They are rather concrete and subjective than objective and abstract\(^\text{83}\). In consequence, there is no finite “Canadian identity” a self can acquire. Equally, there is no kind of unique Canadian experience readily awaiting its singling out and boxing away for the subsequent purpose of cultural analysis and comparison. Instead, there is merely the continuous making and remaking of identities. For the purpose of analysis, it is therefore advisable to understand an individual’s becoming a member of a certain entity as “selfing”, or, in the context of a self’s recognition as part of nation-state of Canada, “Canadianing”.

Having come a long way from pre-agricultural hunter-gatherer societies, thus pre-modern communities defined by paramount group-needs and little more than a minimal differentiation between the groups’ magical potency, nature and culture, the concept of “separate and unified selfs” emerged as a consequence of the enlightenment\(^\text{84}\). Such selfs, shaped by the ideology of individualism’s dictate that everyone not only ought to be individuated, “but also the sort of person who actively values the sense of separateness and self-fulfilment made possible by individuation”\(^\text{85}\), became relatively “solitary agents”

\(^{82}\) Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page. 65
\(^{83}\) Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 22-23
\(^{84}\) Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 132
\(^{85}\) Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 113
within modern, abstract nation-states\(^86\). Equally, such selves shaped a world made up out of sovereign nation states in a reciprocating system through the patterns of repeated practice\(^87\).

The concept of such now common nations and nation-states, as explained by Anderson, can be defined as “an imagined political community” - “imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign”. Despite the fact that each member of a nation lives the image of its communion, none, not even a member of the smallest nation\(^88\), will ever know most of his or her fellow members, which renders the whole concept of national belonging imaginative. Concerning experiences as nationalism, its coming-into-being is thus not the “awakening of nations to self-consciousness”, but merely the invention of nations where they did not exist\(^89\), dating back to attempts arising out of the enlightenment to institutionalise “a more rationalistic way of life”, based on the proliferation of “non-intervention, laissez faire trade and self-approbation”\(^90\).

European elites found it necessary to make sovereign states, thus to construct a sense of the “state-inside-the-self” sufficiently consistent to deliver into their hands the citizens concerned without the use of coercion\(^91\). According to Anderson, such constructs of nations are understood as limited in so far as each has “finite, if elastic” borders and no nation perceive itself as synonymous to mankind. They are sovereign, as the rationalization of world affairs during the enlightenment undermined the previously taken-for-granted legitimacy of the divinely-ordained hierarchical dynastic realm. Finally, they constitute a community, as, regardless of persistent inequalities and exploitative face-to-face realities, the nation is “always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship”\(^92\).

However, the nation-states drawing power as a source of we-ness has not always been a given and required its socialization, of profound significance for an individual’s willingness to put the “I” into the imagined “we” of his or her nation. Early European state-makers, strongly attached to the makings of state-based churches, erected highly personified states, closely equated with its prince or king. Subsequently, the idea of nation

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\(^{86}\) Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 92  
\(^{87}\) Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 211  
\(^{88}\) Or, more generally, of all communities surpassing the size of primordial villages of face-to-face contact.  
\(^{89}\) Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 211  
\(^{90}\) Pettman, Ralph: Intending the world (University of Melbourne, Australia, 2006), page 93  
\(^{91}\) Pettman, Ralph: Intending the world (University of Melbourne, Australia, 2006), page 93  
\(^{92}\) Anderson, Benedict: Imagined Communities, page 7
became more democratic and increasingly socialised. Power was in the process of passing from sovereigns to propertied middle classes and eventually into the hands of a general electorate, as also explained by Rostow’s stage theory of development. However, it has to be kept in mind that nations he described as “born free”, such as Canada, diverged from the theory’s general pattern, as it is equitably described as relatively socialised dating back to its founding days.

Conversely, an individuals’ national self constitutes just part of multiple senses of self. The concept of imagined belonging is easily and justifiably transferable to smaller units of perceived communality. Regional or civil allegiances, among others, serve as obvious examples, but so could an individuals’ sense of belonging to a workplace via its corporate culture or to recurring, cultural productions via various manifestations of fandom.

According to Pettman, the human ability to form social groups is its “most dominant” characteristic. However, what needs analysis is the continued willingness of perceiving the “I” as part of such imagined entities, which, despite their arbitrariness and shortcomings, have an enormous impact on an individual’s experiences of living, believing and imagining. Equating socialising with “clumping”, he argues that clumping practices are related to specific cultural setting. Furthermore, as “clumping/lumping works better than acting alone to meet basic needs like security, or the ability to realise complex goals, or a more confident and “stable” sense of “who one is” and “how… to behave””, all of humanity clumps. Clearly, the evolutionary advantages of sociality increased our ancestor’s chances of survival. Clumps themselves are social groups, defined as “two or more people who share a common definition and evaluation of themselves and behave in accordance with such a definition”. The practice of clumping results in cultural expressions understood as collective subjectivities, thus, as previously introduced (see 2.2), as a way of life or outlook adopted by certain collectives...

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93 Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 141
94 see Rostow’s The Stages of Economic Growth: A non-communist manifesto (1960); in essence, Rostow’s thesis proclaims that it is logically and practically possible to identify stages of development and to classify societies according to those stages; five such stages are distinguished: traditional, transitional, take-off, maturity and high mass consumption. Thirlwall, A.P.: Growth & Development, page 107-114
95 Relatively socialised in so far as that whereas Canada constituted a democracy from its coming into being as a nation in 1867, voting rights were initially far from universal and women, thus essentially half of the population, were not granted the right to vote in federal elections until 1919. Previously, especially during the Victorian era, they tended “to live in domestic obscurity with no political or legal rights; their role was defined in terms of being wives and mothers”. Riendeau, Roger: A Brief History of Canada, (Fitzhenry & Whiteside, Markham, Canada, 2000), page 212
96 Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 114
97 Also, the formation of modern selves does not preclude the existence of contradictory or inconsistent, hybrid selves, as Gruneau et al. point out when explaining that it is not impossible “to be a Canadian nationalist and harbour an affection for the Los Angeles Kings or Boston Bruins”. Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics, page 23
98 Pettman, Ralph: Intending the world, page 91
Naturally, the most apparent clump a modern “I” feels attached to is his or her family. However, modernity’s asocial consequences concerning social solidarity have rendered any clear hierarchical order of clumping-practices obscure\textsuperscript{100}. The family might still be recognized as the core clump of modernity’s solitary agent, but probably less so than in the pre-industrial era, when the clump of core family correlated far stronger to more or less the same roof. Processes of urbanization, individualisation, industrialisation and the advent of mobile populations have eroded pre-industrial connections between place of residence and common experience\textsuperscript{101}. Quite often, this has resulted in a devaluation of kinships’ or friendships’ drawing powers for the arousal of experienced we-ness, as modernity’s fellow humans see themselves “alongside others, though as discrete and separate selves and no longer as socially embedded ones”\textsuperscript{102}.

Ignoring its historical arbitrariness, most of mankind imagines itself as part of a world society defined in terms of nation-states\textsuperscript{103}. The easy and given availability of a sense of nation-hood as a means to compensate for the alienating effects of individuation\textsuperscript{104}, quite frequently resulting in isolation\textsuperscript{105}, can be put forward as an explanation for the typical individual’s willingness to “be”, for example, “Canadian”, or, equally, but on a different level, to feel allied to regions within nations, cities within regions and so forth. Such a way of “being” can also compensate for social disadvantages and arouse respect, as it “requires no particular attribute or skill”. In a world of perceived “putative indifference” by others, solace can be drawn from such constructed identities and the corresponding comradeship with one’s “state-defined kin”\textsuperscript{106}.

Meanings about national identity, or other manifestations of self in differing contexts, are produced through symbolic systems\textsuperscript{107}, thus cultural expressions. As outlined in this thesis’ introduction (see 1), hockey is perceived as such a Canadian specific. Its symbols, whether a puck, a hockey-stick or a clean sheet of ice, allegedly stand for something else and are assumed to arouse a sense of we-ness by those sharing a Canadian identity.

Has this always been the case? Is it possible to assume that, if it has been, it will always remain the case? These questions shall be subsequently addressed.

\textsuperscript{100} Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 113
\textsuperscript{101} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 202
\textsuperscript{102} Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 118
\textsuperscript{103} Instead of equally apparent “clumps” such as gender, race or class. Pettman, Ralph: Intending the world, page 93-94
\textsuperscript{104} Pettman, Ralph: Intending the world, page 93-94
\textsuperscript{105} Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 91
\textsuperscript{106} Pettman, Ralph: Intending the world, page 93-94
\textsuperscript{107} Guibernau, Montserrat and Goldblatt, David: Identity and nation, page 134
3 Of early Canadianing and puck

Challenging Canada’s viability as an independent nation-state at the dawn of the nineteenth century, Smith put forward the “Canadian Question”, critically predicting that a young nation as challenged by its diverging, constituting parts as Canada “could not possibly survive on its own”. According to Riendau however, Smith clearly underestimated its people’s collective willingness to perceive themselves as part of the emerging community of modern Canada\textsuperscript{108}.

Unifying symbols of cultural expression became a constituting part of the successful “believing/imagining” necessary for the masses’ subjective coming into being as part of the modern, Canadian clump. With the advent of the twentieth century, the game of modern hockey had become part, among numerous such others, of the collectively shared experience of Canadianing\textsuperscript{109}.

The following chapters will illustrate how the puck became part of the Canadian self, a viable “deep, horizontal comradeship”\textsuperscript{110} in defiance of the obstacles perceived by those doubtful of the young nation’s chances of coming into substantiated, sustainable being.

In a first step, the birth of Canada will be briefly discussed (3.1). Subsequently, the analysis will focus on the dominating cultural ideology prevalent during the nation’s emergence, especially focussing on the interplay between Victorian ideals and the making-processes of proper physical recreation - also in regard of the female athlete (3.2). Within this framework, hockey’s emergence as a modern, universally codified and rationalized sport will be explained (3.3). In a last step, the promotion and nationalization of hockey as part of the transcontinental experience of Canadianing by the means of a unifying quest will round out this thesis’ analysis of early Canadianing and puck (3.4).

\textsuperscript{108} Riendeau, Roger: \textit{A Brief History of Canada}, page 3-4
\textsuperscript{109} Best described as an individual’s or a collective’s continuous making and remaking of the Canadian clump. A more detailed introduction of Canadianing’s general conception and its underlying notion of commonsense constructivism can be found in 2.4.
\textsuperscript{110} Anderson, Benedict: \textit{Imagined Communities}, page 7
3.1 Of birth of a nation

In his vain quest to discover a northern sea route to Asia, Cartier misinterpreted the Iroquoian word for village, *kanata*, as the denomination of a whole territory approached by his expedition in 1535. Quickly realizing that Asia was at best a far way off, he fed off the Native’s fertile imagination and wishful European interpretations when he chose to pursue an exploration of promised lands of gold and silver, rich inland kingdoms, instead. Spending months in search of the illusionary treasures he hoped to discover, Cartier was forced to spend winter in the New World, clearly not prepared for “a nightmarish five-month winter” not only burying his fort and ships under several meters of snow, but also killing one quarter of his crew\(^{111}\).

Maybe winter would have been less of a nightmare if hockey had been around, described by McKinley as an activity offering “relief from the freezing inertia of winter and the promise of life in the season of death”. Then again, McKinley explains that from its earliest days, “hockey has found a way to rouse Canadian passion”\(^{112}\) - and when Cartier and his crew shivered towards their longed for spring departure, there was neither Canada nor hockey around. The former’s emergence shall be subsequently addressed – the latter’s emergence is the focus of sub-section 3.3.

The Dominion of Canada, as a new nation, emerged from the colonial age on July 1, 1867. The British North American colonies entered into their national partnership as partners “who had little desire to live together but could not afford to live apart”, a mutually shared reluctance towards unity which’s repercussions have never been completely shaken off. Political life, formerly based upon localized factionalism and minimal interaction between colonial administrators, was substantially altered by the creation of a national government in Ottawa. Highly symbolical, many Maritime communities greeted the beginnings of Canadian nationhood by flying flags at half-mast. Confederation was equally resented in the West, as it appeared to foster central Canadian imperialism\(^{113}\). Observing numerous obstacles towards the nation’s survivability, Smith forwarded the “Canadian Question” in 1891, critically predicting that a young nation as challenged by its geographic limitations, regional economic disparities and cultural diversity as Canada “could not possibly survive on its own”, yet underestimated what

\(^{111}\) Riendeau, Roger: *A Brief History of Canada*, page 21-22
\(^{112}\) McKinley, Michael: *Hockey: A People’s History*, prologue
\(^{113}\) Riendeau, Roger: *A Brief History of Canada*, page 141-166
Riendeau refers to as the people’s “collective will to recognize themselves a part of a common experience”, thus a shared willingness to believe the uniqueness of Canadianing across a nation as vast as Canada, a nation of habitable and cultivable pockets divided by great barriers of nature\textsuperscript{114}.

As the transcontinental territorial expansion of the Dominion of Canada was completed in 1880, the formerly scattered colonies of British North America had evolved into the world’s second largest nation\textsuperscript{115}. Canada, as a modern nation state, had come into existence, but the process of Canadianing had barely gotten started. The main challenge on hand was the manufacture of a workable political, economical and social unity, especially as the populace’s lives tended to be local in orientation and lacked any sense of common nationality\textsuperscript{116}. What required solving was Smith’s “Canadian Question”, but Canada’s “profound social, economic, and intellectual transformation” between Confederation and the First World War\textsuperscript{117} clearly lent a helping hand, as the nation began its development towards a modern, industrial, capitalist state\textsuperscript{118}.

What was needed for the populace’s adherence to continued Canadianing was a legitimation of the nation’s relative arbitrariness, as, for example, perceived by those residing within close vicinity of the equally arbitrary United States of America. Depending on the latter for continued practices of economical and cultural exchange\textsuperscript{119}, the “deep, horizontal comradeship” Anderson associates with the modern nation state\textsuperscript{120} was, for many, initially far from natural.

Central in this regard were “invented traditions”, as analysed in their historical significance by the English historians Hobsbawm and Ranger. Such traditions helped those living within the modern Canadian boundaries to imagine themselves as part of a newly manufactured community - a modern community largely ignorant of past and present individual interests and divergent living patterns\textsuperscript{121}.

Central items of such invented traditions important for the arousal of the new collective’s experience of Canadianing were modern symbols and traditions such as flags, anthems,

\textsuperscript{114} Riendeau, Roger: \textit{A Brief History of Canada}, page 3-5
\textsuperscript{115} Riendeau, Roger: \textit{A Brief History of Canada}, page 153
\textsuperscript{116} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 251
\textsuperscript{117} Howell, Colin D.: \textit{Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada}, page 129
\textsuperscript{118} Howell, Colin D.: \textit{Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada}, page 9
\textsuperscript{119} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 250-251
\textsuperscript{120} Anderson, Benedict: \textit{Imagined Communities}, page 7
\textsuperscript{121} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 250-251
public holidays or sporting trophies, as will be explained by the example of hockey’s Dominion Challenge Trophy, institutionalised in 1893 (see 3.4). Concerning such mutually shared inventions, not only their creation is of significant importance. Equally so is their subsequently sustained linking with the lives of ordinary people, which naturalizes the habit of identifying with the manufactured clump and its representatives

If nurtured by such means, it is quite obvious how nationalism’s coming into being is not the “awakening of nations to self-consciousness”, but merely the invention of nations where they do not exist

As much as spreading systems of communication and transportation can be interpreted as a threat towards nationalism by the advent of a mutually shared and experienced global awareness at the onset of the twenty-first century (see 8), the survival of “the fragile union of widely dispersed and divergent provinces” Canada constituted in its early days clearly depended on the arrival of such.

Especially the building of a transcontinental railway line was ascribed highest priority. Promised the construction of a railroad linkage with eastern Canada within ten years, British Columbia joined the emerging nation of Canada as its sixth’s providence in 1871. This promise temporarily silenced any talk of an impending US annexation, rendered attractive by British Columbia’s well advanced integration into an emerging economy south of the border. Nevertheless, the railway’s construction had been partially abandoned following severe allegations that the charter-winning Canadian Pacific Railway Company had contributed massive kickbacks towards the Conservative Party’s re-election campaign in 1872 - which subsequently resulted in the re-emergence of British Columbian secession threats throughout the 70s. Finally, the railway’s construction was re-proposed in 1878 and captured the public imagination as a manifestation of Canada’s physical unity, just as the Conservative Party’s National Policy’s other core items, namely intensified attempts of Western settlement and the implementation of protective tariffs to stimulate industrialization. Four years later than originally promised, the Canadian Pacific Railway was finally completed in November 1885 - and would become an important cornerstone for the successful implementation of invented traditions, as it shrank the nation’s physical vastness (see 3.4).

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122 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 251
123 Anderson, Benedict: Imagined Communities, page 6
124 Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 142
125 Riendeau, Roger: A Brief History of Canada, page 145
126 Riendeau, Roger: A Brief History of Canada, page 152-159

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Attempts by Canadians to nurture a national spirit, thus a common selfing along the lines of preferred versions of Canadianing, extended to sports. However, early attempts to define such common identities often took the form of a “romantic Anglo-Saxonism”\(^\text{127}\).

Accordingly, the young nation’s emerging urban centres and small towns witnessed the formation of an organized sporting culture “under the watchful eye of an emerging Anglo-Saxon bourgeois”, well aware of the fact that Great Britain’s “strength as an empire was often attributed to her sporting prowess”\(^\text{128}\), Howell explains. Modern sports were understood as social technologies employable towards the manufacture of a respectable social order and deep allegiance to the nation and Empire\(^\text{129}\). As such, they “added to the infrastructure of nationhood”\(^\text{130}\) and helped to manufacture the legitimising consent of Aboriginal and immigrant groups towards bourgeois hegemony\(^\text{131}\). However, the ultimate hope of extending and establishing bourgeois hegemony was never fully realized, as numerous social groups were intent on making sports conform to their own particular needs. Authoritarian attempts to use sports as instruments of preferred socialization were thus resisted\(^\text{132}\).

However, as hockey and Canada’s young sporting culture were still in their infancy at the turn of the twentieth century, both were influentially shaped by Victorian ideals. Therefore, the latter’s general ideals and preferred conceptualisation of physical recreation shall be introduced next.

\(^{127}\) Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 129-130
\(^{128}\) Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 50
\(^{129}\) Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 28
\(^{130}\) Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 5
\(^{131}\) Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 30
\(^{132}\) Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 50-52
3.2 Of Victorian ideals, physical recreation and the other half

In his analysis of modern sports and the making of Canada, Howell orbits two fundamental questions: “What is sport? And what is it for?” Neither monolithic nor uncontested, Canada’s nineteenth-century British ruling class had relatively unambiguous answers towards his inquiries. Clear categorizations of what constituted respectable means of physical recreation and which purposes such endeavours served existed, closely attached to ambitious civilizing processes via the high arts. As will be explained, an understanding of sports defined by an “emphasized homosocial heterosexuality, gentlemanliness, modesty, loyalty, fair play, bravery, self-control, a balance between mind and physique, sports for its own sake, patriotism and Anglocentrism” was globalized by British imperialism, as it “exported bats, balls, and a sporting ethos to its colonies” and dominions.

Privileged English Canadians expected that a preferred national culture would emerge in lockstep with a modern nation-state and a stable dominant class fully embracing the Victorian ideals of culture and self-improvement. Culture was understood as something that educated amateurs took on at their leisure. Yet, it could be of vital use for the common assertion of new conceptions of modern citizenry and the dominion’s fluent transition from a pre-industrial frontier economy to a growing urban and industrial one.

The subsequent reorganization of work, leisure and family life in accordance to “a modern world governed by the clock and factory whistle” required the remaking of traditional sports into more rationalized activities. Traditional rural sports, offering an unscheduled respite from work and a way of neighbourly interaction as seasonal rhythms allowed, could not be incorporated into modern restrictions of time and space. As both became urbanized, sporting activities became institutionalised. As a result, they

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133 Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 8
134 Nevertheless, it is a common reductionist mistake to suggest that European missionaries propagated sports simply as a convenient form of social control wherever they set foot. Worther motives such as the “desire to improve the health, to encourage the fortitude, and to diminish the religious animosities of native populations” cannot be ignored or discounted as “mere colonialist camouflage”, Guttmann argues. Guttmann, Allan: Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism (Columbia University Press, New York, United States of America, 1994), page 174
136 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 42
137 Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 9
138 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 33-34
139 Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 51
140 Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 10
141 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics, page 34
“emulated the values of regularity and efficiency” so characteristic of the emerging processes of industrialization.\footnote{Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 49}

As Victorian ideals were equated with culture per se and part of a worthy civilizing process, it was commonsense among the “superiorly cultured” elite that most ordinary Canadians were uncultured and frequently unable and unwilling to afford self-improving activities as practiced by the educated elites. Socially beneficial and morally uplifting cultural programs and institutions were thus needed in order to shape a civilizing national culture within the context of industrial urbanization.\footnote{Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics, page 42}

A swelling band of public school’s ex-pupils slowly disseminated firstly into the working-class communities of England and subsequently throughout the empire, carrying selective preconceptions of proper cultural expression with them.\footnote{Walvin, James: The People’s Game: A Social History of British Football (Penguins Books Ltd., London, United Kingdom, 1975), page 39}

As one consequence among others, churches began to preach the virtues of muscular Christianity. Equally, educators in private schools began the promotion of popular games as “schools of manly character”,\footnote{Historically, the inclusion of character-building sports into the educational sphere was inspired by the cult of athleticism and manliness that sprung up, despite contrasting intentions, from Arnold’s incorporation of sports into his school’s curricula at Rugby, where he served as headmaster from 1828 until 1842 (1). Subsequently, many school’s playing fields came to dominate everything else, as fanatical school masters “forgot that games had originally been fostered for a purpose”. Accordingly, games were wrongful对待 as ends in themselves” and the “desirability of forcing them (the games) on pupils was never questioned”, as they appeared well suited to teach the youth a “model of masculine superiority appropriate to a world in which authority had increasingly to be earned”. (1) Walvin, James: The People’s Game: A Social History of British Football, page 36-37 / (2) Marples, Morris: A History of Football (Seeker & Warburg, London, United Kingdom, 1954), page 123 / (3) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 193} well appropriate for the breeding of future leaders from among the youth.\footnote{Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 50}

In Canada’s emerging urban centres, sport reformers and businessmen attacked undisciplined street play as a threat for public order and commercial prosperity.\footnote{Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 10}

They, the arguing went, focussed mostly on opportunities for sociability, the provision of pleasure and gambling.\footnote{Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 42}. Popular spectacle, often involving what Howell introduces as “blood sports”, were thus frequently attacked as un-Christian, disreputable and irrational
in so far as that they diverted the populace from sacred values such as responsibility and honest labour. Instead, the “democratic field of play” open to those willing to participate in modern sports by an adherence to gentlemanly rules was perceived as an opportunity to counter the class antagonism accompanying society’s capitalist transformation. However, it needs to be noted that parts of the emerging elite, most notable capitalist entrepreneurs, were far less interested in spreading bourgeois assumptions about respectable leisure than in commodified leisure’s ability to be bought and sold, which shall be the focus of later scrutiny.

Concerning the makings of respectable leisure, arbitrariness often prevailed. Bloody mass practices, or mere means of the “uncultured” masses’ day-to-day survival, were remade in accordance to the “cultured’s” preferred values, as Howell explains using the example of hunting and fishing. As Gruneau et al. point out, such examples show that what gets defined as “culture” has always been a matter of negotiation and struggle between powerful and less powerful groups. Exemplary, hunting for subsistence was frowned upon, whereas hunting as a therapeutic countermeasure to civilization’s “toll on human beings” was a “noble and gentlemanly activity”.

Central to the Victorian preconception of proper physical recreation was the amateur ideal. It was inspired by the notion of the sporting gentleman, exercising for the love of the game and valuing the experience of fair play far more than that of winning. However, the Victorian ideal was “shot through with contradictions”, as teams somehow representative of whatever kind of community quickly bonded the ideal of masculine honour to the needs of winning and domination. Furthermore, the amateur ideal also

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149 Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 11
150 Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 52-54
151 Accusing those hunting for subsistence of their “irresponsible and wasteful assault on wildlife”, self-perceived, nineteenth century sportsmen adhered to the spirits of fair play and gentlemanly conduct when they “perpetuated game and conserved wildlife habitats”, although, as Howell notes, “binge killings or the mass laughter of animals” were far from rare. Despite its dramatic impact on Canadian wildlife, hunting escaped prohibition, as it, a “noble activity”, continuously drew on aristocratic and gentlemanly traditions. Popular blood sports, regarded as activities of the “uncouth and uncivilized”, faced legal constraints and a middle-class assault on their respectability instead. Clearly visible, dichotomised classifications of high and low, respectable and unrespectable, cultural expressions were utilised for the purpose of cultural negotiation and assertion of its elitist hegemonic interpretations. Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 15-17
152 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 192
carried exclusions on class, gender and ethnic identity - and not just on playing for pay, as might be initially assumed\textsuperscript{156}.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the ideal of amateurism had rendered Canada’s modern sporting culture predominately male and bourgeois\textsuperscript{157}. Facing the emerging requirements of industrial capitalism, it increasingly lost its previously loosely organized rural character\textsuperscript{158}. However, Gruneau et al. point out that history is often misinterpreted when it is assumed that the sporting remnants of traditional life were willingly abandoned for better, more rational sporting practices. Rather, traditional cultural practices, often in the form of rural folk games adapted to the specifications of time and space, were actively pushed to the cultural periphery\textsuperscript{159}.

Despite modernity’s adherence to rationalism, the Western modernist project, grounded in the enlightenment, is “patently sexist, and militates against women’s life chances and choices”\textsuperscript{160}, Pettman explains. In this regard, the Victorian era’s relationship towards sports and society’s female half does not disappoint. Concerning organized amateur sports in Canada, Gruneau et al. point out that such sports were not “created with women in mind”, were obsessed with manliness and kept females “on the sidelines”\textsuperscript{161}. In the Victorian context, sports, besides passively admired male expressions, served little purpose for half of society - and change was slow to come about.

During the Victorian era, women “suffered” from alleged bodily abnormalities - pushing their sportive ambitions to the cultural periphery. The “male body was regarded as the norm” and female deviations allowed “a rationale for limiting women’s involvement in the public sphere”\textsuperscript{162}. Females were understood as prisoners of their reproductive system. Their “natural” social role was limited to the bearing and nurturing of children, as expressed by the Victorian ideal of womanhood and the implicit “cult of domesticity”\textsuperscript{163}. On the one hand, Victorian ideology celebrated the idea of a symmetrical and balanced

\textsuperscript{156} Exemplary, in 1873 the Montreal Pedestrian Club defined an amateur athlete as follows: “(one who) never competed in any open competition or for public money, or for admission money, or with professionals for a prize, public money or admission money, nor has ever, at any period of his life taught or assisted in the pursuit of Athletic exercise as a means of livelihood or is a labourer or an Indian”. Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 63
\textsuperscript{157} Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 5
\textsuperscript{158} Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 28
\textsuperscript{159} In short, “cultural change”, as explained by Hall, is a “polite euphemism for the process by which some cultural forms and practices are driven out of the centre of popular life”. Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 52-53
\textsuperscript{160} Pettman, Ralph: Reason, Culture, Religion: The Metaphysics of World Politics (Palgrave Macmillan, New York, United States of America, 2004), page 17-18
\textsuperscript{161} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics, page 48
\textsuperscript{162} Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 111-112
\textsuperscript{163} Essentially consistent of four characteristics women were expected to cultivate, namely “piety”, “purity”, “submitiveness” and “domesticity”. Lavender, Catherine: The Cult of Domesticity and True Womanhood (History Department, The College of Staten Island, United States of America), http://www.library.csi.cuny.edu/dept/history/lavender/386/truewoman.html (05.02.2007)
OF VICTORIAN IDEALS; PHYSICAL RECREATION AND THE OTHER HALF

development of one’s physical and mental faculties, as reflected by modern educational programs’ institutionalisation throughout the public schools, but on the other, women, just as Blacks and Native people, were defined “by their bodies rather than heir minds”.

Until the late 1870s, most newspaper reports concerning ladies and their association with sports described little but passive participation. It was fashionable for ladies to attend sporting events and admire men’s physical antics - but not to participate. Women exhibiting masculine interests, ambitions or thoughts were identified as defectively sexually developed. Girls, from a small age onwards, were taught that “facial colour and muscular strength were signs of having to work for a living”. Physical efforts associated with running, jumping or climbing were believed to pose grave dangers for female capacities of reproduction. Women’s physical frailty was deemed scientifically proven and their proneness to illness and breakdown well accepted.

As the values of rational recreation and moral entrepreneurship were gradually extended and included selected sports for women around the turn of the twentieth century, preferred games and sports tended to be the result of a complex process of adjustment and accommodation towards games, or female variations thereof, of a respectable, gentle nature - suiting the perceivably limited capabilities of the weaker sex.

In conclusion, respectable sports, as understood by Victorian elites attempting to assert preferred manifestations of hegemonic cultural expressions, were “more likely to involve men rather than women; the English rather than the French, Whites rather than Blacks and Native people, Protestants rather than Catholics, and middle-rather than working-class athletes”, Howard observes and, as aforementioned, Canada’s dominant sporting culture was still predominately male and bourgeois until the turn of the twentieth century. Moral entrepreneurs, as proponents of a muscular Christianity, tried to foster a love for modern games within the common populace. Nonetheless, in the urban centres, regular leisure time for the toiling masses was initially scarce and the female half was thoroughly

164 Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 111-112
165 Hargreaves, Jennifer: The Victorian cult of the family and the early years of female sport in Scraton, Sheila and Flintoff, Anne: Gender and Sport: A Reader (Routledge, London, United Kingdom, 2002), page 55
166 Howell, Maxwell L. and Howell, Reet A.: History of sports in Canada (Stipes Publishing Company, Champaign, United States of America, 1985), page 119
167 Needless to argue, only women of the affluent middle classes were able to live their life in the absence of any such facial colour, but the values of passivity and domesticity exhibited by bourgeois femininity became generally idealised and permeated social consciousness. Hargreaves, Jennifer: The Victorian cult of the family and the early years of female sport, page 53-54
168 McCrone, Kathleen: Sport and the physical emancipation of English women, 1870-1914 (Routledge, London, 1988), page 7-8
169 Grameneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics, page 48
170 Hargreaves, Jennifer: The Victorian cult of the family and the early years of female sport, page 55-59
marginalized by the era’s socially manufactured cult of domesticity. In this context, the
game of hockey, in its modern manifestation, emerged in the 1870s.

Its march towards modernity is the focus of the subsequent subsection.
3.3 Of modernity and hockey

Hockey’s origins, as Howell notes, are clearly disputed - but of far lesser significance than how the game eventually developed. However, a brief sketch of the dispute and its ensuing arguing shall serve as a starting block for the following discussion of modernity and hockey.

By Confederation, ice hockey “existed only through its variant forms of localised play”, Morrow ascertains and McKinley observes “a mostly friendly debate” over various towns’ claim of being hockey’s rightful birthplace. However, “no matter where hockey was born, it was in Montreal that the sport took on its modern form”, as the game was officially exhibited on March 3, 1875. Even this is disputed, as “the argument is that the Montreal game was the first recorded organized match of the country” - however, there might have been unrecorded ones before, Howell contributes, but, as Gruneau et al. argue, its “context and rationale” were unique and pointed to the many changes that were to follow, just as there is “little point in engaging in debate about which folk game, played where, or when, is the true precursor of the modern game of hockey”. Glancing back towards 1875, it nevertheless seems justified to describe hockey’s first recorded showing as “an act on ice so extraordinary (that) it created a whole new social dimension to Canada”.

Modern hockey, as an emerging codified sport, contained the core characteristics of the Western modernist project and was deeply related towards other institutionalised sports, all well influenced by Victorian ideals. The modernist project’s main objective, thus the en masse priorisation of reason as an end in itself, constituted integral parts of the game’s rationale – a rationale that, as a cultural phenomena, was “to a large degree a British invention”, Guttmann explains.

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172 Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 44
174 McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 6
175 Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 43
176 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 37
177 In this context, McKinley also puts forward that “March 3, 1875, was an eventful night. In London, Gilbert and Sullivan premiered Trial by Jury, their first comic opera success. In Paris, Georges Bizet debuted the tragic opera Carmen – his last success, for he would die later that year. And in Montreal, the Victoria Rink hosted what the Gazette called “a very large crowd” of forty people, who braved a cold night to see what would become a kind of Canadian opera, with heroes and villains, with triumph and tragedy, and an in-built beauty to every performance: no scripted endings.” McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page, 9
178 Pettman, Ralph: Reason, Culture, Religion: The Metaphysics of World Politics, page 17-18
179 Guttmann, Allan: Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism, page 4
However, hockey, as “Canada’s winter sport of choice” by the 1890s, was no clear colonial offspring of globalized, British team sports - one of the reasons it developed deeployalties among French Canadiens\(^1\). Nevertheless, not all of Canada had an initial say in this, as it were mostly young Anglophone professionals and businessmen who couldafford regular physical recreation and partake in an “emergent sense of national belonging”\(^2\). For most Canadians, hockey and the experience of Canadianing did not correlate immensely before the turn of the twentieth century.

In the young Dominion, amateur hockey was championed as a rational form of recreation - well in line with the traditions of British team games\(^3\). Early on, its rules andorganizational structures were largely in the grip of the Victorian era’s moralentrepreneurs\(^4\). Nevertheless, hockey also acquired a distinctive reputation of violence and brutality. Despite regular accounts of on-ice brawling, numerous incidents of serious injury and even death during play, it was never seriously threatened by its critics, as it drew most of its players from the middle class\(^5\). Hockey thus serves as a viable example of the profound arbitrariness often to be found in the makings of respectable leisurepractices (see 3.2).

Initially, slight variations of the dominant Montreal game were played in the Halifax region. Developing out of a strong ricket tradition\(^6\), its hockey was faster, less deliberate and less physical than the Montreal game. Nevertheless, its rules did not exist aspublished regulations and it became extinct, “as sponsoring athletic associations werestronger and better established in Montreal…had greater resources at their disposal andwere better positioned geographically to promote their game over any others”\(^7\). Due to its geographical, economical, cultural and commercial advantages, Montreal became “a kind of mecca for Canadian sport in the nineteenth century”, thus the dominion’s “cradle of organized sport”, Morrow explains\(^8\). Of special significance were exhibition matches

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\(^{1}\) Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 44

\(^{2}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 41

\(^{3}\) Described by Inglis as an initially institutionalised means towards reformist ends in order to control what emerged within the realm of the working classes’ increased leisure time, as it “was won largely by labouring men organizing against capital and successfully insisting that they should not be worked prematurely to death. The scene was Britain in the 1860s, but it was rapidly repeated in all fully industrial societies. Since Britain was the class society it was, no sooner was leisure time established than it became the site of ideological struggle. For in leisure time, “free” as it was, “their own” to do with as they liked, there was immediately the reality of working men coming together, probably drinking, and then hooting as they liked, tearing down railings, and going on to transgress goodness knew what necessary boundaries between them and their betters. And so the betters taught them to play the newly formalized versions of the ancient festival of football…”, Inglis, Fred: Popular Culture and Political Power, page 129

\(^{4}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 56

\(^{5}\) Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 44-45

\(^{6}\) A fast-paced game similar to lacrosse.

\(^{7}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 46

taking place during its famous winter carnival. The festivities, considered one of the planet’s greatest contemporary parties, endowed the game’s codified rules with far more than local significance.

Differing individuals and groups within the modern nation-state, asserting specific leverages of power and privilege, came to define “the dominant meaning of sporting practice, the scope of socially acceptable forms and ways of playing, and the legitimate uses of time and the human body”, Gruneau et al. reflect. As a result, modern sports became institutionalised as apparently social things with distinctive needs of their own - easily confused with the needs and interests of specific groups asserting hegemonic cultural understandings and, especially after the turn of the twentieth century, its corporate purposes.

According to Guttmann, “the idea of a universalistic form of achievement-driven, healthy and morally useful sport…was a uniquely modern vision”. Hockey, in this sense, was no exception. Concerning the makings of modern sports, he proposes seven key characteristics distinguishing these from pre-modern contests - all well applicable to the modern game of hockey, as will be illustrated next.

Firstly and despite their lasting tendency to become ritualised and result in the arousal of strong emotions, modern sports are no longer related to some transcendent, sacred or numinous realm. Despite some people’s considering hockey as Canada’s “winter religion”, this reference to the sacred realm is merely a metaphorical categorization, as an intellectual detachment or objectifying mind-gaze quickly reveals that, searching the transcendent spheres of modern sports, there is no one there. Of course, modern sports,
as metaphors, are attached to entities transcending the individual athlete or passionate follower - exemplary as parts of a self’s experience of Canadianing. However, in the case of the self and the nation-state, the transcending entity is again part of the modernist project, grounded in the enlightenment process Western civilization rests upon, slowly growing out of and subsequently replacing traditional religious communities and dynastic realms\textsuperscript{197}.

Secondly, modern sports require equality. Theoretically, nobody should face exclusion from participation on the basis of his, or her, race, ethnicity or gender. The rules of the game ought to be the same for all, as was not the case in pre-modern sports\textsuperscript{198}. Concerning modern sports and their Victorian era’s manifestations, the “democratic field of play” was open to those (white males) willing to participate by an adherence to gentlemanly rules\textsuperscript{199}. Theoretical equality thus existed within the boundaries of the era’s hegemonic ideals concerning proper physical recreation (see 3.2).

Thirdly, modern sports are bureaucratised, meaning that they are typically governed neither “by priestly conclaves nor by ritual adepts”. Instead, they are governed by national and/or transnational bureaucracies\textsuperscript{200}. Concerning hockey, its post-1875 emergence as an uniquely structured activity resulted in the formation of respective athletic clubs within two years and the formation of the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada in 1886. Disgruntled by the association’s Québecoise’s bias, Ontario formed its own regulatory body in 1890\textsuperscript{201}. What is of little importance is the lineage of contemporary bodies governing hockey. Instead, what is important is to recognize that its diffusion, within few decades after its initial codification, went hand in hand with the establishment of bureaucratised institutions governing regional, national or international competitions.

Fourthly, modern sports require specialisation and a “gamut of specialized roles and positions”, especially if they evolved from less differentiated games\textsuperscript{202}. As precursors of

\textsuperscript{197} Anderson, Benedict: \textit{Imagined Communities} (Verso, London, United Kingdom, 2006), page 22
\textsuperscript{198} Guttmann, Allan: \textit{Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism}, page 2; Exemplary, nineteenth century public school football on Rugby’s school-grounds reflected the pupil’s social order. It was well accepted, even an integral part of the game, that younger boys were limited not only to the less glamorous, more dangerous positions, but also faced the older’s “special football boots...which at the toe resembled the ram of an ironclad, and could be used to effect on the limbs of young boys as on the ball!”
\textsuperscript{199} Howell, Colin D.: \textit{Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada}, page 52-54
\textsuperscript{200} Guttmann, Allan: \textit{Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism}, page 3
\textsuperscript{201} Simpson, Wayne: \textit{Hockey}, page 172-174
\textsuperscript{202} Guttmann, Allan: \textit{Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism}, page 3
modern hockey, various stick and ice games thrived in rural Canada. However, such games as ricket, featuring “as many participants as the ice could hold”, clearly stood counter to rationalized hockey, which evolved containing an universally established set of roles for specific players. It can be argued that specialized roles and positions were equally key characteristics of pre-modern sports as public school football - but few rules and role specifics transcended their particular setting while distinctive forms of the game developed accordingly to each school’s playing field’s capacities and limitations.

Fifthly, modern sports require rationalization, meaning that its rules are constantly scrutinized and revised “from a means-ends point of view”. In hockey’s case, the substitution of a flat block of wood for the previously used ball serves as a purposeful example, as the rationale behind the puck’s introduction was to “find something that would slide along the ice rather than rise up, bounce, and possibly injure spectators or break the windows of the rink”. The game’s predecessors, various folk games adapted to their specific, local settings, had their own contexts and rationales - albeit of limited and probably inconsistent nature. In the case of modern hockey, its 1875 subordination of the open, wide-ranging nature of the outdoor rink for the limited boundaries of Montreal’s Victoria Rink meant that the number of participants needed rational restriction, property and spectators needed protection and rules needed to be consistently imposed “to avoid anarchy”. As Dryden illustrates, “the game (of modern hockey) was tied up in lines and rules and ice surfaces, and it had never been allowed the freedom of open ice”. Furthermore, its being a “formally scheduled entertainment event organized to take place during the evening” meant that modern hockey, as an urbanized sport, conformed to the patterns of production characterising modern city life.

Sixthly, modern sports require quantification. “In modern sports, as in almost every other aspect of our lives, we live in a world of numbers”, Guttman puts forward, proposing that statistics have become an indispensable part of the modern game. An obvious and arbitrary example, taken from the sphere of professional hockey, is the Buffalo Sabres’
3:2 defeat of the Ottawa Senators on February 7th, 2006. Visiting the respective league’s web page, it is not only possible to inquire about the game’s final score and goal scorers, but also about each player’s individual contribution to the final outcome. It is also possible to inquire when the game started (7:12 pm) and when it concluded (9:40 pm), no matter the actual use of such data. Each of the event’s forty players is tracked and analysed in 21 statistical categories, irrespective of his figuring in any of the game’s scoring. Despite such a multitude of statistically measurable contributions by each contestant, hockey, a game of continuously flowing action, is low on separately measurable start-and-stop sequences. Many statistics, such as hits and blocked shots, are assembled subjectively. Of questionable use in their measurement of a player’s contribution not related to scoring, they are based on personal judgement. Logically, standards vary quite a bit between arenas - or even between individual observers watching a same contest. Due to their inherent inaccuracy, many statistics were banned for “public consumption” by the National Hockey League until a salary cap was institutionalised prior to the 2005-6 season. With a salary cap in place, “hits and blocked shots have suddenly reappeared, with no change in the method by which they are counted”, Koppett observes and suspects that the real reason for the statistics’ previous banning “had more to do with their use in player’s arbitration hearings” than with their actual statistical value. For him, modern sports’ statistical obsession often appears to adhere to the “GIGO principle” applying to computer data: “Garbage in. Garbage out”, as “the definition of a statistician is a person who thinks that if you put your head in an oven and your feet on a block of ice, then on the average you are happy”. In short, modern sports’ adoration of statistically measurable achievements appears highly deserving of a postmodernist critique, not only asking how reliable such “objective” quantifications generally are, but also who benefits from their gathering.

Seventhly, modern sports are obsessed with records. Sports obsessive statistical amassment leads towards records, readily serving as constant challenges for those striving towards modern versions of immortality. What tends to be ignored is that settings under which records have been set are often difficult to compare with settings under

212 Ranging from a player’s number of shifts to their average length, the number of give- and takeaways, blocked shots, missed shots, shots per period and so forth. NHL Online: Event Summary: NHL Super Stats Ottawa Senators vs. Buffalo Sabres, (NHL.com, National Hockey League, New York, United States of America), http://www.nhl.com/scores/htmlreports/20062007/ES020814.HTM (08.02.2007)

213 Koppett, David: Producer’s Viewpoint: Numbers Game (FSN Bay Area, San Francisco, United States of America, 23.01.2006), http://funhayarea.com/blogView.jsp?bcId=91&blog=11 (08.02.2007)


215 Pettman, Ralph: Common sense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 98

216 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 3
which they are subsequently broken – or not. The total accumulation of fourteen goals during a single Stanley Cup match by McGee in 1905 is set to stand as an eternal record\textsuperscript{217} - but there is little contemporary value in referring to such feats if any player were to score four or six goals in a single game of the forthcoming 2007 finals\textsuperscript{218}.

In conclusion, the “Canadian opera’s”\textsuperscript{219} origins might be shrouded in mystery and sketchy facts - but are of far less significance than what became of it. Directly influenced and shaped by modernity’s adherence to reason, hockey emerged as an institutionalised sport, which are, to a large degree, a British invention. It quickly captured the affection of the Victorian middle class. Within fifteen years, hockey’s codified rules, backed by powerful associations home to the young nation’s cradle of sports, turned it into Canada’s winter game of choice. However, it seems safe to argue that hockey, as a not-yet fully socialised sport, had not evolved into an unifying symbol across demarcations of class and gender, as Victorian era sports were far from all-encompassing in nature. It was Canada’s winter game of choice – but not many were actually capable of choosing.

Slowly, this was to change. A quest and its journeys would proof highly significant.

\textsuperscript{217} McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 34
\textsuperscript{218} This becomes obvious as soon as past and present practices are compared: In 1905, hockey was a ponderous, slow game of two thirty minute halves, played in full without substitutions and practiced upon skates “making turning awkward and difficult” (1). In 2007, our prospective hero would be set to skate around 24:32 minutes - if playing on the first of three or four regularly rotated lines and receiving sufficient time on the special teams. Also, he would play in an environment where the regular season’s highest scoring team averaged 3.63 goals per game (2). His ice-time would be fragmented into something like 32 fast paced shifts over the course of the three separate periods, each segmented by three separate advertisement breaks. Scoring 14 goals would thus be quite challenging. Another good example of given records questionable comparable value is given by Brodeur, the New Jersey Devils’ star goaltender. Reflecting upon the personal milestone of 43 wins during a single season in 2005-6, four short of the league’s all-time record of 47, he stated that “with eight of the wins coming through shootouts, the number was somewhat inflated. In other years, after all, those would have been ties, not wins” (3). In this context, his ambitious aim to retire as the league’s most victorious goaltender ever, a record currently standing at 551 victories, will, upon possibly narrow completion, not come about without a suspicious aftertaste. It is also of futile nature to assume that at any given point in time a line can be drawn from which onwards records are of eternal comparability, as the NHL, historically a pace-setter for the sports’ rules on most other levels of play, is discursively tinkering with the use of larger nets in order to increase scoring (4). So, theoretically, if Brodeur breaks Roy’s past record of 551 victories despite larger nets but with the help of shootout wins, what is the new record’s meaning? (1) Brodeur, Martin and Cox, Damien: Brodeur: Beyond the Crease (John Wiley & Sons Canada Ltd., Mississauga, Canada, 2006), page 239 / (2) McKeon, Ross: Size of gear, not the goal, needs change (San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco, United States of America, 30.01.2007), http://sfgate.com/extrab/ bin/article.cgi?f=/chronicle/archive/2007/01/30/SPG8NNR4H1_DTL (07.02.2007) (3) Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 244-45 / (4) NHL Team Scoring: Average Goals Scored, (ESPN.com, Bristol, United States of America, 2007), http://sports.espn.go.com/nhl/statistics?seasonType=2&season=2007&stat=teamstatoff. (13.04.2007)
3.4 Of quest and journey

Initially, modern hockey was merely played by privileged segments of eastern Canadian communities. During its “childhood”, this codified middle class variation encompassed only a small portion of somewhat related, but more loosely structured games played across the nation. Nevertheless, as explained in reference to the fate of the Halifax rules (see 3.3), the dominant, middle-class associations’ ability to defend and promote particular rules subsequently marginalized the game’s diverging, localized, pre-modern variations. This waning of locally adapted or negotiated rules had little to do with their intrinsic appeal, but far more with modern hockey’s institutional need for more standardized ways of playing\(^\text{220}\) - essentially boosted by the unifying influence of the Dominion Challenge Trophy. As will be subsequently shown concerning hockey’s growing cultural significance, the quests for the trophy and the journeys these required were to become of special significance.

Howell’s claim that hockey evolved into “Canada’s winter game of choice” by the 1890s\(^\text{221}\) hints towards its growing significance as an unifying symbol for the transcontinental experience of Canadianing, slowly transcending male, middle-class demarcations of class and gender. Central in this context was the development of modern means of communication and transportation during the later stages of the nineteenth century, upon which “the fragile union of widely dispersed and divergent provinces” Canada constituted clearly depended\(^\text{222}\)

Given more than just local significance by being showcased on the “big stage” of the Montreal Winter Carnival, codified hockey’s rules inspired the national development of amateur leagues. Of central importance was the widely reported, first unofficial world championship match of 1883\(^\text{223}\), as “the idea that players could and would compete for a trophy…reveals just how quickly hockey had taken hold of the Canadian imagination”\(^\text{224}\).

Naturally, hockey developed later in Canada’s West than its relatively densely settled East. Whereas the eastern game was highly organized from the 1880s onwards, the West “was barely past its frontier stages” and the country’s first transcontinental railway,

\(\text{220}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: *Hockey Night in Canada*, page 45-46
\(\text{221}\) Howell, Colin D.: *Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada*, page 44
\(\text{222}\) Riendeau, Roger: *A Brief History of Canada*, page 145
\(\text{223}\) Simpson, Wayne: *Hockey*, page 173
\(\text{224}\) McKinley, Michael: *Hockey: A People’s History*, page 12
perceived by some as “an act of insane recklessness” and, despite its highly symbolic value for the nation’s physical unity, quickly becoming a “financial nightmare”, was not completed until 1885 (see 3.1).

Besides offering settlers means of relatively fast and efficient transportation, the railway, closely followed by the telegraph, was of vital importance for the development of transnational communication links. Located at railway stations, themselves of significant importance for putting a city on the map of national consciousness, telegraph offices and their message boards became “the settler’s windows-on-the-world” - highly significant for the imagination of the local self as part of the nation’s imagined community. With rail and telegraph communications installed, “each village or hamlet founded its own team and challenged some other place for a game, rallying local loyalties”, Simpson puts forward. If we pick up Pettman’s description of world affairs as part of a “world in train” (see 2.4), the West’s settlement seems an appropriate example of how the metaphorically used “train” really contributed to the making of transcontinental Canadianing.

Despite hockey’s having “a firm grip on most of the country by the 1890s”, it was still a far way off of becoming “an ingrained part of who we are, how we live our lives and go about our business”, as recently described by Podniecks, also stating that “it is a simple fact of life in Canada that hockey, directly or indirectly, touches virtually anyone”, logically including those “who could not care less about who wins the Stanley Cup”. Hockey’s symbols “are the images and anecdotes of childhood and adulthood that we pass on, generation after generation”, he argues, describing the Stanley Cup, hockey’s highest trophy, as “our Thinker or Eiffel Tower or Mona Lisa”, thus “one of the most recognizable symbols of Canada”.

Without a doubt, the mixing of modern means of communication, transportation and Lord Stanley’s trophy were key in nationalizing the game and for transforming its codified,
OF QUEST AND JOURNEY

middle class manifestation into “the darling of all organized spectator sports in Canada”\(^{233}\). But how did the trophy come into being?

After moving to Canada in 1888, Sir Frederick Arthur Stanley, the nation’s sixth governor general\(^{234}\), received his first taste of hockey at the Montreal Winter Carnival of 1889 and, three years later, announced the inauguration of a Dominion Challenge Trophy. Observing a growing interest for hockey matches and postulating “the importance of having the game played fairly and under rules generally recognized”, thus an adherence to the Victorian ideals of gentlemanly conduct, he understood his trophy as an unifying means for teams and fans and, transcending the sport itself, a means to spur the unification of the huge, sparsely populated country\(^{235}\). The trophy, described by Howell as hockey’s “Holy Grail”, legitimised the game as one worthy of royal patronage\(^{236}\) and, according to Podnieks, once and for all “raised the prestige of the game beyond simple backyard shinny”\(^{237}\). What is more, “the existence of the cup fuelled interleague and interprovincial rivalries and generated unprecedented press coverage and spectator support”, Gruneau et al. add\(^{238}\).

Stanley’s inspiration for the trophy’s donation, thus his “gift to the New World”, “was doubtless influenced by the Old”, McKinley states, as parallels between what is nowadays known as the Stanley Cup and the British Football Association’s Cup are easily drawn, as will be subsequently shown\(^{239}\).

Trying to encourage the growth of the modern game of football as a rational means of physical recreation, firstly codified and subsequently enhanced throughout the 1840s within public schools and universities, the British FA, founded in 1863, began to organize inter-county matches in 1867. Even though grass-root football continued “in various guises” throughout the 60s and 70s, the introduction of the FA Cup in 1871 not only spurred football’s principle of competition, but also “swiftly changed the face of the

\(^{233}\) Simpson, Wayne: *Hockey*, page 172
\(^{234}\) In affirming the principle of monarchy as a traditional source of authority and stability, the Canadian Constitution included the Crown’s representation by the governor-general, upon whom the British North American Act assigned almost autocratic powers to exert influence in the interest of the British monarchy. However, in practice, this was largely overridden by the unwritten constitutional practice of responsible colonial government in local affairs, which the British colonies had achieved in the 1840s and 50s. Furthermore, the power of the governor-general would eventually decline to mere symbolic value. Riendeau, Roger: *A Brief History of Canada*, page 147
\(^{235}\) Howell, Colin D.: *Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada*, page 45
\(^{236}\) Podnieks, Andrew: *A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country*, page 12
\(^{237}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics*, page 73
\(^{238}\) McKinley, Michael: *Hockey: A People’s History*, page 15-16
game” 240 in an increasingly “affluent”241 society allowing the urban workmen “to share in the culture and leisure enjoyed by others” 242.

The parallels towards hockey in the Canadian context are obvious. From a Victorian era middle-class framework, a rationalized, codified, modern manifestation of traditional folk practices emerges and becomes one of the general populace’s unifying symbols, helped in becoming so by technological advances within the realms of transportation and communication. In addition, the proclamation of a national competition legitimising a hegemonic definition of the game over others helps to marginalize any pre-modern manifestations.

Numerous examples can be utilized to illustrate the significance of the trophy’s quests and journeys for the general populace’s perception of self as part of the wider experience of Canadianing. Lord Stanley’s intention of allowing each region’s major sports body the nomination of one team for the ensuing cup competition proved “both workable and successful in enlisting the participation of teams from much of the country”, Simpson explains. Swiftly, hockey began to “earn its reputation as Canada’s national game” 243.

From the earliest days of organized competition, hockey games began to lend themselves to broad forms of civic identification 244. Exemplarily, the Winnipeg Daily Tribune “announced that the city had reached the hockey big time”, when its team was leaving for Montreal to compete for the Dominion Challenge Trophy in 1896. Underlining the sporting mission’s importance, it was added that “our men are leaving this city carrying the confidence of the Winnipeg public, who believes that the western cyclone is once again capable of teaching the eastern hoc keyists what a whirlwind on ice means”. Winning 2:0, the triumphant team returned home, where “a huge crowd had gathered” to welcome the train - its locomotive’s front draped with a Union Jack. While the actual game had taken place, crowds had gathered in local hotels, listening to hockey’s first play-by-play on the railway’s telegraph wires 245. Utilizing their “windows-on-the-world” 246, the settlers had partaken in their representative’s victorious endeavours half a
nation away. The previously discussed conceptions of invented traditions and imagined communities (see 2.4) are clearly visible if one imagines the joyous crowd awaiting its heroes return onboard a flag-draped train or the masses listening to the play-by-play of a hockey game taking place thousands of miles away.

Another formidable example to showcase how the trophy’s competition helped Canadians to imagine their nation within the framework of a hockey competition is the 1905 challenge of the trophy-holding Ottawa Senators by the Dawson City Nuggets, roughly two years after Ottawa had been the site of further evidence affirming hockey’s cultural significance as the nation’s national game: Back in 1903, tickets for a cup game had not only sold for three times their original value, but the venue also needed unprecedented closing half an hour before game-time “to prevent the building from collapsing”, leaving hundreds of disappointed fans “milled about on the street” \(^{247}\) – unique scenes in the game’s past evolution and clear proof of its remarkably growing cultural significance.

Two years later, the Nuggets journey across the nation was “bedevilled from the weather”, as “the warm spell…left the roads a muddy mess”. Described by McKinley as “the stuff of myth – the kind of myth a big, young country needs to understand itself”, it left an impressive imprint on the mental infrastructure of the Canadian mind. Cheered onward by the curious along their “fantastic odyssey” and “chronicled in the nation’s press”, the challengers’ journey was “one for the ages”, as the team “had been on the road – or rather, on bicycle, foot, train, boat, and train again” \(^{248}\) for 23 days - travelling 4,400 miles across the nation \(^{249}\).

Once again, the media helped to manufacture manifestations of self within the wider context of the nation, as, among others, the Ottawa Citizen reported that “they (The Dawson City hockey team) feel confident they can wrest the trophy from the eastern teams and bring it back with them to glitter amid the ice and snowclad hills of the Golden North”. Despite being advertised as “one of the most dangerous teams yet sent after the cup”, the travel-weary challengers “lit up the staggering differences in play among teams playing the game at the most senior level”, as Ottawa won by a combined score of thirty-

\(^{247}\) Simpson, Wayne: *Hockey*, page 183-4
\(^{248}\) McKinley, Michael: *Hockey: A People’s History*, page 29-36
\(^{249}\) Simpson, Wayne: *Hockey*, page 184
two to four. Nevertheless, the series captured national attention and raised much-needed publicity for the championship.\textsuperscript{250}

Utilising our mind’s eye to imagine such settings, it becomes clear that traditional identities rooted in an individual’s immediate surroundings became transplanted by modern identities allowing for the existence of relatively arbitrary entities such as modern nation-states. It becomes possible to understand how the advent of modern means of transportation and communication helped commonly shared myths and invented traditions to contribute to the successful making of an imagined community of colonial partners who, traditionally, “had little desire to live together but could not afford to live apart”\textsuperscript{251} - written off as a failure waiting to happen, as, among others, by Smith in his 1891 “Canadian Question”.\textsuperscript{252}

Of course, it would be wrong to overstate hockey’s contextual significance, as the process of increased Canadianing was influenced by far more than the trophy’s quests and journeys. Nevertheless, they were vital parts of an emerging mosaic-like manifestation of national identity. If we keep in mind that regularly scheduled national and international sporting contests are, as Alkemeyer pointed out in his analysis of soccer as a contemporary mass ritual\textsuperscript{253}, “among the only places where the masses in western democracies can still be seen in action”, sports clearly became of immense significance for the self’s emergent experience of imagined we-ness.

Needless to say, an individual’s perception of the “I” as part of any given experience of “we” is always just part of multiple, simultaneously held senses of self\textsuperscript{254}, as nobody ever lives in only one dimension of world affairs. As previously introduced (see 2.4), identities are generally connected to particular places. What is more, simultaneously held perceptions of the self as part of various experiences of we-ness can be analysed in a hierarchical and increasingly imagined order.

Therefore, hockey’s significance for the typical Canadian self’s perception of such senses of we-ness will be subsequently addressed.

\textsuperscript{250} McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 31-35
\textsuperscript{251} Riendeau, Roger: A Brief History of Canada, page 141
\textsuperscript{252} Riendeau, Roger: A Brief History of Canada, page 3-4
\textsuperscript{254} Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 114
4 Of we-ness and other-ness

Clumping, as humanity’s “universally inherited propensity to form social groups”\(^{255}\), is man’s most dominant characteristic, as we, humans, are fundamentally social beings (see 2.4). In order to sustain and perpetuate our existence and to lend it full expression, we employ the unique “extrasomatic tradition that we call culture”\(^{256}\). However, as the human propensity to clump may be inherited, it is not exclusively so. “How we clump is culturally acquired”\(^{257}\), Pettman explains – and hockey allegedly part of such distinctively Canadian acquisitions. Equally, wherever there are clumps, there tend to be others.

Hockey is understood as a core symbol of Canadianing’s past and present experience. In this context, the confidence and stability needed for an individuals’ knowing of “who one is” and “how…(one is) to behave” have often been touched by the national “myth of hockey as a natural adaptation to ice, snow and open space”\(^{258}\). In short, hockey is one of the nation’s long-storied wellsprings of manufactured mythology (see 3.4), considered by Podnieck as “an ingrained part of who we are, how we live our lives and go about our business”\(^{259}\).

Of course, there are other such symbols and traditions valuable for the representation of communities, regions or nation – even in Canada. However, few possess the continuous drawing powers of modern sports and are equally capable of bringing together human clumps in comparably perceivable manners (see 2.3). In short, sports’ inherently competitive and conflict-ridden character enables their functioning as readily available, multi-levelled means for the formation and expression of we- and other-ness\(^{260}\). They are not only a source of shared commonality, but equally of shared distinctiveness in opposition to the other\(^{261}\).

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\(^{255}\) Pettman, Ralph: *Intending the world*, page 90-91
\(^{256}\) White, Leslie A.: *The Evolution of Culture: The Development of Civilization to the Fall of Rome*, page 8
\(^{257}\) Pettman, Ralph: *Intending the world*, page 90-91
\(^{258}\) A myth of hockey as something “natural” that, according to Gruneau et al., „has been easily manipulated by people with an interest in defending hockey’s status quo“. History gets confused with nature, resulting in “a kind of cultural amnesia about the social struggles and vested interests” of hockey’s coming into being as the modern sport it is; they explain (see 3.3). Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: *Hockey Night in Canada*, page 132
\(^{259}\) Podnieks, Andrew: *A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country*, page 3
\(^{260}\) Dunning, Eric: *Sport Matters* (Routledge, London, Great Britain, 1999), page 221
\(^{261}\) Even in his somewhat romanticised description of the puck, Podniecks cannot escape the symbolic incorporation of an imagined dichotomy between „us“ and „them“; as „American TV tried to change things by introducing pucks that would be illuminated by a digitally generated red-hot streak on the screen because American viewers (according to TV executives) had difficulty following the basic, black Canadian puck, although they had no trouble with the baseball, the tennis ball, or even the golf ball“. Podnieks, Andrew: *A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country*, page 8
Bringing together this thesis’ core conceptions of Canadianing and “puck”, the following subsections will explain how different clumps of we-ness are, or were, at least partially shaped by hockey. In short, it is about “puck” and “self”.

In a first step, the hockey-related shaping of municipal experiences of commonality will be touched upon (4.1). Competing to become “lots to do” communities and cities, these have been shaped by the corporate civic project’s ambitious manufacture of such, regularly utilizing hockey as a means to an end. Analysing this project, it is important to address its general motives and main actors, including the sports owner, possessing the frequently socialised institution of the local sports team. However, ownership’s changing nature has not come without repercussions for municipalities wishing to manufacture a sense of “us” at least partially by the means of representative hockey, as will be shown.

Furthermore, certain teams have been able to transcend their municipal setting and became cultural artefacts of much larger clumps, subordinated to the all-encompassing clump of the nation. Therefore, the hockey-related shaping and expression of regional senses of we-ness will be addressed next (4.2). The analysis’ focus will rest on Québec, its national ambitions and the symbolic value of the Montreal Canadiens, a team originally founded by English-Canadians to economically exploit a perceived French-Canadian sense of uniqueness.

Transcending regional settings, hockey’s influence on the shared experience of Canadianing shall round out this subsection (4.3). Introduced as a British football-inspired means helping Canadians to imagine their nation by Lord Stanley’s unifying trophy (3.4), hockey was of relatively limited importance for the mental construction of national we-ness in opposition to an international other-ness until the world witnessed the Iron Curtains’ descent and the Soviets’ ascent as a new sportive superpower. Soviet hockey’s successful emergence and the 1972 Summit Series, considered “an event that mobilized patriotic interest among Canadians like no other cultural event before or since”\textsuperscript{262}, will illustrate how change came about.

\textsuperscript{262} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 249
4.1 Of civic boosterism and map

In the summer of 1972, Ben Hatskin, a forty-four year old multi-millionaire, used Winnipeg’s busiest intersection to publicly sign a contract that would pay Bobby Hull, “one of the National Hockey League’s highest flyers”, a total of 2.75 million dollars. Hull, previously the NHL’s highest paid athlete at a rate of 100,000 dollars a year, was lured towards the newly founded World Hockey Association in order exhibit his crafts as part of the Winnipeg Jets\textsuperscript{263}. The superstar’s signing, subsidized by the whole league\textsuperscript{264}, demonstrated the seriousness of the WHA’s challenge towards the long-established NHL, as it meant “instant-league in the minds of the public and the news-media”\textsuperscript{265}. In itself, the signing first appears of little relevance. On an apparently warm day in late June, a very rich investor acquired the services of a soon-to-be-somewhat rich player for the decade to come - sweetening the signing with an immediate signing bonus of a million dollars. Thousands watch. So what?

Hull, one of a handful of the game’s superstars, clearly transcended the game and was a contemporary equal to the childhood heroes Ken Dryden, tending goal for the Montreal Canadiens during the 1970s, describes growing up with - thus one of those players doing “unimaginable things in magical places”\textsuperscript{266}. Overnight, Winnipeg had become such a magical place – and its hockey-related en masse clumping had begun\textsuperscript{267}. The WHA’s coming into town was understood as “nothing less than civic redemption” for a community ignored by the NHL. As captured by Sekuler’s description of the event, “it really did put Winnipeg on the map\textsuperscript{268}”, as “wherever I would travel in North America, if I said I lived in Winnipeg, people would say “Bobby Hull”\textsuperscript{269}.

Needless to say, Hull’s signing a contract for a previously unheard of sum and the subsequent repercussions for the relevant communities’ perception of self were far from a novelty.

\textsuperscript{263}\textsuperscript{ McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 226-228}
\textsuperscript{264}\textsuperscript{ Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 263}
\textsuperscript{265}\textsuperscript{ McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 228}
\textsuperscript{266}\textsuperscript{ Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 84}
\textsuperscript{267}\textsuperscript{ During the ceremonial signing, “thousands of Winnipeg hockey fans backed up traffic for blocks on three sides of the city’s busiest intersection”. Too far off, they simply climbed their parked cars. McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 226-227}
\textsuperscript{268}\textsuperscript{ Even though taken out of the hockey-context, a city’s placing on the map of the populace’s consciousness as an entity within modernity’s larger entities by the means of professional sports representatives has also been fittingly described by Berlin’s description of European football fans, stating that „over the past 50 years, the European Union has bound Europe together, but it is the club soccer competitions that have taught the Continent's young men its geography”. Berlin, Peter: Misunderstandings define game between Manchester and Lille (International Herald Tribune, Neuilly-Sur-Seine, France, 21.02.2007), http://www.iht.com/articles/2007/02/21/sports/CUP.php (21.02.2007)}
\textsuperscript{269}\textsuperscript{ McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 226-227}
In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Gruneau et al. observe “two distinct levels of social and individual identification with the contestants in sporting spectacles”. On the first level, Canada’s emerging urban centres consisted of numerous sub-communities. Within these, most people maintained a majority of their social contacts, as they offered a primary sense of membership, far more significant for an individual’s experience of we-ness than the larger city or nation. Churches, unions and ethnic associations sponsored recreational activities and ethnic rivalries were of as much significance as “barely concealed class animosities”. For the shared, sub-communal sense of “pleasure, pride, and satisfaction”, thus experienced we-ness, the results of representative sporting contests were highly significant. On the second level however, sports began to lend themselves to broader forms of civic identification above these internal rivalries emerging within urbanizing municipalities. Via more representative, often commodified sport sides, sub-communal experiences of we-ness merged into each other towards shared senses “of belonging to a particular town or city as a whole”, transcending previously less abstractly imagined lines of demarcation.

Needless to say, such sports, as forms of popular representation and entertainment on both levels, ran counter to the Victorian ideals of physical recreation, its purposes and the overriding principle of amateurism (see 3.2), as matches often led to “inflamed passion and violence rather than moral discipline and self-improvement”. What is more, the impulse towards civic boosterism in a competitive market society created profitable markets for professional hockey (see 5.2) - often viewed as a symptom of cultural decline by proponents of high cultural ideals. Nevertheless, capital could not ignore the enormous new markets created by the masses’ increasing leisure time. In short, while the “uncivilized” became the immediate object of attempted “reform” by privileged intellectuals, a growing entertainment industry fed off contrasting bottom-up demands.

Such bottom-up demands for mass entertainment went hand in hand with the dynamics of capital accumulation and urban development, thus civic boosterism. Professional sports quickly became one of the most visible features of modern, urban life. For a city, the presence of a successful sporting team helped turning it into an exciting and attractive place with “lots to do”. Over time, little has changed and professional sporting entertainments became not only valued in terms of their direct economical impact, but

270 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 68-69
271 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics , page 49
272 Inglis, Fred: Popular Culture and Political Power, page 95
equally in terms of additional consumer activity spurred by their existence\textsuperscript{273}, as will be subsequently explained.

In past times, communal life and associated images of vitality and growth were of fundamental significance for cities attempting their successful establishment. Especially in Canada’s west, the map “that we take for granted today – a map that has well-established centres of population and commerce…was very much open to be drawn”\textsuperscript{274}. Between 1891 and 1921 and paralleled by the emergence of a distinctive, professionalised, consumer-oriented sporting culture, Canada’s population mushroomed from 4.8 to 8.8 million people\textsuperscript{275}, rendering a town’s struggle to secure its place within the nation’s developing consciousness highly significant. Sport teams were one of the most popular vehicles for the spreading of a town’s reputation\textsuperscript{276}, exemplarily in the context of the Dominion Challenge Trophy’s quests and subsequent journeys (see 3.4). Such journeys and tales of quest not only helped Canadians to perceive themselves as part of the nation’s imagined community, but also enabled participating communities to develop a sense of municipal or regional we-ness, hierarchically subordinated to the we-ness attached to the larger entity of the nation.

Focusing on the example of northern mining towns, Simpson explains how hockey became an important institution around the turn of the twentieth century. As miners perceived themselves as crucially important for the nation’s economic fortunes, civic pride swelled accordingly and hockey sides came to symbolize a town’s prosperity\textsuperscript{277}. Local boosters reaching “for anything that would distinguish their tiny community from countless others like it” eagerly prospected for the best professional players in order to foster an attractive sense of “us”, or communal experience of we-ness\textsuperscript{278}.

Regularly, towns openly competed in the press for the services of heavily sought after athletes, apparently flexing their muscles of prosperity. In 1908, the open bartering for the services of “Cyclone Taylor” turned him into “North America’s highest-paid professional athlete” - and his well publicised salary disputes rendered him one of the best known professional players of the era\textsuperscript{279}. As a harbinger of things to come, Hull’s becoming
several million dollars richer on a crowded Winnipeg intersection for example, Taylor signed for the previously unheard of sum of 5.200 dollars. His pay, for a twelve-game-season, equalled roughly twice the annual salary of Laurier, then Canada’s Prime Minister. As McKinley notes, “hockey players of the calibre of Taylor…were worth more to the marketplace than prime ministers because not only could they make money for team owners, they could do what politicians could not: they could turn the owners into heroes by winning the Stanley Cup”\(^{280}\).

Despite conflicting stories about Taylor’s signer’s motivations for sponsoring senior hockey in his small-town community, Gruneau et al. point out that “there seems little doubt that he (the owner, Ambrose O’Brian) was far less interested in making money from the game than in bringing a Stanley Cup to his home community”. For early owners, the promotion of communal pride and the provision of opportunities for playing and watching hockey remained of prime importance\(^{281}\). Later owners, as lumber baron Joe Patrick, operating the Pacific Coast League from 1912 onwards, had different objectives on mind, as “the Patrick family ran the league under a unified management, shifting teams from location to location as they saw fit and sending the players they signed to wherever they were needed most”\(^{282}\).

Despite the fact that hockey quickly entered the market in a more systematic way and technological innovations magnified its potential for financial profits (see 5.2), owning a team can still turn an individual into a regional, even national, celebrity. No matter that local passions, aspirations and identities have lost their relative meaning for modern franchise owners\(^{283}\), they, as Dryden explains with reference to Harold Ballard\(^{284}\), still achieve celebrity statues merely by owning the local team – no matter their primary objectives. Owning part of a community’s sense of we-ness renders individuals far more influential than if they were to own other enterprises, as “a sport fan loves his sport. A fan in Toronto loves hockey, and if the Leafs are bad, he loses something he loves and has no way to replace the loss”\(^{285}\). In short, far more people fall in love with a sports franchise than with an equally profitable and valuable lumber mill.

\(^{280}\) McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 60  
\(^{281}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 86-87  
\(^{282}\) Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 73  
\(^{283}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 227-229  
\(^{284}\) Recent owner of the Toronto Maple Leafs until his death in 1990, described by Dryden as follows: Ballard, “as owner…is ipso facto a celebrity…He is Ballard, owner of the Leafs. What he says, what he does, we pretend is news”. Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 74  
\(^{285}\) Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 74
“People who would otherwise be strangers” have continuously been brought together by promoters of spectator sports, tapping into their growing financial potential as a sellable source of collective identity. The fortunes of professional teams, the private property of self-made celebrities as Ballard or more anonymous companies transcending the individual owner, come to be seen as civic resources and integral parts of urban life. Just as it was said that the game of modern hockey, nationalised in its modern variation by influential members of the Montreal middle class (see 3.3), was subsequently turned into a social being of its own, the same can said for the modern sports franchise. More and more, sports’ early owners, often wealthy mining tycoons and local industrialists bringing sports to their respective communities, have become extinct and the rhetoric of civic loyalty “seems almost completely promotional”, Gruneau et al. point out - especially as “different local economies have been able to support professional sports at some time, but not necessarily for ever”. In short, no matter a franchise’s rhetoric of civic loyalty, its modern owner’s affinity towards the bottom line tends to be far closer than towards the team’s geographical surroundings.

Nevertheless, Gruneau et al. point out that the consumption of hockey tends to make people feel Canadian. Its integration into a modern consumer culture has “opened up important forms of communal experience and identity”, as a “sense of having something in common” arises when we imagine Winnipeggers gathering for hockey’s “first play-by-play coming down the Canadian Pacific Railway telegraph wires” (see 3.4) or last Saturday’s sellout crowd of 21,273 consuming hockey at Montreal’s Centre Bell. Hockey, understood as a common experience of we-ness and representation, also comes to the surface when we read about Dryden’s childhood memories of backyard hockey in suburban Toronto, as “the backyard also meant time alone…it was a private game…It was Maple Leaf Garden filled to wildly cheering capacity, a tie game, seconds remaining…” In short, what became a vehicle of civic boosterism when the map of modern Canada needed drawing quickly became part of the public’s imagination and the stuff of youthful dreams of “making it".

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286 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 213
287 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 87
289 McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 22
291 Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 65
292 Dryden, Ken and MacGregor, Roy: Home Game: Hockey and Life in Canada, page 67
The coalitions of business, political and media leaders that have brought together “place” and “sports” have always been comparable\(^{293}\). Just as an attractive, vital community life was important for the successful placement of a city on the emerging map of modern Canada, it is still today - even though more convincing arguments than civic loyalty are needed to lure the modern owner’s mobile investments.

The process of a community’s systematic development as a means to an end gets described as the “corporate-civic project” by Betke. As part thereof, major league franchises are identified as catalysts for the “gaining or losing of other kind of business, with further effects on urban or suburban property values, urban investment, and job creation”\(^{294}\) - and principally much the same can be observed in rural communities struggling to keep a local rink alive. Nevertheless, keeping such catalysts and backbones of commonality running has become ever more difficult - and any given community’s recreational facilities are as crucial for a town’s or a city’s survival as ever.\(^{295}\)

Local governments have been placed in the challenging position of competing with others for the mobile and scarce assets of sport franchises. As hockey has become a business as any other, “subsidies offered to sports are not unlike those that have attracted other entrepreneurs to shopping malls and industrial parks”, Gruneau et al. highlight. In a climate of “intense inter-urban competition”, such investments have become part of ever more professionalised strategies of capital accumulation. For urban centres, modern arenas, described by Dryden as part of a city’s “landmarks”\(^{296}\), are intended to be “civic monuments” - designed to give cities’ a distinctive stamp. Equally, they are places where individuated individuals, transcending less imagined communities of sub-communal character, become part of the larger we-ness of imagined municipality, no matter that the fan’s modern role more closely resembles that of a loyal customer than that of a citizen expressing some kind of cultural ownership\(^{297}\). Unmistakably, the kind of urban survival game Gruneau et al. observe in reference to the sports’ pinnacle is equally played by

\(^{293}\) Riendeau, Roger: A Brief History of Canada, page 207

\(^{294}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 211-235

\(^{295}\) Explaining this, Kyliuk, of Radison, a prairie town of 434, explains that “there are teachers and policemen who will apply for jobs in small towns if there are adequate recreational facilities”. If such focal points of communal life, hockey rinks well included, cease to exist, “everything starts to deteriorate after that”. Dryden, Ken and MacGregor, Roy: Home Game: Hockey and Life in Canada, page 15-38

\(^{296}\) Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 27; Referring to Montreal’s Forum, he describes it as hockey’s “counterpart to baseball’s Yankee Stadium, to soccer’s Wembley”; as it is “hockey’s shrine, a glorious melting pot of team, city, and sporting tradition”; Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 152

\(^{297}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 212-220
smaller communities, albeit on a different scale and mostly involving little but a local rink in dire need of repair or replacement\textsuperscript{298}.

However, many manifestations of “a city’s dreams” in the form of “world class sports and culture” have become too expensive for most, “except in so far as they get caught up in the excitement generated by local media”. Still, subsidies for sport teams remain popular, as “the cycles of predictions and postmortems, the trade talks, and the excitement generated around the annual playoff and pennant races all contribute to a continuing “buzz” of sport talk”, a typical background noise of “lots to do” cities. In short - and despite the fact that most fans just follow their major league teams through the media - these remain highly influential for a common perception of municipal we-ness\textsuperscript{299}.

In summary, the development and fostering of hockey teams as cultural symbols transcending the communal we-ness of less imaginary entities has been a part of Canada’s urban development since the game’s emergence as a modern sport. Its appeal stemmed from its growing importance as a part of the transnational experience of Canadianing, especially since the advent of modern means of communications and transportations allowed for the emergence of numerous associations and regular competition (see 3.4)\textsuperscript{300}. Only the game’s earliest owner’s motives were closer attached to the manufacture of communal pride and self glorification than in the latter in addition to the accumulation of personal wealth, which gained in importance as the dominating motivation of the sporting entrepreneur. Sports were – and still are - part of the emerging corporate-civic project, allowing sports’ host-cities to become “lots to do” cities. “Lots to do” cities involved in extraordinary commitments, such as the signings of Taylor or Hull, were - and obviously are - capable of receiving continent-wide recognition. Civic boosterism has been an integral part of any community’s struggle for significance and survival, not just in the urban context involving professional teams but also in the rural setting involving communal recreation facilities.

In the Canadian context, this more often than not involved some degree of hockey.

\textsuperscript{298} Dryden, Ken and MacGregor, Roy: \textit{Home Game: Hockey and Life in Canada}, page 39
\textsuperscript{299} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 237-242
\textsuperscript{300} In this context, Howell points out that civic boosterism was also actively fostered by the railway corporations. Not only were expanding transportation networks capable of transporting more and more people to sporting events, but railway corporations spurred this by offering „excursion fares that enabled fans to follow their team from town to town“, which not only heightened urban rivalries and stimulated civic boosterism, but also sold railway tickets. Howell, Colin D.: \textit{Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada}, page 65
4.2 Of region and nation

Finally, Christmas has come! Filled with anticipation, the young Carrier rips open his present’s wrappings, looking forward to don the “bleu, blanc, et rouge” of his adored idol, Maurice Richard, considered by many as “the first truly Quebecois hero”. But disaster looms, as the cherished garment turns out to be “a dreaded Leafs sweater”. Unfortunately, a mistake was made by Eaton’s, from whose catalogue his mother ordered. Upset, Carrier opposes to wear his new jersey. Yet, as his mother refuses to let him wear his own, worn out Montreal Canadiens sweater, he has little choice but to face the humiliation of his friends at the rink, all proudly skating in the proper colours of the Habs\textsuperscript{301}. Alas, there is no hope of exchanging the jersey, as his mother does not want to offend Mr. Eaton - himself a Leafs fan\textsuperscript{302}.

The plot, “brilliant in its simplicity”, became “part of our collective spirit”, Podniecks reflects concerning Carrier’s short story “The Hockey Sweater”, which became a symbolical part of Canadian everyday life, as the five dollar bill’s backside depicts children engaged in winter sports - accompanied by a quotation from the story\textsuperscript{303}. On its surface, it is little but a story based upon the game’s “greatest rivalry” between the Toronto Maple Leafs and Montreal Canadiens. Over time, both teams have become cultural artefacts of distinctive clumps, representing divisions of language and culture within the modern nation-state of Canada and carrying far more meaning than one might suspect at first glance\textsuperscript{304}. Thus, hockey has become a matter of region and nation.

Before, hockey was introduced as a means of cultural unification highly significant for the formation of a collective experience of Canadianing (see 3.4). It was also introduced as a suitable means towards specific ends in the context of civic boosterism, thus the arousal of a municipal sense of we-ness (see 4.1).

What is more, hockey has also become significant for the makings of regional clumps, especially in the light of Canada’s longstanding tradition of being “a marriage of economic and political convenience between partners who had little desire to live together

\textsuperscript{301} Podnieks, Andrew: A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country, page 56
\textsuperscript{304} Podnieks, Andrew: A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country, page 56
but could not afford to live apart”\textsuperscript{305}. Subsequently, this will be explained by the example of perceived French-Canadian oppression at the hands of the English-Canadians and the Montreal Canadien’s symbolical value within this experience\textsuperscript{306}.

There is an underlying contradiction between perceiving hockey, including its professional manifestations, not only as means for the bridging of gaps between a community’s clumps by the manufacture of inter-communal we-ness (see 4.1), but equally as symbols of larger clumps representing regional entities wishing to assert their respective uniqueness in the opposition of others. At the contradiction’s core lies the fact that such larger clumps tend to draw their rhetorical lines of demarcation towards the perceived other-ness in analogous ways as lines of demarcation that are actually drawn by similar means on the communal level. However, distinctive lines of demarcation tend to blur into each other if the analytical context shifts – and it becomes possible for fans of a Québec City side to “hate” opposing teams from Montreal which are adored, or at least respected, once they face off against Toronto-based ones. Similar means, thus specific teams, are attached to varying cultural meanings once the setting varies. Depending on the context of analysis, they become part of multiple perceptions of we-ness - sometimes highly contradictious towards each other, but seldomly experienced simultaneously. It has to be kept in mind that there is never one, the, single cultural meaning of any cultural symbol. Entities institutionalised as means towards ends as public boosterism or an owner’s enrichment, especially sport franchises, have shown a tendency to transcended their historical surroundings, or, more appropriately, markets, and become symbols of much larger entities.

Canada’s most serious challenge to national unity by a transformation of Québécois politics and society began during the 1960s and 70s, Riendeau explains - resulting in a secessionist movement “strong enough to have monopolised Canadian politics for the last fifty years, but not quite strong enough to actually win a referendum on independence”, as

\textsuperscript{305} Riendeau, Roger: A Brief History of Canada, page 141
\textsuperscript{306} Hockey’s significance for the makings of regional senses of we-ness within the context of nationally shared experiences of Canadianing could have been equally well explained by a multitude of other examples. In the Maritimes, those qualifying for the upcoming 1936 Olympics, thus the Allan Cup-winning Halifax Wolverines (1), felt betrayed and discriminated against when not even one player was included on the official Olympic roster. Clearly, this snubbing of Maritime excellence reinforcing regional feelings of alienation and exclusion towards the larger national order (2). Equally, Don Cherry’s relatively recent mocking of French Canadian hockey players on Canadian prime time television enraged many (3), just as the throwing of live frogs during the 1971 Memorial Cup junior hockey championship between the St. Catharines Black Hawks and the Québec Remparts helped the contest to live up to its being “advertised as a context between cultures”, easily lending itself towards the manufacture of regional senses of we-ness in opposition to a perceived other-ness (4); (1) McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 83 / (2) Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 133 / (3) Podnieks, Andrew: A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country, page 71 / (4) McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 233-34
highlighted by Nadeau and Barlow. Most notably, reforms initiated during the movement’s upswing aimed at the enhancement of the providence’s capacity to control its economic development and the subsequent fostering of the greater French-Canadian enterprise, as, in 1961, Québec’s average French Canadians earned about forty percent less than their English-speaking counterparts and most of the providence’s industry was controlled by English-speaking Canadians or Americans. Recently however, a resolution has been proposed by Stephen Harper, current Prime Minister of Canada, calling for the official recognition of Québec as a separate nation within a united Canada, basically acknowledging an uniqueness French Canadians have perceived all along, whereas “the English tend to think that “country” and “nation” are one and the same”.

The question of sovereignty appeared mostly peripheral throughout the 1960s. In 1968, it gained in significance and credibility with the Parti Québécois’ formation, a union of two formerly less influential separatist movements. Despite separatist’s eventual failure to establish independence, the 1960s marked the pinnacle of Canadian optimism and confidence that the goal of national unity was ever fully achievable. Throughout the 1970s, the lingering threat of separation resulted in a “sizable exodus of Anglo-Québeckers and corporate head offices from the providence”. Toronto surpassed Montreal as Canada’s largest city and became the nation’s undisputed financial capital. In this context of eroding French Canadian influence and perceived oppression, the fortunes of the Montreal Canadiens “represented freedom from oppression on all sides”.

Even earlier, its on-ice fortunes had been highly symbolical for the perceived oppression of French-Canadian interests by hegemonic powers at work across the providence’s borders. In 1955, NHL president Clarence Campbell, seen by French-Canadians as a direct enforcer of English-Canadian, Toronto-based interests in the game, suspended Maurice Richard, the Canadiens’ uncontested, francophone superstar. Also stating that

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307 Nadeau, Jean-Benoit and Barlow, Julie: Canada’s conundrum, in a word: One country, two nations?
308 Riendeau, Roger: A Brief History of Canada, page 261-264; Describing the make-up of Montreal’s society in the 70s, Dryden explains that “the image of English-speaking Montrealers ghettoed into executive suites and high-income areas is now hyperbole”, but “historically there has been enough truth in it for the image to remain”. Language is described as life’s single dominant factor, more often than not related to social class. Furthermore, “Montreal is a relatively small (albeit relatively rich) English city, spectator to a much larger and more exciting one”. Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 28-31
309 Nadeau, Jean-Benoit and Barlow, Julie: Canada’s conundrum, in a word: One country, two nations?
310 Riendeau, Roger: A Brief History of Canada, page 261-274
311 McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 167
“the time for leniency or probation is past” and that “whether this type of conduct (resulting in his suspension) is the product of temperamental instability or wilful defiance doesn’t matter”, he offended all francophone Québeckers during his perceivably harsh ruling, banning Richard from the team’s remaining regular season games and the entire playoff schedule, essentially shattering any championship hopes. Richard, whose feats were perceived as “the triumphs of francophones from Rue St. Denis to Chicoutimi”, triumphs by the “toughest, best player in the toughest, best league” or “the human battle-standard who led French Canada to glory every week”, battling throughout “the unforgiving rinks of the NHL”, had been “betrayed and humiliated by Campbell, just another in a long line of English bastards”.

What followed is better described as a political than a hockey event, illustrating how powerful a social force the game had become, triggering “one of the critical events leading up to Québec’s Quiet Revolution”. The day after Richard’s suspension, the Canadiens hosted the Detroit Red Wings. For Québeckers, the issue was not about hockey, but about “centuries of insult and injustice at the hands of the English”. With Campbell in attendance and Montreal trailing 1:4 at the first intermission, “all hell broke loose” inside the arena. Officials quickly suspended the game, but violence spilled out into the streets. Throughout the night, rioters wrecked havoc upon downtown Montreal. The violence only ceased when Richard pleaded his fellow French-Canadians over the radio “to allow cooler heads to prevail” - but ever since the rivalry between Toronto and Montreal has been “a rallying point on which discussions of patriotism and nationalism have centred”.

When the Parti Québécois won a majority of seats in the Québec National Assembly in 1976, more than eight thousand celebrated and welcomed its leader, Réne Lévesque, the
new premier of Québec, at his victory parade. Simultaneously, “a few miles across town that same night, more than sixteen thousand people watched as the Montreal Canadiens beat the St. Louis Blues, 4-2.”. However, the common sense of we-ness within the Forum was about to be shattered, albeit temporarily, as “there was a different atmosphere” within its bowl. As message boards began to flash “Un Nouveau Gouvernement” in the third period, “no longer afraid to hope, thousands stood up and cheered and the Forum organist played the PQ anthem. And when they stood and cheered, thousands of others who had always stood and cheered with them stayed seated and did not cheer. At that moment, people who had sat together for many years in the tight community of season-ticket holders learned something about each other that they had not known before”, Dryden observes - calling Canada “a battleground of emotions” ever since\(^\text{319}\). Nevertheless, as impressive as that historic night’s scenes at the Forum must have been, it appears well noteworthy to point out that the crowd in attendance was easily twice the size of that at Lévesque’s victory parade – and would be again whenever the Canadiens performed at home.

Taking into account the far from uniform make-up of the Forum’s crowd, there is no single cultural meaning easily ascribable to the team. On the one hand, its fortunes are perceived as representations of French-Canadian superiority in the face of Anglo-Canadian domination in most areas of life, on the other - and in line with the ambitions of civic boosterism - they unite Montralers from both sides of the demarcations of language and class.

Transcending its home market, the on-ice fortunes of the Canadiens primarily “represented (French-Canadian) freedom from oppression on all sides”, McKinley nevertheless explains. Especially during the 1960s, Montreal’s and Toronto’s NHL franchises “were more than hockey rivals, they were the two hearts of the country”\(^\text{320}\), he adds - but when Richard, the key figure of Carrier’s “The Hockey Sweater”, passed away in 2000, more than 100,000 people from all walks of life filed past his casket at the Canadien’s arena\(^\text{321}\). Apparently, a teams’ and its players’ symbolical values of fiercely imagined uniqueness and transcendent unity are never far apart.

\(^\text{319}\) Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 24-25
\(^\text{320}\) McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 167-168
\(^\text{321}\) The same occurred at church, as not only 2,700 mourners filled the pews, but “the prime minister sat with the separatist premier, skinheads with bankers, francophones with anglos, and hockey players who had once worn the bleu, blanc et rouge with those who had worn the blue and white of Toronto”. McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 306
It is also important to note that the immensely successful Canadiens of the 60s and 70s, cherished as a counterforce towards Anglo-Canadian oppression and domination, had been founded as an Anglo-Canadian business initiative by Ambrose O’Brian in 1909, realizing that “a team of all Frenchmen…would be a real draw” - even more so if given a French-Canadian name. In 1922 and several ownership changes later, then-owner Leo Dandurand had a similar understanding of the teams’ potential drawing powers, as he and his partners actively pursued its transformation “into a team as distinctive as the city and the culture from which they came, because it would be good for business”. However, two decades later, “the language of the 1940s’ Canadiens was English – from the management through the coaches and into the dressing room, a reflection of the reality that real power in the province was held by English hands”, McKinley notes.

Nevertheless, the team that, as described by Dryden in the 70s, “is more than just a hockey team” if it wins and becomes “the athletic, cultural, and political institution that inspires romance in more than its followers, is just a hockey team if it looses”. Never mind the Canadiens history, past marketing charades or its contemporary complexion – enjoying successful campaigns during Québec’s emerging Quiet Revolution and thereafter, regional pride and superiority were clearly attached to the team. Its jersey became an all-important cultural artefact, not only underneath Carrier’s invented Christmas tree, but equally so in the minds of those actively drawing upon hockey for their experiences of Canadianing or sub-Canadianing, as in the case of a more regionally experienced sense of imagined identity. Even nowadays, with sports having become “Sports Inc.” more openly visible than ever before, “the intensity has remained in Montreal”, as the Canadiens achieved “a legendary status as defenders of civic self esteem”, Gruneau et al. point out.

What is more, just as hockey has the ability to transcend its municipal embeddings for the fostering of regional identities, the same holds true for the manufacture national identities - as will be illustrated next.

322 McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 54
323 McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 87
324 McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 138
325 Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 179
326 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 137
4.3 Of nation and world

Within the Cold War’s context, the manufacture of “us” and “them” had a paramount bearing on most areas of life. In a world divided into the communist, the western, and the somewhat sketchy neutral camp, world affairs were characterised and shaped by the overarching feature of division. They were best symbolized by a single word: the wall 327 - thus the physical assurance dividing Eastern and Western Germany that an “Iron Curtain” had indeed been dropped between the ideological camps of East and West 328. If the Cold War had been a sport, it would have been, as described by Mandelbaum, “two big fat guys in a ring, with all sorts of posturing and rituals and stomping of feet, but actually very little contact, until the end of the match, when there is a brief moment of shoving and the loser gets pushed out of the ring, but nobody gets killed” 329.

Nonetheless, inside rinks, arenas and post-1952 Olympic stadiums, the Cold War involved sports. Mandelbaum’s “fat guys” directly engaged in physical contact, as representatives of all ideological camps squared off against each other. Influenced by contemporary world affairs, international sport competitions provided “highly compelling dramatizations of mythical national qualities”, thus frequent “occasions for the public assertions of “us“ against “them””. Sports were, and in a less clearly subdivided world still are, an outlet for the assertion of national myths in “real conflicts where the struggles involved go beyond mere rhetoric and appearance”, Gruneau et al point out 330.

Concerning Canada’s political context, hockey became highly important in the 1960s and 70s 331, as “media coverage…assured audiences that hockey belonged to them” - never mind that five northern European nations had established the International Ice Hockey Federation in 1908 332 and international competitions clearly hinted at, to say the least, shared ownership. Also, concerns about Canadian unity and identity resurfaced in the light of massive immigration and Québec’s slowly unfolding Quiet Revolution 333. Under such influences, the federal government began to recognize the sports’ importance as part of a national popular culture, as from the 1930s onwards, “there was simply nothing in Canadian life that regularly brought so many Canadians from different parts of the

327 Friedman, Thomas: The Lexus and the Olive Tree (Anchor Books, New York, United States of America, 2000), page 7-8
328 Riendeau, Roger: A Brief History of Canada, page 242
329 Friedman, Thomas: The Lexus and the Olive Tree, page 12
330 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 267
331 Miller et al: Globalization and Sport: Playing the World, page 52-54
332 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 259
country together to share the same cultural experience”\(^{334}\). Hockey had become the national game, a popularly accepted concept - even when acceptance of its content was not always universal\(^{335}\).

Furthermore, its professional manifestations had become symbolically entangled with the repeated experience and rehearsal of national identity. With the onset of WWII, the Canadian national anthem was played prior to the professional games’ opening face-offs. Years of war and the ensuing Cold war solidified the eventually ritualised practice\(^{336}\). Chances are that even nowadays, the most frequent context for an individual’s listening to his or her anthem remains the world of sports\(^{337}\), no matter whether heard live on site or as part of the consumption of popular TV programs, such as *Hockey Night in Canada*\(^{338}\).

However, the shared cultural experience of Canadian hockey had become a partially “disgraceful” one with the advent of the Cold War and the sportive rise of the Soviet Union, ambitious on its own to claim global on-ice supremacy. For a country that had “always been divided by strong ethnic and regional identities”, exemplarily expressed via the symbolism attached to certain hockey teams (see 4.2), but which had transcended its “differences by fiercely contesting for (international hockey) supremacy”\(^{339}\), change was in store. On-ice superiority was of immense value for the nation’s imagined community, especially as hockey was commonly understood as inherently Canadian. Supremacy became part of the popular memory, thus “the currency of identification among strangers”\(^{340}\) - the core necessity a workable, modern nation state rests upon. But how was this currency coined - and what forces led to its somewhat disgraceful re-evaluation?

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\(^{334}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: *Hockey Night in Canada*, page 275-276


\(^{336}\) Initially, the practice spread to Madison Square Garden in New York, from where it was transferred from hockey to baseball – and eventually all North American major league sports. Historically, baseball’s 1918 World Series was the first sporting event including the presentation of the national anthem, as major league baseball had its “players march in formation during pre-game military drills while carrying bats on their shoulder” in order to demonstrate “major league patriotism”. However, when war ended, anthems were only played on special occasions and became no regular feature until their institutionalisation by the NHL in 1939/40. Crepeau, Richard C.: *The Sports Song of Patriotism* (PopPolitics Online Magazine, PopPolitics Media LCC, 28.02.2003) http://www.poppolitics.com/articles/2003-02-28-flagprotest.shtml (17.02.2007)

\(^{337}\) Podnieks, Andrew: *A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country*, page 52

\(^{338}\) A ritual which inspired the Nobel-Prize winning author William Faulkner’s essay “An Innocent at the Rinkside”. For Faulkner, the hockey contest he describes is “emblematic of the overuse of national symbols by commercial interests”. In his own words “Only he (the innocent) did wonder just what a professional hockey-match, whose purpose it is to make a decent and reasonable profit for its owner, had to do with National Anthem. What are we afraid of? Is it our national character of which we are so in doubt, so fearful that it might not hold up in the clutch, that we not only dare not open a professional athletic contest or a beauty-pageant or a real-estate auction, but we must even use a Chamber of Commerce race for Miss Sewage Disposal or a wildcat land-sale, to remind us that liberty gained without honour and sacrifice and held without constant vigilance and undiminished honour and complete willingness to sacrifice again at need, was not worth having to begin with?” Ross, J. Andrew: *Hockey Capital: Approaches to the Study of the Sports Industry*, page 1

\(^{339}\) Miller et al: *Globalization and Sport: Playing the World*, page 52

\(^{340}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: *Hockey Night in Canada*, page 217
Within the hockey context, the Soviets’ return to the Olympic Games was of paramount importance. In 1952, its athletes performed on the world stage for the first time since 1912. For the 1954 World Championships, the first national hockey team was iced. Highly successful, the Soviet athlete quickly became the target of Western complaints, predominately aimed at the East’s “state amateurism”[^341] - hockey not excluded.

However, the idealistically appraised Olympic movement had become a forum for national self-promotion “almost from the beginning”. Summarizing the contradictions between ideology and reality, Tomlinson thus notes that “It was as if nations wanted to reach out to each other for a handshake, whilst simultaneously puffing out their chests in pompous self-satisfaction”. Significantly, the United States quickly became the first country to publish Olympic medal tallies[^342]. Within US media circles, successful athletes were turned into symbols for the “great claims for the American way of life”[^343], never mind that when the Olympic Games had been revived in 1896[^344], they were intended as a pacifist alternative to war for the fostering of “international ideals without political ties” - utilizing sport’s potential strictly for cross-cultural understanding[^345].

Returning to hockey, 1956 marked the turning of a tide in international competition. Surprisingly, the Canadian representatives finished third at the VIIth Olympic Winter Games, loosing to both the USSR and the United States. Traditionally, Canadian hockey had been represented by nothing but gold - and “to win bronze was unheard of – a national disgrace”[^346]. “Canada thought it owned the international ice, and over the past three decades it had seemed as if any Canadian team could win gold”[^347], McKinley rightfully assesses. Since 1920, Canada had send the nation’s top amateur team, the winner of the Allan Cup, to represent the nation in international competition[^348] - and as

[^341]: Conversely, then IOC President Avery Brundage scoffed at the West’s complaint, most vocally articulated by the United States, as “most American athletes were scholarship athletes at universities” and thus of similar standing as Soviet athletes, who “were in military and/or academic institutions and were not reimbursed for athletic performances.” Keyes, Mary: Canada at the Olympic Games in Morrow, Don et al: A Concise History of Sport in Canada, (Oxford University Press, Ontario, Canada, 1989), page 297
[^342]: Whereas medal tallies cannot be interpreted as a direct counterpart to the universal bonding the revived Games aimed at, they nevertheless lend themselves quite well for comparative interpretations of national prowess and the comparative manufacture of “us” and “them”.
[^343]: Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 255
[^344]: However, it should be noted that “both symbolically and practically, Greek athletics were rehearsals for military action; in a phrase, they were war games”, Burstyn explains, describing the ancient Olympic Games, whose spirit was supposedly revived in the rhetoric of 1896, as a “premier site...for the display of masculine military prowess” from which females were excluded “on pain of death” - a site also utilized for the development of trade arrangements, political alliances and so forth. Nevertheless, the ancient games were held during institutionalised truces - but primarily served political and economical purposes. Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports, page 29
[^345]: Keyes, Mary: Canada at the Olympic Games, page 288-291
[^346]: Keyes, Mary: Canada at the Olympic Games, page 297
[^347]: McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 151
[^348]: In 1920, the Winnipeg Falcons sailed off to Antwerp and began Canada’s monumental domination of international hockey.

Describing their dominance in 1920, a player is quoted stating that “all through the tournament we tried to limit ourselves to 14 or 15 goals a game against the European teams”. McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 83-86
diverse as the assortment of national representatives had been, they “had all proven themselves the best in the world”.

Two years earlier, a Canadian representative had already yielded a gold medal to the Soviet Union, even though the stage of the World Championships was far less significant than that of the 1956 Olympics. Nevertheless, the gold medal won by the Soviets in their 1954 international début was little but a harbinger of things to come. For Canadian hockey, constituting an ever-growing part of the typical experience of Canadianing, the successful assertion of the Soviet Union to become the sport’s next reigning world power proved worrisome. Ever since, international representations “carried the nation’s honour in their baggage”, but little did the Canadian public suspect that 1952’s Olympic gold medal would have been the last for half a century to come.

As Soviet “state amateurism” became international hockey’s dominating force, Canada’s initial disgrace of losing was brushed off by the common understanding that Olympic contests never featured “our best against their best”. Hockey’s real benchmark was the NHL, which was largely dominated by Canadian nationals. What is more, the NHL itself was not overwhelmingly concerned with Canada’s ability to ice competitive teams for international play, but rather with its own bottom line. As a logical consequence, efforts by non-NHL-aligned institutions to develop competitive amateur teams for international competition were persistently beset with difficulties throughout the 1960s.

As an example, Bauer’s national team concept, offering young prospects the possibility of combining an university education with the experience of international hockey, was more or less directly opposed by the NHL. The latter, widely regarded as a socialized, national institution, was first and foremost a business – and behaved accordingly. It had little interest in the establishment of options increasing a young player’s bargaining powers. In this regrettable context, Pierre Trudeau promised a task force on sport during his 1968 federal election campaign, as he perceived sports “as highly relevant to the question of national identity and unity”. One year later, a new body - Hockey Canada - was established. Not surprisingly, Trudeau’s task force had ascertained what was commonly known before, namely that the structure of hockey under which professional hockey

349 McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 151
350 Until 1939, modern hockey had not been systematically played in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, it was officially shun, as the bourgeois game clearly encouraged individualism over teamwork McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 205
351 McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 324-325
352 Miller et al: Globalization and Sport: Playing the World, page 54
owned all of Canada’s best young players stood in opposition to national ambitions of icing a competitive side for international play – and required systematic change.\textsuperscript{353}

However, it was widely believed that in order to beat the quickly improving Soviets, the national team needed augmentation by good professional players. Regrettably, this required not only the NHL’s cooperation, but also the IIHF’s goodwill, as it was strictly opposed to any non-amateur participation in international competition. Following lengthy negotiations, the IIHF initially allowed the use of nine non-NHL professionals during the 1970 world championships, to be conducted on Canadian soil. However, as Soviet representatives and IOC president Brundage stood by their strict opposition to professional participation, the agreement was soon cancelled. In disagreement, \textit{Hockey Canada} refused to participate in international competition, forfeited its right to hold the world championships and remained altogether out of international hockey until 1972\textsuperscript{354}.

Unable to ice a team capable of competing with Soviet’s state-sponsored “shamateurs”\textsuperscript{355}, capturing eight consecutive European Championships\textsuperscript{356} and topping this achievement off with seven consecutive World Championships and three Olympic Gold Medals between 1963 and 1972\textsuperscript{357}, it clearly appeared better not to compete at all. As Dryden explains, Canadians, as pioneers and “unchallenged champions of hockey for all its near century…had suffered through a decade of humiliating defeats…our amateurs finally and forever outmatched, our professionals ineligible for international games”. What is more, out of humiliation developed fear, as “what seemed worse, nagging at us like a secret we couldn’t tell, was the fear that the man in Nevsky Prospekt or Wenceslas Square didn’t know of our incomparable pros, didn’t know that we, not they, were the true World Champions”\textsuperscript{358}.

In 1972, this fear was finally addressed, as Canada got the chance to assert its hockey supremacy over the Soviet’s squad after Prime Minister Trudeau had brought up the idea of hockey diplomacy on his first state visit to Moscow. However, the idea of a tournament between the Soviet elite and the NHL was not his - but clearly profited from his political will and muscle to make it happen. For him, hockey was a crowbar to open the Iron Curtain at a time when world affairs were dominated by a fear of mutually assured

\textsuperscript{353} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 260-261
\textsuperscript{354} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 262
\textsuperscript{355} Miller et al: \textit{Globalization and Sport: Playing the World}, page 54
\textsuperscript{356} McKinley, Michael: \textit{Hockey: A People’s History}, page 205
\textsuperscript{357} Simpson, Wayne: \textit{Hockey}, page 224
\textsuperscript{358} Dryden, Ken: \textit{The Game}, page 239
destruction. In addition, he hoped that contests involving both Canada and the Soviet Union could be a unifying force at home. However, as debates over hockey’s rightful place in the national community “were generally resolved in ways consistent with dominant political and economic interests”, only players under contract by the NHL were iced for Canada’s “triumphal return” to international hockey in 1972’s “Challenge Series”, hyped as the game’s “Cold War”, “war on ice” or “summit series”.

Hull’s 1972 signing with the WHA’s Winnipeg Jets not only placed Winnipeg on the map of the national conscious, but also placed “the Golden Jet” off Canada’s roster, as the NHL forbade him, one of hockey’s few superstars, to represent his nation. Subsequently, “the Canadian public went into attack mode”, McKinley explains. After years of international absence, it appeared necessary to “replace folly with sense” - especially as the nation’s “birthright was suddenly at risk”. Not icing the best team possible was disgraceful, particularly as this had been the reason for Canada’s previous withdrawal from international hockey. Still, the NHL was unwilling to end its “monopoly over premier hockey talent” and as the contests between both hockey superpowers and their respective sporting systems began, Team Canada more or less resembled Team NHL Canada. Campbell, then NHL president, had not yielded to official and public pressure - even as Prime Minister Trudeau had officially asked for the team’s inclusion of Hull.

In short, the series, regarded as “an event that mobilized patriotic interest among Canadians like no other cultural event before or since”, showed the Canadian public that its economic system was well capable of placing its selfish interest above powers the government could assert. Yet, Trudeau had no ill feelings towards the NHL once the series started, utilizing it on his behalf in order to boost his election campaign.

Canada’s eventual victory precipitated “an unprecedented orgy of patriotism and inscribed the event as an indelible signifier of Canadian nationhood”, Miller et al conclude. Describing the Canadian’s conquering of Moscow, British Columbia’s Premier

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359 McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 204
360 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 276
361 Miller et al: Globalization and Sport: Playing the World, page 54
362 McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 207
363 Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 240
364 McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 207
365 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 249
366 Wingler, Rob: This Combination of Ballet and Murder (Arc Poetry Magazine, Ottawa, Canada, 2004) [http://www.arcpoetry.ca/logentries/reviews/000136_this_combination_of_ballet_and_murder.php](16.02.2007); Apparently successfully so, as, following the 1972 elections, “some political analysts even speculated that the Liberals were saved from outright defeat by the prevailing mood of national euphoria”. Obviously, the Liberal campaign slogan “The Land Is Strong” would have been far less appealing had Canada gone down in defeat. Riendeau, Roger: A Brief History of Canada, page 268
proclaimed “the French couldn’t do it, the Germans couldn’t do it; now Canada has done it”, whereas Eagleson, the Canadian organizer of the series, “enunciated the prevailing myth that the victory was attributable to unity in a multicultural nation”.

Nonetheless, the clarification of an injustice felt since the 1950s, when the international use of professional players was prohibited despite the rise of Soviet “shamateurism”, was little but “a narrow victory”. It was “a lucky escape and ominous harbinger”, Dryden assesses. However, “many Canadians regarded the outcome as proof of their inherent sporting and national superiority”.

Prior to the series’ start, the Canadian media had in unison repeated the NHL’s proud self-proclamations of global superiority, selling itself as the world’s premier hockey league. Accompanied by a rising crescendo of boos, the surprisingly even series went East to West throughout the Canadian nation, as “the predicted slaughter” failed to occur. After the “mighty” Canadians 7:3 defeat in the series’ opener, headlines mourned the national myth of superiority - which “had been humbled beyond belief”. When the fourth and final game on Canadian soil was lost in Vancouver, its fans “expressed the entire country’s bitter disappointment” and “booed at full volume”. However, Team NHL Canada rebounded and on September 28, 1972, “television sets were hauled into school gymnasia, offices were shut down; (and) travellers paused on their journeys to find a way to watch”. The series’ final and deciding game was taking place in Moscow, “the game of the century”, which was won in dramatic fashion while a third of the nation followed the drama on television. In the words of the Soviet’s captain, “it felt like war on ice. But I see now, it was like real war; two countries, two systems fighting to show the world who is most powerful…we were taught to do what is necessary- to win at all costs”.

Discussing Canadian literature, Atwood makes the sweeping generalization that “every country or culture has a single unifying and informing symbol at its core”, important in so far as that it “holds the country together and helps the people in it to co-operate to...

368 McKinley, Michael: *Hockey: A People’s History*, page 204
370 Howell, Colin D.: *Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada*, page 99; As Winger reflects quite critically, “any newspaper columnist who had not predicted a Canadian sweep of the series was called a communist traitor” (1). Based on such mass mediated assumptions of expectable domination, it was common sense that “against our boys, the Russians will be trounced”, non-communist columnists across the nation assured their readers – well underestimating the upcoming contests. exemplarily stating that “either we take every single game, or I will eat this column – shredded at high noon in a bowl of borscht on the front steps of the Russian Embassy” (2). (1) Winger, Rob: *This Combination of Ballet and Murder* / (2) McKinley, Michael: *Hockey: A People’s History*, page 209
371 McKinley, Michael: *Hockey: A People’s History*, page 211-223
372 Winger, Rob: *This Combination of Ballet and Murder*
373 McKinley, Michael: *Hockey: A People’s History*, page 218-223
common ends”. According to her, Canada’s central symbol “is undoubtedly Survival”, thus the nation’s epic struggle “in the face of hostile elements” and its subsequent task of “carving out a place and a way of keeping it alive”.

Dryden’s account of the Challenge Series is easily interpreted as a struggle for survival, vividly expressed on the ice sheets of 1972. Reflecting upon a Canadian sense of self, he quickly refers to an ingrained “fatalism” well extendable beyond hockey and aligned with Atwood’s assertions, as “to a child of celebrated parents (England and France), raised in the shadow of a southern colossus (United States of America), others have always seemed to do things bigger and better; others always would”. Applying this supposed fatalism to hockey’s showdown, he puts forward that Canada had put its “national psyches…nakedly on the line”. On the ice, it faced a country “more than ten times our size, sharing our winter climate and our passion for the game, but with a more insistent ideology, a more disciplined and committed system, a more scientific and modern approach” as “in only twenty-five years, the Soviets had done what had taken us nearly a century”. Telling his readers that Canadians have, in regard of hockey, finally been caught from behind, what apparently surprises is not that they have been - but rather that it has taken so long.

For the duration of the series, hockey transcended all previously scaled spheres of cultural significance. It united a nation and send the Canadian identity off to war, as captured by Miller et al’s assertion that “Canadian hockey had symbolically repelled the Communist threat in the early 1970s” - or equally by Podnieks’ description of Henderson’s series-winning goal. Describing and explaining this, he explains that “in the background, we see the fallen Soviet goalie, the great Tretiak, who has succumbed to the skill of democratic Canada, who has been felled by the resolute fight of the Canadian team, who has been laid low, silenced, vanquished by our ever-so-slightly greater hockey army. The nation’s narrow triumph helped Canadians to understand their selves as a common “we” in opposition to the perceivably equally common Soviet other-ness. Returning to Mandelbaum’s imagining the Cold war as a non-contact shouting match, it is interesting

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375 Dryden, Ken: *The Game*, page 240-261
377 Its symbolical significance has also been described rather fittingly by Henderson himself, telling his fellow nationals that “until I scored that (final) goal, I didn’t know the difference between democracy and communism…For me, by going to Russia, you learned to appreciate what you have as Canadians. People want to talk about socialism. Well, go over there and you’ll realize what a great country we have. You learn to appreciate it. You hear all these minority groups going on all the time – well, I would like to see them over there. We have got rights, and they have got the right to shut up about our country” Miller et al: *Globalization and Sport: Playing the World*, page 55
378 Podnieks, Andrew: *A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country*, page 40

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to see how this posture was temporarily abandoned in 1972 and how victory was not only celebrated as a triumph of “Canadian virtues, but also for capitalist liberal democracy”\textsuperscript{379}.

Recapitulating, hockey has been introduced as a means towards ends on various levels, often purposefully enacted as a part of a collective’s sense of “being” and “memorizing” - based upon the prerequisite of man’s willingness to clump. Various examples for an individual’s perception of the “I” as part of multiple, often simultaneously held senses of we-ness were given, generally tying the experience of self to particular places. Exemplary places, such as the municipality, the region or the nation, reflect a hierarchical, increasingly imagined order. However, each level’s experience of we-ness depends on manufactured entities of “us” and “them” - but as nobody ever lives in only one dimension of world affairs, such entities shift and blur as the frame of reference does.

For the municipality, striving to put its name on the map or to secure its standing, hockey was introduced as part of the corporate-civic project, turning a city into a “lots to do city”. On the regional level, hockey helped to manufacture demarcated imagined communities within, but not necessarily in line with the larger nation. On the national level, hockey helped to manufacture commonly shared experiences, transcending regional differences and advancing a common sense of Canadianing – never more so than in opposition to the perceived “other” under dichotomising Cold War circumstances.

What is more, the manufacture of modernity’s municipal, regional or national communities was - more often than not - tightly knotted to commercial interests. Modern hockey, as part of the populace’s “currency of identification among strangers”, had quickly departed form its amateur roots. Therefore, its commodification shall be a focus of further inquiry, as it turned a bourgeois exercise into professionally enacted work, sellable as a product and allowing for the nation’s return to international hockey supremacy by a side essentially assembled by the sports’ most dominant, commercial institution: the NHL.

\textsuperscript{379} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 253
5 Of gold, manna and illusion

Modern hockey, as part of Canadians “currency of identification among strangers”, was prone to its subsequent commodification “the day someone came upon a game in an open field and noticed people watching it, enjoying it, having a good time”, Dryden observes. Realizing the spectator’s devotion, the onlooker’s reasoning that “maybe if I put up walls around that game they (the people) would pay to get in” followed logically, just as “from sandlots and outdoor rinks to modern sports palaces, the rest has followed naturally” – but shall be subsequently disentangled, as it gave rise to the shared Canadian dream of making it - making it to the games’ pinnacle, a dream “passed on from generation to generation as if it is in the very genes of the species – homo sapiens canadiensis”.

As the rationalities of profitable victory transformed sportive amateurism into wage-labour, the phenomena of the paid athlete shall be introduced first (5.1). In hockey’s case, the athletes’ quests for the Dominion Challenge Trophy’s “silver” (see 3.4) were quickly replaced by quests for the amassment of “gold”, as open professionalism entered the nations’ rinks. Former play became a valuable commercial asset, actively fostered as such by the modern athlete’s changing perceptions of self, as will be illustrated.

Hockey not only provided its on-ice labourers with an opportunity to amass unprecedented riches, but even more so their successful employers, as will be illustrated in a second step (5.2). For them, windfall profits best described as “manna from heaven” were to be realized, especially at the sports’ pinnacle. As modern means of mass communication allowed hockey to transcend its respective localities, the NHL emerged as its most prominent manifestation - and incorporated all of hockey into its ideological framework.

Eventually, what was perceived as belonging to all Canadians became perceived to belong to commercial interests, increasingly located south of the nation’s border. Apparently, a cultural sellout had stripped Canada of its favourite pastime, cherished as the only popular culture it did not import (5.3). Whether the nation’s perceived possession of hockey was illusionary and what truth the emerging claim of a cultural sellout held shall round out this chapter’s discussion of hockey and its successive commodification.

380 Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 304
381 Dryden, Ken and MacGregor, Roy: Home Game: Hockey and Life in Canada, page 67
5.1 Of Gold after Silver

The Victorian era’s quest for the mass-establishment of a highly regulated, respectable and rational sports culture was, as Gruneau et al. point out, shot through with contradictions. As soon as teams became representatives of larger entities, a premium was placed upon winning and an opposition’s domination, thus “the stuff of reputation and legends”\(^{382}\). Sharing a deep resentment “over the lengths players would go in order to win, as well as over the violent behaviour of spectators”, the ensuing attitude was profoundly opposed by proponents of bourgeois, gentlemanly amateurism\(^{383}\), even more so as sports were purposefully enacted and exploited for the manufacture of various experiences of we-ness. Financial rewards quickly entered the rinks and huge profits, equating manna from heaven, could be realized (see 5.2).

For prospective hockey players, much changed in 1904, when Fred Taylor chose to offer his services to the Portage Lake Hockey Club - south of the Canadian border. As Taylor left for the United States just as he was about to partake in an amateur challenge for Lord Stanley’s trophy, McKinley describes his decision, comparing each choice’s possible rewards: As “the Stanley Cup was silver, and this (Portage) was gold”, Taylor, “a wanted man”, chose to go south, where he was offered four hundred dollars by James Dee, whose club was intended to mine the miners in the “mining boomtown” of Houghton\(^{384}\).

Idealistically, amateur play and participation in modern sports, appreciated as a character-building exercise, were to be conceptually united with personal health and moral utility\(^{385}\). Such play was understood as an antithesis to uncultured and uncivilized popular sporting traditions, often involving blood sports (see 3.2). The codes surrounding Canada’s amateur athletic associations rested upon British Victorian idealism. What is more, they were shaped by the upper class, “which could afford to engage in sport solely for the honour of competition and for the love of the game”\(^{386}\). Conversely, members of the nineteenth century’s working class resisted Victorian-minded reformers’ attempts to “inculcate moral values that would have consolidated bourgeois hegemony”, Howell

\(^{382}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 193-194
\(^{383}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics, page 75
\(^{384}\) McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 41-43
\(^{385}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 43
\(^{386}\) McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 38
points out, as the masses were “drawn to the system of playing for pay or buying tickets to sporting events as spectators”\textsuperscript{387}.

Proponents of high cultural ideals were highly critical of an emerging mass culture (see 2.1), the logical result of the doctrine of consumer individualism and capitalism’s “thrust of production into the commercially uncapitalized and wide open space of private life”\textsuperscript{388}. In lockstep with Canada’s urbanization and improving labour conditions, workers were enabled to choose how to spend during their leisure time. Exerting their powers as consumers, “there was no shortage of people who would pay to see the best play”, McKinley argues\textsuperscript{389}. Favouring apparently civilizing, artistic and high cultural ideals, Inglis points towards such choices’ grave consequence, as “the brisk rationalities of profitable victory and payment by result have done much to change art into wage-labour, and its cognate sports into work-rate”\textsuperscript{390}, but simultaneously this apparent transformation has given rise to the well recognized athlete-as-role-model, thus one of society’s embodied conceptualisations of “making it”.

In short, hockey’s initial transformation into wage-labour required American capital and Canadian talent, luring Taylor southwards in 1904. Also required was “a shared appreciation of the profit motive” - both by owners and players. Accordingly, Taylor quickly came to understand “the power of his own myth as the country’s premier hockey player”, a myth he fuelled at every chance\textsuperscript{391}. Over time, amateur ideals did not prevail north of the border. Describing the Canadian sports-landscape between the two world wars, Marsh puts forward that “real amateurs among the star hockey, rugby, lacrosse, and baseball players are as scarce in Canada as skate-sharpeners are in Central Africa”\textsuperscript{392}. Open professionalism, slowly creeping into popular games after the turn of the twentieth century, quickly became one of their dominant features\textsuperscript{393}.

\textsuperscript{387} Howell, Colin D.: \textit{Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada}, page 54
\textsuperscript{388} Inglis, Fred: \textit{Popular Culture and Political Power}, page 135
\textsuperscript{389} McKinley, Michael: \textit{Hockey: A People’s History}, page 38
\textsuperscript{390} Inglis, Fred: \textit{Popular Culture and Political Power}, page 136
\textsuperscript{391} McKinley, Michael: \textit{Hockey: A People’s History}, page 44-62
\textsuperscript{392} Lappage, Ron: \textit{Sport Between the Wars in Morrow, Don et al: A Concise History of Sport in Canada}, (Oxford University Press, Ontario, Canada, 1989), page 93
\textsuperscript{393} On the organizational level, changes had come about far earlier, as “even the most self-righteous proponents of the amateur game were not above charging spectators a fee in order to make money for their teams and associations”, Gruneau et al. assert (1). Initially, “Canada’s rink owners saw hockey as a golden goose”, McKinley explains, “and were certain that the surest way to kill it would be to pay players”. Prevailing power structures not only legitimated the amateur codes’ twisting and turning in a manner that allowed for the consolidation of powers in the hands of few, but also their subsequent enrichment (2). Tensions arouse out of such questionable double standards, making the taking of money at the gate acceptable, whereas “lost-time payments for players or honorariums for referees” were not. Eventually, Canada’s “professional hockey came out of the closet”, Gruneau et al explain, referring to an “almost immediate explosion of openly professional teams and leagues” when two major amateur leagues allowed open professionalism in 1907 (3). (1) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 71 / (2) McKinley, Michael: \textit{Hockey: A People’s History}, page 39 / (3) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 71-87
Contemporarily, the perception of a professional athlete’s self as a commercial asset is deeply engrained in his, or hers, sense and experience of being, as little has changed since Taylor became one of the precursors of today’s athletes’ profound commitment to the making and management of self\textsuperscript{394}. Pre-conditioning the financial realization of such understandings of self were changes in the way games were reported and commonly experienced, as the nation’s daily press and new telegraph technology allowed for the turning of “ordinary men” into heroes. Increasing attention was paid to individual players, whose fortunes were reported “in a mythic style of language that spoke to popular desires of larger-than-life events and personalities”\textsuperscript{395}.

Describing his image, fostered by “a whole symbiotic industry of journalists, commentators, biographers and award-givers”, Dryden puts forward that “it is merely a commercial asset, a package of all the rights and goodwill associated with my name…something I can sell to whomever I want”. Enriched by the game, he nevertheless remains critical, as, in the end, everyone looses: “You (the consumer) think I am better than I am” and the public “feels less worthy than it is”, as “we (the athletes) are not heroes”, but hockey-players, doing “exciting, sometimes courageous, sometimes ennobling things like heroes do, but no more than anyone else does. Blown up on a TV screen or a page of print, hyped by distance and imagination, we seem more heroic, the scope of our achievement seems grander, but it isn’t, and we’re not. Our cause, our commitment is no different from anyone else’s…we are no more than examples, metaphors because we enter every home, models for the young because their world is small and we do what they do”\textsuperscript{396}.

Despite his critical insights, he himself tells his readers about his childhood memories and adolescent heroes, doing “unimaginable things in magical places”\textsuperscript{397} - memories well aligned with Gruneau et al’s assertion that “hockey stars have articulated the dreams of generations of young Canadian men about stepping out from the familiarity and rootedness of hometown lives towards the beckoning bright lights and brighter opportunities of new careers – careers that hold the possibility of fortune, and sometimes fame”\textsuperscript{398}.

\textsuperscript{394} Dryden, Ken: \textit{The Game}, page 185-189
\textsuperscript{395} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 85
\textsuperscript{396} Dryden, Ken: \textit{The Game}, page 185-189
\textsuperscript{397} Dryden, Ken: \textit{The Game}, page 84
\textsuperscript{398} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 131; Nonetheless, past their playing days, hockey’s stars quickly fade. In the public memory, they are frozen in time and serve as myths contributing to the manufacture of a collective memory, as expressed by Podnieks’ comments concerning Bobby Orr, putting forward “that he lives and breathes today is secondary”, as “Orr is
OF GOLD AFTER SILVER

This mythical turning of ordinary and apparently representative men into heroes\(^{399}\) is highly significant for the manufacture of an individuals’ modern experience of imagined we-ness\(^{400}\), requiring the easy availability of shared expressions of meaning and corresponding conceptualisations of “making it”. This holds truth no matter whether on a municipal, regional or national level, as people have come to understand teams as representatives of distinctive identities. In combination with the “impulse towards civic boosterism in a competitive market society”\(^{401}\) (see 4.1), potential rewards for prospective athletes have risen dramatically, especially from the 1920s onwards, as, paralleling the growth of an increasingly affluent consumer culture, “sporting heroes were the idols of a consuming society and were themselves to be consumed and emulated”, Howell points out\(^{402}\). Consumed, adored and emulated by the masses, the sporting hero thus became part of the nation’s consciousness and embodiment of “homo sapiens canadiensis’” dreams of “making it”\(^{403}\) - dreams that, if fulfilled, opened up unprecedented and little criticised opportunities for social upward mobility, as will be illustrated next.

As aforementioned, it was gold after – or more appropriately “instead of” - silver when Taylor ventured southwards in 1904. However, he soon returned north as professionalism became more acceptable on Canadian rinks and led Ottawa to its first Stanley Cup in 1909. Realizing that his “kind of talent…could bring thousands of people to their feet”, his 1910 contract with the Renfrew “Millionaires” paid him 5.200 dollars for a twelve game season - twice the annual pay of Wilfried Laurier, Canada’s then-Prime Minister\(^{404}\).

Highly inflated salaries of pro athletes, with Taylor’s doubling Laurier’s salary as an early example, have been able to escape the populist backlash often directed at other excesses of competitive, Western market societies\(^{405}\). Equally, the aforementioned 1972 signing of Hull (see 4.1) was not generally interpreted as ridiculously excessive, but rather helped putting the community of Winnipeg on the map of the continental consciousness and resulted in thousands of Winnipeg hockey fans flocking towards the city centre in order to

\(^{399}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics, page 85

\(^{400}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 131

\(^{401}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 69

\(^{402}\) Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 95

\(^{403}\) Dryden, Ken and MacGregor, Roy: Home Game: Hockey and Life in Canada, page 67

\(^{404}\) McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 42-60

\(^{405}\) Nowadays, this populist backlash is most obviously directed towards excessive corporate compensations. Despite an apparent economic upswing, “the middle and working classes struggle to stay even”, doing so while the rich become richer, Hunt observes, equally noting that far fewer lament the modern athlete’s equally excessive – and growing - riches. Hunt, Albert R.: As rich-poor gap grows in U.S., so does clamour (International Herald Tribune, Neuilly-Sur-Seine, France, 19.02.2007), page 2
partake in what was perceived as “nothing less than civic redemption”\textsuperscript{406}. Hockey players performing at the pinnacle of their professional aspirations, the NHL level, regularly worked during the off-season as late as the 1950s, McKinley states\textsuperscript{407}. Even though gold had followed silver for several decades, the individual amassment of large treasures was still relatively uncommon. However, by 1970, average NHL salaries had risen to 24,000 dollars\textsuperscript{408}. Especially the WHA’s emergence led to an ever fiercer competition for premier talents\textsuperscript{409}. For hockey’s best talents, “the riches kept coming”, as Wayne Gretzky’s 1979 signing for five millions over the span of twenty-one years illustrates\textsuperscript{410}. Overall, average NHL salaries had reached 379,000 dollars in 1992-3\textsuperscript{411}, peaked at 1.81 millions in 2003-4 and dropped nineteen percent to 1.46 millions following a season-long lockout for the league’s 2005-6 campaign\textsuperscript{412}. Quite tellingly, Mario Lemieux even became the first professional sports player to purchase his former employer by becoming a part-owner of the Pittsburgh Penguins in 1997\textsuperscript{413} - embodying a clear correlation between athletic stardom and corresponding opportunities of unprecedented social upward mobility.

Inflated salaries’ popular acceptance might also stem from the fact that “the fame of some athletes touches something in the popular imagination that transcends marketing”. By doing so, athletes are often understood as more than mere celebrity. Rather, they are individuals symbolizing the “abilities and qualities of a people struggling to assert their distinctiveness”\textsuperscript{414} - especially with thousands regularly attending games and paying to watch the athlete work while millions more are staying at home and doing the same from the comfort of their living rooms\textsuperscript{415}. As Simpson explains, “watching the game in arenas or on television is a leisure-time activity for an overwhelming number of Canadians” and, as Faulkner adds, “for many, hockey functions as a religion”\textsuperscript{416}. For quite a few the experience of selfing can be assumed to include visions of oneself out on the rink’s stage - adored by the masses and exhibiting sportive grandeur. The modern athlete is easily

\textsuperscript{406} McKinley, Michael: \textit{Hockey: A People’s History}, page 226
\textsuperscript{407} Exemplarily referring to the Toronto Maple Leafs players, commonly toiling for its owner’s gravel company, living “a tough life…of hard physical labour” outside the season. McKinley, Michael: \textit{Hockey: A People’s History}, page 173
\textsuperscript{408} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 139
\textsuperscript{409} McKinley, Michael: \textit{Hockey: A People’s History}, page 228-229; As tellingly “explained” by Cherry’s contemporary observation that “you did not need a Ph.D. in economics to realize that superstars like Bobby Hull and Gerry Cheevers were getting rich, quick, but so were a bunch of wimps who could not check their grandmother or shoot a puck through a pane of glass”. Cherry, Don and Fischler, Stan: \textit{Grapes: A Vintage View of Hockey}, page 25
\textsuperscript{410} A contract soon deemed “in need of serious recalibration” and upgraded to twenty million dollars over fifteen years, including “a piece of a shopping mall”. McKinley, Michael: \textit{Hockey: A People’s History}, page 249-250
\textsuperscript{411} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 140
\textsuperscript{412} The Hockeynews: \textit{Average NHL salary down significantly} (The Hockey News, Toronto, Canada, 09.11.2005) \url{http://www.thehockeynews.com/en/newsroom/news.asp?idNews=20062} (20.02.2007)
\textsuperscript{413} McKinley, Michael: \textit{Hockey: A People’s History}, page 318
\textsuperscript{414} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 123
\textsuperscript{415} Dryden, Ken: \textit{The Game}, page 180
\textsuperscript{416} Simpson, Wayne: \textit{Hockey}, page 229
perceived as “larger-than-life” – thus as the embodied manifestation of private daydreams regularly performing within the sphere of popular entertainment. This sphere not only lends itself to the manufacture of multiple senses of shared we-ness, but is also part of the free leisure time individual consumers hold absolute powers over. Manifestations of mass clumping occurring within this sphere are shared expressions of taste cultural choice, and perceptions of such choices’ protagonists’ rewards as grossly excessive are relatively unlikely - or even understood as proof of one’s taste cultures’ prowess.

Looking back on the contemporary amassment of “gold” within the reach of professional players, players still toiling in the off-season no less than four decades earlier, Dryden reflects that “it seems we couldn’t have gone from where we were to where we are”[^417]. Not justifiable[^418], gold’s amassment by the modern athlete is nonetheless explainable, he insists, as it is a natural by-product of the entertainment business’ cultural impact and ensuing revenues - and that indeed “using strict economic argument, my team-mates and I…more irreplaceable in their production than most owners or executives, should probably be paid more”[^419]. Striking an equal vein, Burstyn argues that “the embodied athlete has become…the living mythic symbol-bearer, and the idea of the athlete-hero is fundamental to the nature and success of sport. The sport nexus…depends on him and the symbolic and mythological services he performs through the ceremonies and rituals of sports”[^420].

Arguable, at least until hockey’s dramatic salary increases throughout the 1990s, the symbolical and mythological services provided by its stars should have deserved more financial recognition, as the game’s growing significance within the sphere of popular culture not only resulted in gold after silver for its on-ice cast, but equally in manna from heaven for its successful entrepreneurs, as will be explained next.

[^417]: Dryden, Ken: *The Game*, page 296
[^418]: For the modern athlete, money “makes you less sure of what you really are”, Dryden states, as it “buys you a return ticket from anything you do”. However, “if someone asks me why I should earn more than a teacher, a nurse…I have no answer”, he claims, adding that he has “never been able to justify the amount of money”. Dryden, Ken: *The Game*, page 179-181
[^419]: Dryden, Ken: *The Game*, page 179-181
[^420]: Burstyn defines the sports nexus as “a highly lucrative, multi-branched transnational economy of enormous scope and influence...composed of distinct sectors of economic and political interest, associated together in various clusters of overlapping and interlocking organizations, strategies, and personnel”. Burstyn, Varda: *The Rites of men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports*, page 17-20
5.2 Of manna from heaven

Hockey, first officially showcased in front of “a very large crowd of forty people” at
Montreal’s Victoria Rink in 1875, not only became “a kind of Canadian opera, with
heroes and villains, with triumph and tragedy”\textsuperscript{421}, but was also gradually transformed
from a nineteenth century, semi-institutionalised, male-only, local contest into a
professionalised, rationalised and commercialised one - first on a national and later on an
international stage\textsuperscript{422}.

Sports, not just hockey, became “Sports Inc.”, a transformation easily seen in the common
semantics of sports talk, as “cities became markets, games became products, sports part of
the entertainment business”, Dryden notes, putting forward that “money, once only a
practical imperative, a vehicle to let them as adults play what as little boys they could
play for nothing, was now a reason itself to play”\textsuperscript{423}. For the players, a quest for silver
had turned into a hunt for gold (see 5.1). But how had “Sports Inc.” evolved, and which
means allowed for the owner’s perception of “manna from heaven”\textsuperscript{424} concerning its
financial possibilities?

By 1910, modern hockey was largely shaped by capitalist promoters wishing to enlarge
its popular appeal\textsuperscript{425}. However, it did not begin to really “leave an indelible mark on
Canadian culture until the means of symbolic production…had become fully national in
technical reach”\textsuperscript{426}, Lappage insists. By the inter-war years, it had become “a big business
paying real salaries” as “organized play, once supposedly a means of recreation”, had
become “a financial dividend-paying investment”\textsuperscript{427}. In the words of Howell, the era
“witnessed the consolidation of sport as the most commanding element in the modern,
commercialised mass leisure market-place” – but how did the more influential means of
symbolic production evolve? How was the word of hockey spread?.

\textsuperscript{421} McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 9
\textsuperscript{422} Miller et al: Globalization and Sport: Playing the World, page 92
\textsuperscript{423} Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 179
\textsuperscript{424} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 97
\textsuperscript{425} Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 73; A development easily clarified by the
example of the now-common forward pass. Never mind that Dryden almost innocently notes that there “seemed something vaguely
unethical about a puck being passed forward, as if territory gained this way was somehow unearned” and “it took more than fifty years
for the forward pass to be introduced” (1) – change was not to come about as part of the game’s ethical evolution. Rather, it came
about as an innovation by lumber baron Joe Patrick in 1912, operating his Pacific Coast League for little but commercial interests (2).
Seventeen years later it was picked up by the NHL, whose owners, “in an effort to expand their fortunes…voted to allow forward
passing…to add speed and offence to the game and further persuade fans to part with their money” (3). (1) Dryden, Ken: The Game,
page 245-6 / (2) Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 73 / (3) McKinley, Michael:
Hockey: A People’s History, page 104
\textsuperscript{426} Miller et al: Globalization and Sport: Playing the World, page 74
\textsuperscript{427} Lappage, Ron: Sport Between the Wars, page 91
The first noteworthy means of symbolic production representing a distinctive Canadian culture was the local newspaper, described as a one-day best-seller by Anderson. As such, it helped - and obviously still helps - to create an “extraordinary mass ceremony”. The successful imagining of a community clearly depends on such ceremonies of simultaneously consumed symbolic productions transcending what is individually perceivable, he explains, as “the newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop, or residential neighbours, is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life”. Newspapers thus create a “remarkable confidence of community in anonymity”, which, accordingly, “is the hallmark of modern nations.”

Operating within the sphere of free markets and catering to the growing practice of advertising, newspapers attracting numerous ads could afford to sell well below production costs - and thus enlarge their circulation. In this context, sports coverage was clearly a means not only for the building of circulation, but also for the development of advertising revenues from businesses primarily interested in communicating to male audiences, who, as a target group, represented the “public appetite for sporting spectacle”. Also, as “sport sold newspapers and newspapers sold sport”, many newspaper owners began to divert their investments directly towards the sports sphere, fuelling the rise of what Burstyn describes as the thriving “sports nexus”, thus the clustered composition of distinct sectors of economical and political interests in overlapping and interlocking organizations, striving for the achievement of similar (monetary) aims.

For successful sports owners, a self-sustaining cycle emerged. The advent of modern means of symbolic production, accelerating a perceived breakdown of time and space, helped to turn events of historically local significance into events of “major” importance. What gets described as “the (media’s) advertising license to do business” by Herman et al. is easily transferable to the profit-driven manufacture of sports’ “major leagues”, growing in lockstep with their attractiveness for advertisers of

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428 Riendeau, Roger: A Brief History of Canada, page 213
429 Anderson, Benedict: Imagined Communities, page 35-36; Just the same, the newspaper, as an exemplary means of symbolic mass production, is the hallmark of other experiences of modern we-ness, as it is equally significant for the making of municipal or regional senses of less imaginary, but still highly arbitrary, communities.
431 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 83
432 Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports, page 105
433 Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports, page 17
434 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 95
nationally branded products - advertising their products via the means of symbolic mass production and requiring “major” content to do so. On the one hand, such leagues obviously undermined local cultures and respective forms of recreation, but on the other, gave rise to the manufacture of a national popular culture.\(^{436}\)

Affected by the economic downturn of the early 1930s, amateur leagues witnessed an unprecedented mass-exodus of talented players, as even the prospect of small earnings lured many towards professionalism.\(^{437}\) In chorus, the technological innovation of the radio helped to elevate “major league” hockey towards national importance, as it provided “cheap entertainment during the depression.”\(^{438}\) It affirmed the game’s national mystique, as the imagined community of Canada huddled around radio receivers “from coast to coast…listening to Hockey Night in Canada.”\(^{439}\) In this context, Foster Hewitt, the show’s voice on the airwaves, “almost single-handedly assisted in immortalizing the game of hockey, its heroes…in the minds of Canadians”\(^{440}\), Simpson explains - no matter that “only a few thousand people in Toronto and Montreal really ever saw them play, ever knew for sure they really existed”, as Dryden states.\(^{441}\) However, what was immortalized was merely the NHL’s manifestation of hockey, as the self-sustaining cycle benefiting its successful hockey entrepreneur was in full swing. Undisputed, it became the sports’ most dominant institution.

Just as print advertising had added extra monetary value to the newspaper readership, the same came true for hockey and its growing radio audience, valued as an efficient target group for radio advertising. However, many owners were at first rather suspicious of the new technology, freely transmitting their products across the nations’ vastness. It was feared that fans would eventually prefer listening from the comfort of their homes – and tickets would go unsold. Confronted with the illusive prospect of taking in money for radio broadcasts in 1929, then owner of the Maple Leafs, Conn Smythe, “believed the story about manna from heaven”\(^{442}\). Nonetheless, small-scale owners not part of the manufacture of a national, popular culture generally missed out on their share of manna.

\(^{436}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 94-95
\(^{437}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 104
\(^{438}\) McKinley, Michael: \textit{Hockey: A People’s History}, page 114
\(^{439}\) Howell, Colin D.: \textit{Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada}, page 93; Needless to say, the availability of such manufactured mass ceremonies also served as “a powerful inducement for buying radio sets”, Burstyn, Varda: \textit{The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports}, page 110
\(^{440}\) Simpson, Wayne: \textit{Hockey}, page 205
\(^{441}\) Dryden, Ken and MacGregor, Roy: \textit{Home Game: Hockey and Life in Canada}, page 127
\(^{442}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page e 97
as only the NHL emerged victorious out of a scenario best described along the lines of winner-takes-all.

By the early 1930s, it began refusing non-NHL challenges for the Stanley Cup, strictly following “a deliberate strategy of destroying its competitors”, Howell argues - and subsequently “supremacy in hockey…was identified with the NHL alone”. Throughout the league’s history, its competitors either collapsed or were incorporated into the NHL’s feeder system. As a logical consequence, it emerged out of World War II “with the status of a cartel”, as it was not only the sole seller of major-league hockey, but equally the sole buyer of major-league talent - developments clearly contributing to what Gruneau et al. describe as “windfall profits” during the era of post-war prosperity.

The sports’ second delightful drowning in even “more manna from heaven” came about in 1952, as it became a regular feature of an even more intrusive means of symbolic production than radio, namely television - quickly revolutionizing the cultural life of most Canadians. Initially considered “the greatest menace of the entertainment world” by NHL president Campbell, television revenues, not just for hockey, rose steadily throughout the 1950s and 60s, eventually resulting in a situation where “without significant television coverage, individual sports are (were) seen as moribund”, Miller et al observe. As television represented a means of increasing revenues without increasing costs, owners and athletes became gradually more concerned about advertising-generated media revenues, soon appearing far more significant than the actual, localized game and its paying audience. Immediately, Hockey Night in Canada’s TV broadcasts became the nation’s most popular “home-based spectator ritual”, thus another “extraordinary mass ceremony” by a new means of symbolical production - consumed by millions and home-delivered by the CBC, “an important custodian of national identity”. What is more, potential audiences were incredibly lucrative, Burstyn explains, describing them as potential dream audiences - dream

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443 Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 73-76
444 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 103-105
446 Miller et al: Globalization and Sport: Playing the World, page 68
447 Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports, page 111
448 Miller et al: Globalization and Sport: Playing the World, page 54
449 In 1953, less than ten percent of Canadian homes were equipped with a television set - a figure that saw dramatic increases due to the decade’s economic prosperity. By 1960, roughly eighty percent of all homes possessed a set, allowing the CBC to attract in excess of five million viewers for Hockey Night in Canada, its most poplar television show. Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 105
450 Miller et al: Globalization and Sport: Playing the World, page 54
audiences not only holding powers over a typical household’s major purchasing decisions, but also combining the highest disposable income of any target group\(^451\).

At the dawn of the post-war era in 1945, the NHL was only present in six markets, out of which just two, Montreal and Toronto, were Canadian. Consequently, amateur, senior, and community-hockey remained vital components of the nation’s hockey landscape, but were deeply affected nonetheless. Despite its somewhat limited actual footprint, it would be wrong to assume the NHL’s general influence on the larger sport of hockey as in any way negligible. The way the game continued to be played and developed happened largely in accordance with rule revisions emanating from its professional pinnacle\(^452\). What is more, not only new post-war minor pro leagues were integrated into the NHL’s feeder system, but basically all of amateur hockey, raising fears of a cultural sellout (see 5.3). As televised NHL games raised spectator expectations\(^453\), senior amateur leagues, still immensely popular throughout the 1930s, were essentially marginalized\(^454\). Except for the rare appearance of the elite athlete\(^455\), common interest in non-major-league or amateur competitions decreased and local university or community sports became mediocre in the eye of the “self-taught “expert” home-viewer”\(^456\). Little challenge arouse until the WHA’s emerged in 1972. Nonetheless, it, as the NHL’s other rivals before, collapsed despite a promising, continent-wide footprint - even though in its case many of its Canadian franchises were absorbed by the NHL\(^457\).

Reflecting upon the “gold” professional athletes became capable to demand, Dryden was quoted as stating that “it seems we couldn’t have gone from where we were to where we are”\(^458\) (see 5.1). Not only valid from a player’s point of view, the same holds truth from the owner’s perspective, as subsequently showcased by contemporary financial figures.

\[^{451}\] Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of men; Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports, page 114
\[^{452}\] For the example of the forward pass see: Howell, Colin D.: BSC: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 73
\[^{453}\] ’Many fans now (even) prefer the recorded replays to live action’, Burstyn states in a discussion of American Football, basically arguing that the individual heroes’ full-screen, slow-motion glorification has become one of the televised games’ main drawing points. Clearly, if the consumption of such selective images, describable as one kind of “athletoporn”, becomes preferred by the modern consumer, much pales by comparison. Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of men; Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports, page 135
\[^{454}\] Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 104-5
\[^{455}\] Even during the NHL’s unprecedented full-season lockout of 2004-5, non-major-leagues failed to capitalize on the ensuing vacuum, as Canadians have been conditioned to consume little but what is perceived as the sports’ best. Describing the lockout’s consequences for the Canadian sports TV landscape, Houston quotes a TV network executive stating that “the biggest myth in this country is that Canadians are dyed-in-the-wool hockey fans…That's a lie. They don't watch juniors. They don't attend junior games to a great degree. They don't watch the American Hockey League, and you could say they don't watch NHL games involving U.S. teams. Just ask TSN about their numbers when the Leafs aren't playing”. Houston, William: Lockout batters network’s audiences (Globe and Mail, CTV Globe Media, Toronto, Canada, 27.11.2004), http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/ArticleNews/TPStory/LAC/20041127/TV27TV/TPSports/TopStories (28.02.2007)
\[^{456}\] Lappage, Ron: Sport Between the Wars, page 278
\[^{457}\] Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers; Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 76
\[^{458}\] Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 296
In 2000, average NHL franchises were valued at 148 million US dollars and netted an average annual revenue of 60.6 million\(^{459}\). In 2005, the league, following an unprecedented, year-long lockout of the league’s players by their owners\(^{460}\), was referred to as a two billion dollar enterprise\(^{461}\). Illustrating the financial developments of the NHL between 1979 and 2003, Dryden imagines a conversation with one of the game’s followers of 79, telling him about now common average salaries in the ranges of millions and ticket prices requiring a fan to pay “about a hundred bucks a ticket”. The 79 reply – albeit imagined? “That’s nuts. I mean it can’t be. I mean you take the richest team… There’s no way. Nobody could afford it. They’d go broke.”\(^{462}\) Quite contrarily, most did not. Subsequently, players clearly increased their share of the owner’s manna, “but most (dollars) have come from money that hadn’t been there previously”, Dryden explains.

Such money has been discovered with ever increasing sophistication since owners first realized that hockey allowed for more than the selling of tickets. In short, time has perfected the art of “selling anything and everything” - as “every bit of space and time is a potential message opportunity”\(^{463}\). No matter whether we refer to the NHA’s introduction of the “Spalding puck” in 1910\(^{464}\), Imperial Oil’s sponsorship of “Hockey Night in Canada” radio broadcasts by the late 1930s\(^{465}\) or the now common “Three Star selection”\(^{466}\): the development of additional sources of revenue became ever more sophisticated since the first spectator tickets were sold by the still “most self-righteous proponents of the amateur game…not above charging the spectators a fee in order to make money for their teams and associations”\(^{467}\). Equally, hockey has been continuously “sold up” and has become “an evening’s enjoyment for a casual fan…someone who might otherwise have gone to the opera, the theatre, a movie, or to a restaurant”, Dryden points out in reference to contemporary crowds, for whom “going to a game is like going to The Lion King…something they budget for, that they only do once or twice a year”\(^{468}\).

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460 Before, the player’s amassment of gold had temporarily outrun their owners manna. Unable to settle the ensuing dispute, owners and players sacrificed the 2004/2005 season, a decision which “almost crippled our industry”, as Wayne Gretzky points out. McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 332
462 Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 295-296
463 Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 301
464 McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 62
465 Grueneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 101
466 Commonly perceived as a long-standing tradition, its roots come somewhat as a surprise, as it grew “out of nothing more than a commercial for a gasoline sold by Esso”, called the “Three Stars”. Esso’s sponsorship of the star selection eventually ended, but in the words of Podnieks, “the three-star selection gives every game a memorable ending – even if it no longer fills gas tanks”. Even without Esso, it would be naïve to assume that such “memorable endings” are no longer exploited as sellable bits of space and time. Podnieks, Andrew: A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country, page 15
467 Grueneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 71
468 Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 300
Yet, the phenomena of “up selling” is a far from solely contemporary phenomena, as even in 1931, then Maple Leafs’ owner Symthe declared his teams’ new Maple Leaf Garden, the “ice palace in Depression-ridden Toronto”, as “a temple for a national art form”\(^{469}\), a “place with class…where people can go in evening clothes…a place that people can be proud to take their wives and girlfriends to”\(^{470}\). And pay accordingly.

In conclusion, modern sports provided owners with previously unthinkable profit opportunities, equalling “manna from heaven”. However, markets never allowed for the simultaneous existence of numerous leagues – or enterprises – selling hockey of the highest quality. Profit opportunities magnified in lockstep with the technical reach of modern means of symbolic production. Such means - as part of a developing sports and cash nexus - helped fueling the consolidation of a, one, top-product – in hockey’s case the NHL. As a consequence, the league offered windfall profits until player salaries outraced the owner’s manna throughout the 1990s\(^{471}\). Following a year-long lockout, a new collective bargaining agreement between the NHL’s team owners and the players was reached in 2005. In something describable as a “win-win” situation for both sides, a flexible salary cap was institutionalised – keeping salaries at no more than 54% of the league’s overall revenue and assuring a future of gold and manna\(^{472}\). What is more, modern, professional hockey, as owned and administered by a limited number of wealthy investors at the top of the sports’ pyramidal structure, has profoundly shaped what is commonly perceived and played as Canada’s national game - thus an ingrained part of the common experience of Canadianing.

However, if we assume that the sport, deeply affected in its development and appearance by the financial interests of the sports and cash nexus, has become little but a commercially exploited spectacle and institutionalised a subsequent feeder system effectively capturing the nation’s young, it becomes possible to speak of puck, illusion and sellout - as shall be done next.

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\(^{469}\) McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 115

\(^{470}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 102; Until his 1964 retirement as the team’s owner, he even reminded season-ticket holders of the Garden’s dress code, requiring “a jacket and a tie” as a “compulsory attire for season ticket holders of red seats”. Violations of the rule could result in a tickets’ non-renewal. Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 94

\(^{471}\) Eventually, the league, as a two billion dollar industry, claimed to have lost in excess of 300 million US dollars in 2005 alone. No matter that revenue had risen 163% over the past decade, player salaries had risen even faster, ultimately equating 75% of overall revenues. Driscoll, Blake: NHL first lost billions, now losing millions of fans (The Observer Online, Case Western Reserve University, Volume XXXVII, Issue 18, Cleveland, United States of America, 18.02.2005), http://observer.case.edu/Archives/Volume 37/Issue 18/Story 91 (28.02.2007)

5.3 Of illusion and sellout

Reading that “Canada’s relationship with hockey began with a geographic and meteorological fact – we have a white and snowy winter, and when it gets cold, we get ice” or that “the game is every bit as much of our cultural fabric as the loonie, Parliament Hill…” allows for the popular reasoning that the game of modern hockey not only belongs to Canadians, but came about quite naturally – and not in the shape of a codified variation played by privileged segments of society, asserting their powers over others (see 3.3). However, such rather common perceptions easily equal a discursive naturalization Gruneau et al. describe as “a kind of cultural amnesia about the social struggles and vested interests…that have always been part of hockey’s history”.

Subsequently, it will be shown why it would be illusionary to perceive hockey’s evolution as a natural bottom-up process and why it would be equally questionable to point towards the game’s perceivably Canadian heritage and utilize recent developments as dramatic symbols of a long-feared absorption into U.S. commerce and mass culture, thus a cultural sellout in the light of an emergent struggle for cultural survival.

However, publishing “The Death of Hockey” in 1972, Kidd et al. did just that, not only arguing that “we live in a country we no longer own”, but equally that “Saturday night is still hockey night in Canada…kids still collect hockey cards…(kids) still dream of scoring goals under television lights in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver”. Thus, despite the country’s apparent Americanisation, hockey remained a distinctively unifying force: essentially the country’s only popular culture it did not import - but one well in need of protection from outside intrusion.

As explained concerning professional hockey’s historical impact on how the game has been played, perceived and understood on all levels (see 5.2 and 6.1), it can be stated that it has been profoundly shaped by commercial interest since no later than 1910. Subsequently, the “idea that what was good for the NHL was also good for “The

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473 Podnieks, Andrew: A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country, page 3
474 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 132
475 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 252
476 Kidd, Bruce and Macfarlane, John: The Death of Hockey, page 16
477 Kidd, Bruce and Macfarlane, John: The Death of Hockey, page 11
478 Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 72

85
(socialized) Game” came to be widely repeated” and believed as common sense, Gruneau et al. highlight. Most importantly, “people began to lose a sense of history” about the game’s historical struggles, no matter that “the good of the game” had become virtually synonymous with the marketing ambitions of the sports and cash nexus\textsuperscript{479}.

In his discussion of Canada’s national culture’s emergence, Riedeau points toward “an emerging sense of nationalism” as part of a spreading experience of Canadianing after Confederation. Initially, this went hand in hand with mass urbanization, but it was not until means of symbolical mass production home-delivered cultural artefacts of perceived we-ness that such national signifiers became ubiquitous\textsuperscript{480} - hockey included\textsuperscript{481} (see 5.2). Once emerged, the novel sense of nationalism was soon understood as under constant siege and threatened in its survival\textsuperscript{482} - a battle long lost, Kidd et al. assured in 1972, stating that Canadians no longer possessed their own country, but were merely leasing it from the Americans\textsuperscript{483}. In essence, Canada had become a colony of the United States\textsuperscript{484}. However, how did such claims arise? What were the influential factors? Referring to the example of hockey: Has even Canada’s favourite pastime been wrestled out of Canadian hands, as Kidd et al. postulated?

Paralleling the emergence of a more-encompassing experience of Canadianing, another sense of we-ness was powerfully emerging to the south of the Canadian border. In lockstep with the coming into being of a modern Canadian identity, so did the unrelenting threat of cultural Americanisation and survival\textsuperscript{485}. Above all, it was an emerging trans-continental media-landscape, dominated by powerful U.S. enterprises, that was perceived as threatening an imagined national distinctiveness\textsuperscript{486}. Television’s introduction increased this alleged threat to unprecedented heights, even though attempts were made to offset cultural Americanization by the launch of the CBC\textsuperscript{487}.

Not only the American media emerged as a threatening force for the Canadian mind, but equally American capital\textsuperscript{488}. The nation’s favourite winter-pastime proved no exception.

\textsuperscript{479} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 215
\textsuperscript{480} Riendeau, Roger: \textit{A Brief History of Canada}, page 215-217
\textsuperscript{481} Miller et al: \textit{Globalization and Sport: Playing the World}, page 74-75
\textsuperscript{482} Atwood, Margaret: \textit{Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature}, page 28-32
\textsuperscript{483} Kidd, Bruce and Macfarlane, John: \textit{The Death of Hockey}, page 16
\textsuperscript{484} Kidd, Bruce and Macfarlane, John: \textit{The Death of Hockey}, page 163
\textsuperscript{485} As captured by Winger’s statement that “the issues of...identity, destiny, angst, pride, and doubt swirl almost 100 per cent around our relationship with the U.S.” Winger, Rob: \textit{This Combination of Ballet and Murder}
\textsuperscript{486} Riendeau, Roger: \textit{A Brief History of Canada}, page 215-217
\textsuperscript{487} Riendeau, Roger: \textit{A Brief History of Canada}, page 250
\textsuperscript{488} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 100
Even though the history of professional hockey had begun on U.S. turf (see 5.1), several competing and highly successful leagues emerged on Canadian soil. In addition, an annual Stanley Cup final captured the fans imagination (see 3.4). However, by 1927, a new, financially superior ten-team NHL had taken over complete control of the cup\(^{489}\). Also, as there appeared only one avenue towards unprecedented growth, major league hockey had been exported southwards\(^{490}\), as the prospects “of manning big-city U.S. teams with Canadian hockey stars” and the marketing of “exotic Canadian teams” were deemed financially promising. What is more, the league had begun to relegate large numbers of senior and semi-professional clubs to their respective minor league status, as tightly knit affiliations helped the NHL to consolidate its grip on the world of professional hockey and its feeder structures\(^{491}\).

Initially troublesome for little more than a minority, “Canada’s national winter pastime” had been transformed into “a continental business largely controlled by ultra-rich Americans”, as six of the NHL’s ten teams skated in the United States. Hockey’s rise to popularity, especially as part of the Depression’s radio broadcasts, fostered the continuing perception of the NHL as an essentially Canadian league. As the radio had uprooted entertainment from its locality, it mattered to a somewhat lesser degree where hockey’s heroes worked – and the NHL still reflected a Canadian labour market, whose Canadian-born heroes had become “stars in U.S. cities along with famed American sports heroes like Babe Ruth”\(^{492}\). What emerged was, in the words of Gruneau et al., “an immensely ironic situation”, as “the doings of, say, the Detroit Red Wings…came to be seen as major “Canadian” events, thus the subject of much national interest and conversations”\(^{493}\). Obviously, what was to be interpreted as a cultural sellout throughout the latter half of the twentieth century was interpreted quite differently at first.

1967 not only witnessed the Canadian Centennial, but also stocked fears of a cultural sellout. As the NHL expanded to six additional U.S. markets\(^{494}\), the Canadian chorus turned increasingly bitter and shifted ever more closely to the allegedly typical theme of

\(^{489}\) A control so complete that even the NHL’s cancellation of its 2004-5 season was unable to free the Stanley Cup, originally intended as a challenger trophy for the Dominion’s amateur competitions. Nevertheless, numerous social movements attempted to do so. In Edmonton, the focus of this debate came by the way of a legal challenge to the NHL’s ownership of the cup by the “Free Stanley” group, whereas in Toronto another group took the matter to the Ontario Superior Court. Lord Stanley’s then-successor Adrienne Clarkson supported the eventually unsuccessful challenges, as the cup remained exclusive property of the NHL. McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 328-330

\(^{490}\) McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 103

\(^{491}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 96-98

\(^{492}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 99-101

\(^{493}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 215

\(^{494}\) McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 202
“survival”, realizing that major league hockey was lured towards new homes more by
“the right demographics for US owners, advertisers, sponsors, and TV networks” than by
a potential market’s “natural” affinity with hockey. However, the NHL’s underlying
reasoning during the latter stages of the 60s was hardly any different than several decades
before, when the practice of utilizing exotic Canadian teams versus mostly Canadian-
dominated, but nevertheless US-based and owned ones had originally spread southwards
and met far less public resentment. Following 1967’s expansion wave, the league grew to
eighteen teams by 1974 - but only Vancouver was added within Canadian boundaries.
Snuffed by expansion, Canadian cities struggled for redemption. For some, the emergent
WHA appeared as a viable means towards such ends – as it began to fill the Canadian
city void by putting “neglected” cities on the map and attracting numerous of the game’s
popular stars - no matter its eventual failure (see 4.1).

For many however, a gradual takeover of Canada’s game by American dollars became all
too obvious. Publishing in 1972, Kidd et al. voiced the nation’s retrospective worries,
as no matter that it were “still our boys out there”, they were “making the big plays and
skating pretty” in front of “all those fat men with cigars in their mouths and bourbon in
their bellies (watching) a better game than their baseball and their football”, essentially
shaming Canada’s prowess, as “what kind of people force their best young athletes, their
national heroes, to pursue their careers in another country?” But worse was to come.

In the early 1990s, the league shifted its expansionist gaze towards a marketing oriented
“sunbelt strategy”, setting up franchises with “showbiz names like the Anaheim
Mighty Ducks” - not having quite the same resonance as “culturally authentic”
appellations such as the Canadiens or Maple Leafs, Miller et al. describe typical
Canadian perceptions. For many, the league was actively “making a mockery of Canada’s

495 Miller et al: Globalization and Sport: Playing the World, page 74-75
496 Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 76; Essentially, the Canadian television
audience was already captured and a larger national footprint deemed unnecessary. Kidd, Bruce and Macfarlane, John: The Death of Hockey, page 29-30
497 Ernoue, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 25
498 Kidd, Bruce and Macfarlane, John: The Death of Hockey, page 17
499 Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 77; However, this recent expansion
strategy appears to have become a relative failure, at least measured against league-set expectations to establish itself within striking
distance of the “big three”: namely the National Football Association, Major League Baseball and the National Basketball Association.
On numerous occasions, American television networks failed to successfully market the game despite its progressively more
nationwide footprint, none more desperate than U.S.-based “Fox”, eventually hoping (and failing) to turn its five-year contract with the
NHL rewarding by the introduction of its innovative FoxTrax “smart puck”: a digitally illuminated puck better suited for its adequate
capture on the TV screen. In short, fans hated it (1). Recent broadcast deals “merely confirmed the league’s status as a secondary
sport”, Wilson explains (2), and current ratings simply confirm this assertion, as a national footprint helps little when television sets
remain switched off (3). (1) Podnieks, Andrew: A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country, page 8 / (2) Wilson,
Brian: Selective Memory in a Global Culture: Reconsidering Links between Youth, Hockey, and Canadian Identity, page 62 (3)
Zulgad, Judd: Despite the numbers, NHL remains committed to Versus (Star Tribune, Minneapolis-St. Paul, United States of America,
08.02.2007), www.startribune.com/503/story/991162.html (03.03.2007)
500 Miller et al: Globalization and Sport: Playing the World, page 75
national game”, which was “slipping away on a tide of American corporate wealth and bad taste”. Illustrating a common sentiment, Strachan put forward that “the NHL would sell its soul to get a larger television audience in the United States”, commented by McKinley’s statement that “the soul of Canadian hockey was in trouble…(it was as if) suddenly, the country’s national religion had been hijacked by Dr. Faustus”\(^{501}\).

Lingering fears of a cultural sellout were equally stoked by the league’s failures in Winnipeg and Québec City, as both markets lost their franchises during the 1990s\(^ {502}\). Previously, it had been explained how the 1972 signing of Hull by the WHA’s Winnipeg Jets, absorbed by the NHL upon its eventual failure, had helped to place the city on the map of the public consciousness (see 4.1). Stuck in what is best described as a “small market”, rising expenses nonetheless became “the kiss of death not just for Winnipeg but for equally hockey-mad Québec City”, McKinley explains, no matter that the latter’s former owner once proudly pledged eternal civil loyalty. In 1995, those who had clumped in the Winnipeg’s centre to witness Hull’s somewhat ridiculous signing twenty-three years earlier, “staged an old-fashioned Manitoba social” - as the team “needed millions”\(^ {503}\). Criticising Winnipeg’s “Save the Jets campaign for its willingness to bow to the whims of corporations”, the cities’ “Thin Ice coalition” rightfully remarked that “the same powerful market forces that marginalized the Jets in a rapidly changing NHL are marginalizing Winnipeg in an increasingly continentalized economy”\(^ {504}\), essentially driving home the point that as the market gives, so the market takes – and any kind of possessive affection towards modern enterprises operating within a globalizing entertainment industry are illusionary at best.

Citing numerous stories from pro hockey’s early years, Gruneau et al. highlight that teams in smaller cities have departed for larger, more profitable markets ever since the game’s commodification, exhibiting a modus operandi well perfected before the intrusion of American capital. However, it required tremendous stability at the sports’ pinnacle for people to fully grasp the historically common phenomena, as the past is often romanticised and history easily forgotten\(^ {505}\). In short, profit-oriented hockey teams never

\(^{501}\) McKinley, Michael: *Hockey: A People’s History*, page 278-281
\(^{502}\) Miller et al: *Globalization and Sport: Playing the World*, page 75
\(^{503}\) McKinley, Michael: *Hockey: A People’s History*, page 288
\(^{504}\) Howell, Colin D.: *Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada*, page 77-78
\(^{505}\) Hockey’s constantly changing landscape allowed for little stability until the NHL emerged from World War II as an “equivalent to other nationally branded products” (1). Paralleling the western hemisphere’s long post-war boom, it featured competition among its “original six”, even though these only earned their famous “tag” by not being previously forced into bankruptcy by either weak home markets or their not belonging to the NHL in the first place. The resulting, unprecedented stability in franchise location gets described as “nothing short of remarkable” by Gruneau et al. and clearly fostered the consumer’s sense that these teams truly belonged to their respective communities. Equally, the game appeared to remain somewhat Canadian in nature (2), no matter that the NHL’s past doings
really belonged to their fans, no matter how willingly communities clumped around them - willingly accepting the team as an assertion of a specific distinctiveness. However, such assertions rarely arose on their own. Rather, they have been “greatly influenced by the shared interests” of the corporate civic project and willingly believed by a public wanting to believe - wanting to believe until something unwraps the “fundamental dilemma” of imagined ownership.

If we assume, as Kidd et al proposed in 1972, that an alternative system of community-owned professional teams would be a preferable alternative to hockey’s now-common, commercially motivated transcontinental ones, part of the blame for hockey’s assumed sellout needs to be directed at the Canadian consumer, lured towards the consumption of what had been turned superior by the workings of the sports and cash nexus: NHL hockey. By asserting their identities on the basis of such consumer preferences, consumers thus actively undermined the livelihood of their respective communities by an “almost supernatural worship of the market”. In short, a cultural sellout has not only occurred in reference to hockey, but equally towards all facet’s of life. Without change, not only hockey is lost, but the whole nation, as “if we cannot save hockey, we cannot save Canada”, Kidd et al. challenge.

Interpreting the NHL’s apparent Canadian exodus as “a dramatic symbol of Canada’s absorption into US commerce and mass culture” is at best “a dangerous half-truth”, Gruneau et al. nevertheless complain. Not only romanticising the past, such accusations equally cloak the degree to which many “of the very Canadian tradition” in perceived need of protection “are themselves implicated in sustaining relations of power and privilege”, it is argued. Professional hockey’s history unmistakably shows that a clear line was always drawn between communal interests and those of private capital, as hockey had begun its operations within the sphere of the market almost from its very beginnings.
and clearly before it emerged as a national pastime. The tremendous cultural impact attributable to the sports’ most successfully socialised franchises evolved as a direct result of their success in modern sports’ “winner takes all” landscape, as the workings of the sports and cash nexus elevated its premier manifestations towards unprecedented heights of mythological significance. If, as Kidd et al. do, it is stated that, as a national pastime, early, modern hockey was supported by local merchants and businessmen, who, “by sponsoring teams outright, or by helping to write off a post season debt”, valued a team’s contribution to a communal sense of we-ness far more than its financial bottom-line, alluring half-truths are wrongfully universalised and equated with a superior past that never fully was.

According to Gruneau et al., no clear dichotomy between “an allegedly more authentic, civilizing, or inherently Canadian game” and its commodified, now partly U.S.-influenced manifestations exists, as there is no foundation for attributing “any one single legitimate “intended use” for hockey”. Equally, it is somewhat hypocritical to lament a relative loss of Canadian influence within the sphere of the NHL’s, at least once its long history of “the-others’” active marginalization and subordination is considered. The game, at its pinnacle, offered reference points for shared identities whenever and wherever this proved financially beneficial (see 5.1/2). By the same token, it “has been well and truly integrated into the American and global culture industries” by a profit-driven ideology as old as the game’s professional, pre-NHL manifestations themselves.

What appears more deserving of academic scrutiny than claims of a cultural sellout are general relationships between culture and power, which differ little within westernised societies or across their neighbouring borders. What matters little are the actual currencies asserting their powers, especially since hockey’s ritualised consumption was uprooted from specific localities by the advent of modern means of mass communication - elevating hockey to new heights of perceived commonality, but subsequently devaluing local productions. It is somewhat ridiculous to assume that a solely Canadian professional league, even if its teams were owned by communities, would, or even could, completely reverse such trends. It stands to reason that not every municipality could partake in such an endeavour and most would still consume such a league’s productions by modern means of mass communication.

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514 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 96
515 Kidd, Bruce and Macfarlane, John: \textit{The Death of Hockey}, page 13
516 Miller et al: \textit{Globalization and Sport: Playing the World}, page 75
In conclusion, Kidd et al.’s still popular assertion that Canadian hockey has been gradually taken over by U.S. business interests might hold some truth at first glance, but easily allows for the romanticising of a past and the subsequent cloaking of history. Statements as “the sellout of hockey was the inevitable consequence of our proximity to the United States and our cheap faith in free enterprise” tend to veil that modern hockey did not come along naturally, but was purposefully “socially and culturally produced” by powerful institutions asserting their influence over others - Canadian institutions well included. Hockey and the powers of free markets became intertwined when professionalism entered the arena – and even before Canadian amateur associations quite eagerly profited from hockey’s gate receipts. Its domination by U.S.-based interests at its all-too-influential pinnacle is little but a logical consequence of a storied development, as underlying mechanisms have changed to a far lesser degree than the scale of their perceived manifestations. Any implication that hockey’s disproportionate commodification is a result of its “excessive Americanization” misses the point that “like it or not, profiting from the game has been as Canadian as the beaver”, as Gruneau et al. point out517.

However, if general relationships between culture and power are more deserving of further scrutiny than illusionary tales of the sports’ apparent sellout, it appears necessary to question the validity of all-encompassing assertions along the lines of hockey as “Canada’s game”. This is even more so if it is wholeheartedly proposed that the game could be “saved” by community owned professional teams, burdening such municipalities with the management of a professionally organized entity expressing a perceived, but nevertheless manufactured, distinctiveness and identity. Even if such teams were to come into existence and were understood as integral parts of communal life, what purposes does hockey serve on a communal level? Who is “the community”? Who is playing, watching and living “Canada’s game”? Apparently, it becomes necessary to talk of him and her.

517 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: *Hockey Night in Canada*, page 24-27
6 Of him and her

For poet Richard Harrison, hockey is Canada’s “national id”\(^518\). For Roch Carrier, “hockey is politics in Canada”\(^519\). For Réjan Houle, childhood is mostly remembered as a series of hockey images\(^520\). For Richter, pond hockey “is Canada in a box”. For Mary Louise Adams, “if hockey ceased to exist tomorrow, my life would not really change”\(^521\). Addressing the male minority’s assertions of hockey’s cultural significance, she critically asks whether “these men live in the same country as I do?” – a question that shall be unravelled, as talk focuses upon him and her.

Modern sports evolved as character-building endeavours primarily aimed at the fabrication of preferred manifestation of gentlemanly him-ness. Therefore, hockey’s significance for the making of gendered male identities shall be analysed first (see 6.1). What kind of him-ness was to be manufactured for the mastering of what kind of world? What kind of lessons were taught? How did the sport of hockey cope with the emergent issue of violent conduct, evolving from a lamentable side-effect towards an ingrained part of the game’s appropriate strategies? How come that hockey, Canada’s national sport, was not even played by very many by the 1970s – and has change occurred since?

In a second step, she shall be brought out on the ice. Recently, female hockey has shown impressive growth. As will be explained, this has proven a simultaneously empowering and disempowering experience. However, how come that her entering the rink is still perceived as something special - even noteworthy? And if she does so, even as successful as her male companions, how come that nobody particularly cares? What kind of partial truths are transmitted if hockey is considered Canada’s “national id”? How come hockey’s history has so little in common with herstory? If “the one duty we owe to history is to rewrite it”, as Oscar Wilde stated\(^522\), what is the gendered story of Hockey Night in Canada? Is it all of Canada that listens and watches its most prominent spectator ritual? In short, how come that much of what is taken for granted as part of every Canadians’ experience of Canadianing has been experienced by him – and not by her?

\(^{519}\) Wilson, Brian: Selective Memory in a Global Culture: Reconsidering Links between Youth, Hockey, and Canadian Identity. p. 53
\(^{520}\) Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 79
\(^{521}\) Adams, Mary Louise: The Game of Whose Lives?, page 71-79
\(^{522}\) Schlesinger Jr., Arthur M.: America needs history as never before
6.1 Of him

Modern sports were introduced as character-building endeavours, institutionalised by a dominant class fully embracing the Victorian ideals of culture and self-improvement (see 3.2). They were not only deemed sufficient means for society’s fluent transition from a rural pre-industrial setting towards an industrialised urban one, but equally became vital parts of the educational sphere. Accordingly, playgrounds and rinks were utilized for the appropriate preparation of the nation’s young for the mastering of a competitive word. But what kind of character were - and are - competitive sports, hockey well included, attempting to construct and foster - and how universal was this perceived ideal?

During the Victorian era, modern sports were – just as they still are - utilized as important sites for the production and popular expression of gendered identities\(^{523}\). Whereas half of humanity was advised to remain idle within the sphere of domesticity, mankind’s other half had to assert its prowess within the brave new sphere of the free market, dominated by a cult of ruthless competitiveness. The ideals of manliness and competitive struggle were stubbornly rehearsed by the era’s popular press, turning the world of business and sports into a “grand spectacle”\(^{524}\) and adhering to the popular image of masculinity as “man-the-hero, the hunter, the competitor, the conqueror”\(^{525}\). Following more equalizing trends after the turn of the century, modern sport’s initial ideological framework resurfaced during the 1950s, as strict lines of gendered division reappeared during the “new age of the nuclear family”. Once again, “women were expected only to keep their suburban homes spotless while the men went out to hunt and gather in the cities”\(^{526}\).

Retrospectively, modern sports most important lesson is best described along the lines of life as “a hostile dynamic based in a mentality of scarcity”, thus a worldview based upon competitive relations allowing for little more than “zero-sum equations”. Winning became understood as a “mutually exclusive goal”. For men’s core sports, “doing one’s best” became “measured in doing better than others”. What is more, doing better than others also tended to be interpreted as “being more physically aggressive”\(^{527}\).

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523 Dunning, Eric: Sport Matters: Sociological studies of sport, violence and civilization, page 220
524 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 83
526 McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 157
527 Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Canada, 1999), page 43
Within the Canadian context, hockey has served as "a principal locus for the inculcation and public expression of traditional standards of masculinity", Dunning explains. It has thus become more than a collectively shared hobby, pastime or recreation – and more generally, sports represent "one of the most successful means of collective mobilization humans have so far devised" alongside religion and war\(^\text{528}\). Therefore, how civilizing has hockey been?

As the overt use of physical force was becoming ever less acceptable during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, conceptions of traditional masculinity changed. However, as the demands of the modern workspace\(^\text{529}\), nearly two centuries of moral entrepreneurship and modern state regulations had helped to contain aggressive masculinity in most spheres of life, hockey, as a bastion of male prowess, institutionalised just this despite contrasting ideals of contemporary amateurism. In short, violence was neither legislated out of the rink or domesticated through rigidly enforced rules\(^\text{530}\).

Many modern sports, hockey included, were rightfully described as “controlled murder in a sense” by Schwartz - or, as in reference to football, “the systematic wasting of men and boys within the boundaries of “legal play””, by Underwood\(^\text{531}\). They were – and obviously still are - the only stage where “lawful, sanctioned violence”, understood as heroism, became distinguished “from unlawful violence”, thus villainy, “along rules established by cultural conventions. . by men as a gender”, Burstyn reflects\(^\text{532}\). Clearly, as stated by Richardson, hockey still continues to sanction violent expressions that outside their specific context “would be considered violations of the law and grounds for arrest and punishment”\(^\text{533}\).

\(^{528}\) Dunning, Eric: Sport Matters: Sociological studies of sport, violence and civilization, page 221-236

\(^{529}\) Typically, these demands are associated with a perceived loss of control by the toiling worker. Pre-modernity’s relatively complex physical work was subsequently devalued, skills were simplified and specialised, an urban, rationalised culture emerged and privileged classes of professionals, bureaucrats and managers instilled a new class consciousness. Somewhat more closely related to an idealised and more manly past, physical games thus continued to be one of the few areas of life where “hardness and overt physical intimidation” were still valued in the setting of a “level playing field”, based upon codified rules and the principles of fair play. Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics, page 192 and Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 54-55

\(^{530}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 194

\(^{531}\) Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports, page 167-168

\(^{532}\) An interesting example is Don Cherry’s description of his first detention after he, working as a coach, had brawled with fans during an AHL game. Describing his recent “accomplishments”, he stated that most importantly, his team had developed an image of immense toughness. Under his direction, it had become the target of harsh criticism by much of the competition, therefore those “who didn’t appreciate our robust approach to the game”. Reflecting upon a 1:6 loss, Cherry stated that “the score was deceptive, it really was a tie because we put five of their players out of action” - a mindset clearly not bothering him, as the accomplishment was done within accepted rules, never mind that “we took a lot of penalties”. However, being arrested after an incident involving fans crossing the boundaries of what he considered acceptable fan abuse, he put forward that “I was arrested and charged with assault causing bodily harm. Me, a guy who had never even had a speeding ticket in his life, never been in jail, never been in court. Next thing I knew I was in the police station being fingerprinted and having my picture taken, like a common criminal”. Clearly, within the universe of professional hockey, priding oneself in “tying” a game by taking the opposition out is well acceptable, even the stuff of pride and reputation, whereas being charged for assault is a perceived offence for someone understanding himself as a wholeheartedly innocent being. Cherry, Don and Fischler, Stan: Grapes: A Vintage View of Hockey, page 187-189

\(^{533}\) Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports, page 167
As hockey emerged within the sphere of the middle class, early accounts of violence never seriously challenged its growth. Even the first game ever played for the title of the Dominion’s championship in 1886 was described by the era’s media as “a saturnalia of butchery”. Almost instantly, violence became somewhat of the “game’s raison d’etre”, McKinsley reflects, and adds that it would become an all-encompassing problem “and a refrain, for the next century”. Initially perceived as a little more than a lamentable side effect, it even became a “pattern…of regular play” by the late 1940s. “In the corners and along the boards, in the dressing rooms and on the bench, in the clash of body against body, wood and ice”, the nation’s male youth was ritually introduced to values of a more traditional, male-dominated society. Taught were “attitudes towards team play, fair play and dirty play, towards winning and losing, tolerance and prejudice, success and failure”, never mind that what was communicated often equalled an “anti-benefit” to society. What is more, hockey was equally understood as a means to “teach…the differences between boys and girls”. As such, it helped to reproduce what Gruneau et al. describe as “hegemonic masculinity”, an attitude Kidd et al. communicated in 1972 by stating that “playing hockey is for boys. Girls are permitted only to watch. In school a boy learns what we profess to believe. In hockey he learns what we really believe.”

In short, hockey helped to defend past patriarchal traditions at a time when society’s changing values and received wisdoms towards traditional gender orders rendered time-honoured requirements towards manhood and masculinity harder to fulfil. The increasing social presence of girls and women reduced men’s cultural predominance. Hockey emerged as a male preserve, a preserve where men could be men, defined by “macho myth-making and the celebration of fighting skills”, Gruneau et al.

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535 During a trial following the on-ice killing of a player in 1905, not only the guilty athlete was put on trial, but basically the game of hockey, as it had been put on a discursive par with banned blood sports. However, it prevailed despite “growing tendencies…(of) increasingly brutal methods and roughness” and when, two years later, another athlete was killed, the accused was acquitted, as the jury failed to "reckon which blow had killed…there had been so many”. Hockey was in dire need of the law, as manslaughter appeared to become “an integral part of the game”. Despite the game’s troubled evolution, its popularity was nevertheless soaring, as the “Stanley Cup managed to transcend the courts”. McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 27-28
536 Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 253
537 Kidd, Bruce and MacFarlane, John: The Death of Hockey, page 5
538 Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports, page 13
539 Kiddle, Bruce and MacFarlane, John: The Death of Hockey, page 6
540 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 252
541 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 196
542 Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports, page 25
543 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 195; According to Bourdieu, being “man” involves an individual’s pressure to display manliness under all circumstances. However, on a day-to-day basis, other roles than that of the traditional “man” take predominance (e.g. “man” as employee, parent). A sense of “being man” only resurfaces under direct threat; for example in direct conflict with another man. Rare as such situations have become, they continue to exist on the ice. Hockey can thus be understood as a male preserve where the cognitive dissonance associated with individual conceptions of manliness and external realities no longer allowing for the showcasing of such behaviour can be circumscribed. Whitehead, Anthony: Man to Man Violence: How Masculinity May Work as a Dynamic Risk Factor in: Fowles, Tony et al: The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice, (Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, United Kingdom, Vol. 44 No. 4, September 2005), page 414, http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2311.2005.00385.x (07.03.2007)
insist. Interpreted as such, it is clearly in line with sports general tendencies “to be more reactionary than progressive”, as diagnosed by Burstyn. Sports thus help to offset the perceived threat of society’s feminisation.

As hockey’s evolution and the dominating influence of its pinnacle gradually turned the sport into mass entertainment and spectacle, its most successful athletes became heroes within an environment celebrating what Burstyn refers to as “hypermasculinity”. The latter arose as the twentieth century witnessed the replacement of muscular Christianity’s ideal of a “genteel, moral, but muscular Gentlemen” by the ideal of a “much rougher, more sexually aggressive” one. In hockey’s case, the latter performed within the “high combat spectacle” cultivated on its primary stage, the “magical places” of the NHL.

The NHL’s reasoning for placing a premium upon violent on-ice heroics? In short, it was perceived as a better sell. Consequently, the “positive qualities of participatory sports have been replaced by the values of sport as spectacle” and, as Kidd et al. observed in the early 1970s, “not very many Canadians play the game we call our national sport.”

The most interesting argument put forward for hockey’s decreasing appeal, besides a lack of opportunity, has been forwarded by Kidd et al. in 1972, claiming that societies’ values were no longer in sync with those hockey attempted to communicate. As commonly shared values came to be placed upon “peace, hedonism and individualism”, the NHL celebrated cheap unsportsmanlike conduct and a disturbing preoccupation with winning, slowly encroaching upon all of the game’s levels. What was lost was an emphasis on fun, as hockey was increasingly played in accordance with what Burstyn introduces as the regrettable qualities of modern sports, exacerbating social conflict and promoting antisocial and antidemocratic values. What is more, roughly a decade past Kidd et al.’s observations and conclusions that hockey was not played by very many, research...
indicated that from the mid-1970s to the mid-80s, “a quarter of the country’s peewees vanished, more than a third of the country’s bantam players disappeared (and) half of the midgets were gone”. A game not played by very many of the nation’s young became a game played by even less.

Despite hockey’s sagging participation numbers, Burstyn insists that traditional anchors of lived gender and masculinity have increased in perceived importance in a changing and more equalized world. In lockstep, the hallmark of muscular hypermasculinity has gained in significance. Based upon a similar reasoning, Dunning explained that the rise of football as America’s number one game of the post World-War II era “is likely the result of the comforting clarity it provides between the polarities of traditional male power, strength and violence and the contemporary fears of social feminisation” - an observation standing somewhat in opposition to Kidd et al’s hopeful statement that hockey, in the professional game’s stranglehold, had lost its former appeal in a peacefully feminising society. However, the continued practices and traditions of modern sports, consumed and participated in predominately by males, rather underline Dunning and Burstyn’s reasoning. It might hold truth that participation rates for some traditional male sports sagged, but its passive consumption and functioning as an anchor of identity has never seriously lost in significance. The peaceful transformation of society Kidd et al. rested their hopes upon has, generally speaking, not entered the arena of competitive sports, where it pays quite nicely to symbolize an anchor of hulking masculinity.

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555 Dryden, Ken and MacGregor, Roy: Home Game: Hockey and Life in Canada, page 63
556 Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports, page 25
557 Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports, page 141
558 Dunning, Eric: Sport Matters: Sociological studies of sport, violence and civilization, page 223
559 It should be critically asked what set of values contemporary hockey continues to communicate when human anchors of hypermasculinity, as defensemen Zdeno Chara, discursively glorified and nicknamed “The A-Train for his ability to drill a player in to a different time zone” (1), are awarded maximum contracts as allowed under current NHL statutes, thus an annual compensation of 7.5 million US $ (2). Described as a “guy…that steps up and just kills guys”, Chara, a native of Czechoslovakia, excels at what Dryden puts forward as the game’s universal, Canadian characteristic, as “delivered mid-ice with shoulder or hip, a body-check is the universal symbol of Canadian hockey” (4). Within the globalized workspace of the professional athlete, it is no longer just the Canadian athlete excelling at the Canadian game’s most symbolic feat. As a result, Kidd et al.’s claim that the NHL’s ideology radiates throughout all of hockey and “kids seldom learn to skate properly because they are too busy looking for a check” might still be right on the mark, especially if it is not just somewhat offensively talented physical players excelling on the ice and at the bank (as Chara), but equally players as Hollweg, described as a player who “could play without a stick and would accomplish the same thing.” In the latter’s case however, physical play without any significant skills at the game of hockey only translate in a salary of 456,000 $, never mind that his physicality and good pay (by common standards) serve as a huge incentive for him and others to continue playing as a “200-pound wrecking balls, running all over the ice and hitting some of the NHL’s most valuable and talented players”. (5)

OF HIM

Despite recent evidence supporting the view that aggressive environments have a tendency to arouse equally aggressive responses\(^{560}\), Canadian hockey, most dominantly mediated by the NHL, has a long history of stubbornly refusing any serious questioning of its underlying attitudes and patterns, an attitude well preserved even when “the Soviets came along, and things got complicated (see 4.3)”, Dryden observes, subsequently challenging his nation to “ask…if traditions and myths that once made sense make sense any longer”. For him, the “tip of the iceberg” came about in the shape of the Philadelphia Flyers’ capture of two straight championships in 1974 and 75, as “violence had been allowed to make sense”\(^{561}\) during hockey’s emergent “goon era”\(^{562}\).

Despite the Flyer’s successful “rampaging through the NHL by making goonism the key to victory”\(^{563}\), the league initially shrugged off any mounting criticism\(^{564}\), no matter that a 1974 task-force committee investigating violence on the game’s amateur level revealed that even minor league coaches had begun to teach their young “illegal techniques of charging and cross-checking”. Naturally, children wanted to emulate their goon heroes\(^{565}\). Subsequently, minor issues were addressed, but violence prevailed and continues to be a frequently recurring topic, especially concerning the ambiguous issue of fighting; a well accepted practice within the professional game’s tradition of self-policing\(^{566}\). What is more, a recent “chance” for rational improvement has been squandered. After a vicious and revenge-motivated hit by one of the game’s better known athletes broke his opponent’s neck in 2004, an event considered “one of the ugliest incidents in NHL history”, the league’s sentiment towards violence, at least on the rhetorical level, appeared

\(^{560}\) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 177
\(^{561}\) Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 255-261
\(^{562}\) Simpson, Wayne: Hockey, page 220; The Flyers, coached by ex-boxing champion Shero, took their cue from a coach who “used to have his forwards practice break-aways while being slashed from behind…(as) nobody lets you ever score an easy goal in a game.” McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 235
\(^{563}\) Cherry, Don and Fischer, Stan: Grapes: A Vintage View of Hockey, page 196
\(^{564}\) League president Campbell even sincerely stated that the NHL was “in the entertainment business”, which did not entail “any moral sort of responsibility”. McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 235
\(^{565}\) However, it were not just children wishing to emulate heroic goonism, as “in the 1970s the call of parents to their male offsprings to „hit’em” rang out in arenas from coast to coast”. Popular publications as Hockey is a battle (1970, Punch Imlack and Scott Young) or Bobby Hull’s Hockey Is My Game (1967) convinced many that “minor hockey was a testing ground for masculinity”. Not unjustified, many authorities began to fear the pro game’s devastating effects on young players, “who, wishing to emulate their NHL heroes, might become too concerned about slashing, boarding, high-sticking, and butt-ending to concentrate on passing, skating, feigning and scoring”. Equally worrisome proved a 1973 medical survey of various sports, revealing that hockey resulted in more injuries among young males than football, baseball and soccer – combined. Simpson, Wayne: Hockey, page 220-221
\(^{566}\) In his recent NHL column, Buccigross tries to answer the question of what would ensue upon a potential ban on fighting, answering that “It would not be good. Believe it or not, fighting serves a purpose in the game and actually deters 99 percent of would-be acts of disrespect and dirty play. Fighting has no place at the youth levels, but in the professional ranks, the game polices itself. The spectre of seeing a hulking figure such as 6-foot-7, 275-pound Minnesota Wild enforcer Derek Boogaard sitting at the end of the bench makes guys think twice about what they do out on the ice. Plus, fighting sells tickets. Like it or not, it is a part of the game”. Disturbingly, his most convincing argument appears to be that fighting sells tickets. What is more, it remains a mystery why professional hockey should be allowed to “police itself”, as if it were somehow detached from the society it is part of, a society where potential shoplifters, speeders et cetera are arguably subject to common laws, not Derek Boogaards. Buccigross, John: The pros and cons of fighting in the NHL (ESPN.com, Bristol, United States of America, 08.01.2007), http://proxy.espn.go.com/nhl/columns/story?columnist=buccigross_john&id=2724254 (05.03.2007)
to shift towards more civilized waters\textsuperscript{567}. However, fast forward to 2007 and listen to some recently voiced propositions that rules concerning the instigation of fights should be weakened. Apparently, more room is needed for the game to police itself, as “the concept of an eye for an eye is still very much alive” and the league’s mood appears to be returning to merely temporarily abandoned “notions of frontier justice”\textsuperscript{568}, Cox perceives. Add an increased leniency for fighting to recent findings that “major penalties actually help teams win hockey games”\textsuperscript{569} and it becomes ever more questionable what kind of irrational, pre-modern values professional hockey might help to proliferate.

Cherry’s 1982 assertion that what was then perceived as rough hockey is “a brand of sport that is child’s play compared to what it was in the AHL during the late 1950s” might imply that some improvements have occurred\textsuperscript{570}. Besides his popular assertions of hockey’s somewhat tamed nature, another fairly reliable indicator of an at least gradually changing understanding of the kind of manliness hockey communicates is the goalie mask\textsuperscript{571} – or most other devices of protective gear now well established, including what he referred to as “dumb helmets”\textsuperscript{572}. Frequently arguing along such lines, he, a former career minor-leaguer and coach on the AHL and NHL level, has been described as “the single most destructive influence on the development of Canadian hockey”, as he has become a “Canadian institution” by regularly “dispensing his hockey wisdoms” on Sport Night in Canada\textsuperscript{573}. With his popularity soaring, he even “became the moral guide for a generation of hockey players, their parents, and their coaches”\textsuperscript{574}, McKinley asserts, speaking “for the old Canadian hockey traditions” and regularly reminding the

\textsuperscript{567} Fostered by new rules institutionalised to open up the game and increase scoring, the frequency of fighting dropped significantly. In 2003-4, 41 per cent of games had fights, whereas in 2005-6, only 29 per cent had. However, in 2006-7, this number is projected to be on the rise again, approaching 31 per cent of all games. Analysing pre-season games, thus games when roster spots are heavily contested and players can be assumed to be under increased pressure to leave a mark, the percentage of games involving fights (2006-7) stood at 53 per cent. Singer, David M. Hockey Fights Stats (Hockeyfights.com, 2007), http://www.hockeyfights.com/stats/ (08.03.2007)
\textsuperscript{568} Cox, Damien: Revenge behind Bertuzzi hit still evident in the game (ESPN.com, Bristol, United States of America, 07.03.2007) (http://sports.espn.go.com/nhl/columnist/story/columnist=cox_damien&id=2790393 (08.03.2007)
\textsuperscript{569} The controversial study, conducted by Colorado College, revealed that a correlation exists between major penalties and goals surrendered, as “major penalties helped win games while minor penalties lowered a team's chance of emerging victorious”. The study, based on statistical data obtained between 1999 and 2004, showed that “for each (major) penalty minute served, a team collected 0.08 points and decreased their opponent's scoring by 0.24 goals”. CTV.ca News Staff: NHL fighting study may be obsolete: author (CTV News, Scarborough, Canada, 14.11.2006), (http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20061113/nhl_study_061113/20061114/ (08.03.2007)
\textsuperscript{570} Cherry, Don and Fischler, Stan: Grapes: A Vintage View of Hockey, page 103
\textsuperscript{571} Until the late 1950s, goaltenders were expected to play without facial protection. It was generally agreed that protective gear would suggest cowardice or take a goaltender out of the game “by making him feel safer” (1), even though it appears highly questionable what is proven by putting an unprotected face between pucks, “stay sticks and wayward skates” (2). Nevertheless, not all goaltender deemed facial protection a necessity, as Bower, then-goaltender of the Toronto Maple Leafs, decided that the scorn he would have to face for donning a mask plain simply was not worth it. Therefore, “(he) just made up (his) mind that (he) was going to lose teeth and have (his) face cut to pieces” (3). (1) McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People's History, page 178 / (2) Podnieks, Andrew: A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country, page 44 / (3) McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People's History, page 179
\textsuperscript{572} Cherry, Don and Fischler, Stan: Grapes: A Vintage View of Hockey, page 264
\textsuperscript{573} A wisdom in line with quotations from his 1982 autobiography such as a description of hockey sticks as “weapons” (6), role players as “excellent infantrymen” (13), teammates as “allies in the trenches…in time of war” (221), player attitudes along the lines of “every game was like the ultimate charge of an infantryman over No Man’s Land” (91), protective gear as “dumb helmets everybody has to wear” (264) and so forth. Cherry, Don and Fischler, Stan: Grapes: A Vintage View of Hockey
\textsuperscript{574} McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 266-269
nation “of the tough and courageous traditions of a northern frontier nation”\textsuperscript{575}, Gruneau et al. observe.

What cannot be denied is that children benefit from organized hockey if competitive values are not exaggerated and good coaching places a premium on the sports’ enjoyment, as sports often provide children with a first opportunity for social bonding outside their family\textsuperscript{576}. However, the institutionalisation of such beneficial settings remains a constant challenge, as too often hockey’s culture continues to celebrate attitudes and behaviours that are socially destructive and decidedly outweighing the sports ascribed pro-social values\textsuperscript{577}. No matter that since the 1980s and 90s numerous national initiatives have aimed at lessening competitive hockey’s grip on minor-league play\textsuperscript{578}, “rink rage” became the popular synonym for the “thuggish behaviour prevalent at minor hockey rinks” by 1998 and Jamieson, describing his return to Montreal after coaching for eighteen years in Europe, equalled his first impression as “a punch in the nose”, as play was “physically, rough, and intimidating”\textsuperscript{579}. Even on the minor level, players were not only excluded on the basis of insufficient courage, but it had likewise become accepted that “players as young as twelve were kicked out of leagues if they weren’t big enough”\textsuperscript{580}. Summed up quite nicely by Rhéaume’s description of kids hockey, seeing “all the politics, the games behind the scenes, the pettiness that can even become dangerous – well, sometimes it seems as if the world’s gone a little nuts”\textsuperscript{581}.

In conclusion, it has been shown what kind of regularly contested him-ness hockey helped to enshrine along the lines of a manufactured Canadian manliness. Too often hockey has helped to socialize its participants in an environment ideologically tainted by the world of professional hockey, not only insisting on its somewhat irrational ability and responsibility to police itself, but fostered and sold as a gruelling popular spectacle. As a result, participation rates have been described as in a state of significant decline. The recurring debate concerning the game’s violent character tends to signify that its stereotypical drawing power of aggressive masculinity has lost at least some of its appeal.

\textsuperscript{575} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 188
\textsuperscript{576} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}, page 155
\textsuperscript{577} Burstyn, Varda: \textit{The Rites of Men: Masculinity, Politics, and the Culture of Sports}, page 13-14
\textsuperscript{578} Apparently without overwhelming, supraregional success. What most programs, no matter whether the \textit{Fédération québécoise de hockey sur glace’s} “Hockey 2000” (1) or Jamieson’s “Fran Jeu” (2) have in common is a renewed emphasis on fair play, the value of equal participation, rewards - even points in the standings - for penalty-free games and a stance generally opposed to a philosophy of dichotomised perceptions concerning “good” and “bad” penalties. (1) Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: \textit{Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics}, page 160-161 / (2) McKinley, Michael: \textit{Hockey: A People’s History}, page 312-313
\textsuperscript{579} McKinley, Michael: \textit{Hockey: A People’s History}, page 312
\textsuperscript{580} McKinley, Michael: \textit{Hockey: A People’s History}, page 293
\textsuperscript{581} Rhéaume, Manon and Gilbert, Chantal: \textit{Manon: Alone in the front of the net} (Harper Collins Publishers Ltd., Toronto, Canada, 1993), page 49
Nevertheless, such attitudes remain well sustained within the hockey subculture. Outside such, “the sheer scope of changes in Canada have made the equation between hockey and Canadianess increasingly problematic” and the game’s tradition of aggressive masculinity no longer reflects the kind of him-ness readily perceived as common sense – a recent observation by Gruneau et al.582 well in line with assertions voiced by Kidd et al. several decades earlier583. Still, the professional game’s consumption and celebration of its inherently hypermasculine character remains a viable anchor of lived masculinity within what has been described as a feminising world. Hockey’s traditional ideal of him-ness has becomes the epitome of Canadianing for a traditional subculture, increasingly challenged by the general populace’s perception of hockey as belonging to “them” – and not to the historically far too influential professional game and its underlying ideologies584. Kidd et al.’s assertion that hockey is frequently played as a common ritual among growing boys and then happily discarded no longer holds as much truth as three decades ago, as it has become played by less in number, but apparently for a longer duration. Contemporarily, hockey exists in more than just the two manifestations they insisted upon, when there was just “the hockey we play for a few brief years during adolescence…and the hockey a few hundred professionals provide as a television spectacle”585. The game’s significantly decreasing participation rates on the youth level have been “more than offset by growth in other areas”, as old-timer, industrial, and female hockey are booming586, Gruneau et al. ascertain. Nevertheless, the issue of youth hockey and its relationship towards institutionalised violence remains contested terrain, but while it appears save to assume that a smaller percentage of Canadian “hims” takes up the game in the first place, those who do might, under progressive settings, encounter some of the apparent fun lost and stay on.

According to Podniecks, hockey, as an “ingrained part of who we are”, has been “handed down, one elbow pad at a time, one story at a time, one game on Hockey Night in Canada at a time, from father to son, from big brother to little brother”587. Even if this were so – and as we have seen it may very well not - common sense tells us that that he at best delivers a deceiving half-truth. The truth’s other half? Apparently, the time has come to focus on her.

582 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 268-281
583 Kidd, Bruce and Macfarlane, John: The Death of Hockey, page 69
584 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 268-281
585 Kidd, Bruce and Macfarlane, John: The Death of Hockey, page 69
586 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 282-283
587 Podnieks, Andrew: A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country, page 5
6.2 Of her

As aforementioned, hockey has been handed down from father to son, big brother to little brother and so forth. Nevertheless, women have always been out on the ice as well, albeit by far smaller numbers. However, Dryden’s assertion that “once a game for little boys, now little girls play hockey as well” oversimplifies reality and even in 2007, seventeen years past Dryden’s comforting assertion, his wife’s newfound love for the game of hockey inspires Coyle, of southern Alaska, to devote a lengthy column to her new pastime. Even more tellingly, the *International Herald Tribune* did not return his ramblings to sender, but extended his curious devotion to its global readership. It stands to reason that if Mrs. Coyle had elected to set down her husbands sudden “affair” with the game of hockey, setting his eyes “alight in a way (she) hadn’t seen in a long time”, little would have seemed worthy of print. The tales of hockey wives and mothers have become common knowledge. However, if a man sets down to capture a tale about “hockey husbands…left gazing at the action outside the plexiglass”, sharing “a simple lot: feed kids, do bedtimes and play commentator (“Did you see Mommy’s hip check?”)”, something sufficiently unique to justify its publication emerges. Adams’ challenging question whether she and her male companions actually share the same country had been put forward, a question that shall be subsequently unravelled, as the analysis primary focus’ shall not rest upon her entering the rink, but rather upon her not doing so.

Setting off from the sentiment of Coyle’s account, it appears as if postmodern feminism’s claim that women have been victimised into historical near-invisibility by a naturalised rhetoric of active exclusion is well extendable towards hockey. Apparently, women’s on ice achievements have been systematically excluded from the manufacture of symbolic systems. Little wonder, one could assume, as even the game’s equipment is commonly framed in a masculine rhetoric, as by Podnieks, freely stating that the puck, “vulcanised simplicity”, “is more masculine than the effete tennis ball, which changes shape when being hit.

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588 Podnieks, Andrew: *A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country*, page 5
589 Dryden, Ken and MacGregor, Roy: *Home Game: Hockey and Life in Canada*, page 9
590 Coyle, Daniel: *Our relationship was put on ice: Confessions of a puckoled husband* (International Herald Tribune, Neuilly-Sur-Seine, France, 06.03.2007), page 20
591 Adams, Mary Louise: *The Game of Whose Lives?*, page 80
592 Coyle, Daniel: *Our relationship was put on ice: Confessions of a puckoled husband*
593 Podnieks, Andrew: *A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country*, page 8
In short, women’s on-ice achievements are understood as of lesser value - even if the level of accomplishment compares to that of their fellow males, as the 2002 Olympics illustrated, showcasing Lenskyj’s “female deficit model of sport”\(^594\). Gold medals won by both teams made clear the “centrality of gender to national mythmaking”, Adams analyses, as “coverage of the two wins”, both by victories over the United States of America on American soil, “was staggering in its lopsidedness”. Accordingly, “there can be no mistaking which of these teams is understood to be more important”\(^595\). In this context, Pettman’s proposal that the Western modernist project is inherently gendered and thus only allows for the classification of female contributions to world affairs as peripheral appears right on the mark\(^596\). As Adams rightfully insists, “co-called national sports afford men…an opportunity to represent the nation in a way not open to women”\(^597\).

In 4.3, the \textit{Challenger Series} had been introduced as a moment of national truth, thus a pinnacle of experienced Canadianing in the face of the communist other-ness. Supposedly, Team (NHL) Canada” had transcended hockey’s frequently consumed or perceived meanings and helped to unite the nation’s imagined community. However, the series, apparently involving the nation putting its “psyche…nakedly on the line”\(^598\), concluded during school hours for Langley, prompting her school to call off classes, as “this event was deemed to be of sufficient importance to justify the assembling of the whole of my junior high school class in front of a television set”. Nonetheless, as Dryden and others perceived their nation’s birthright at risk and essentially triumphing in the larger name of western democracy, she cannot “recall following the game intently, and I suspect I did not”\(^599\).

\(^{594}\) According to her model, traditional male sports’ values are frequently idealized, whereas the quality and seriousness of women’s sports are marginalized - a process even accelerating in speed since the emergence of the ever-more influential sports-media nexus and its fostering of popular conceptions of the “hypergender”\(^2\). As an ideological result, a female goaltender is not even a real goaltender. Impressed by Manon Rhéaume’s goaltending abilities, Campeau, scout of the NHL’s Tampa Bay Lighting in 1992, send team director Esposito a video-tape of her. Interested, the latter then stated that the player on tape appeared “A little small for a goalie, but he moves well. He has good reflexes. We can invite him to camp”. Being informed about the goaltender’s gender, his first reaction was “She plays like a goaltender. Why not invite her…”, somehow implying that the moment the goaltender became a “she”, she just played “like” a goaltender. (1) Adams, Mary Louise: \textit{The Game of Whose Lives?}, page 88 / (2) Burstyn, Varda: \textit{The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports}, page 149 / (3) Rhéaume, Manon and Gilbert, Chantal: \textit{Manon: Alone in the front of the net}, page 80

\(^{595}\) Coverage of the men’s game eclipsed that of the women’s even the day after the their gold medal win. Exemplarily, the \textit{Toronto Star} devoted two articles - half a column on its first page and less than a third of page four - to the women’s golden moment while simultaneously coverage of the Canadian men involved five articles, supplemented by three articles covering other men teams. Equally, several newspapers included a full-page Canadian flag, ironically paid for by US-car-maker Chevrolet, the day after the Canadian men’s team won. No such thing occurred after the women’s win. Adams, Mary Louise: \textit{The Game of Whose Lives?}, page 73

\(^{596}\) Pettman, Ralph: \textit{Reason, Culture, Religion: The Metaphysics of World Politics}, page 18

\(^{597}\) Adams, Mary Louise: \textit{The Game of Whose Lives?}, page 72-73

\(^{598}\) Dryden, Ken: \textit{The Game}, page 240

Outside the special context of the Olympic Games or hockey’s somewhat mandatory en-masse consumption of 1972, Langley points towards its gendered social order, especially concerning Hockey Night in Canada’s frequent mass consumption, as it has been the site of a somewhat imperfectly marked gender divide.600

When it is therefore suggested that early radio broadcasts helped to mythologize hockey throughout depression-ridden Canada (see 5.3), little but a partial truth is conveyed. What is more, the fiction of a nation huddling around its receiver sets clearly equals what Barthes declared a myth, thus a fiction emphasising certain versions of reality at the expense of others.602 What is emphasised is the commonality. What is dismissed is the division and friction this manufactured commonality entailed603.

However, the arousal of national senses of we-ness depends on the commonality of shared stories, as nations “are distinguished from one another by the stories they tell about themselves”, Anderson puts forward604. Yet, not all stories are equal and the postmodern feminist’s deconstruction of common-sense history might help to unwrap herstory, as the relationships between various manifestations of cultural production, pleasure, meaning and inequalities in power, thus often the mere ability of cultural expression itself, have become defining issues for contemporary cultural studies (see 2.2).605

A common assertion inviting inquiry is quoted and partially supported by Gruneau et al., stating that during the 1950s and 60s, “the association of girls and women with the game tended to be defined only through the participation of the men in their lives” – an account implying that major changes occurred since.606 In short, it is commonly assumed that the female game has advanced in great strides. But where have those strides led - and how many have been striding?

600 Langley, Sandra: Gender, Talk, TV, Hockey, and „Canadian Identity“: Feminist Takes on „Television Rejection“
601 McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 116
603 The latter has been well captured by Langley, stating that “the sounds of the excitement of the game did not simply leave me cold. These sounds seemed to me to proclaim something central to my reality: the spaces of communication in my home were spaces shaped in good part by my father….hockey spectatorship came to signify essences forever fixed within the game itself…these things bespoke the essence of Empty, and of something I would later come to name as patriarchy.” Langley, Sandra: Gender, Talk, TV, Hockey, and „Canadian Identity“: Feminist Takes on „Television Rejection“
604 Adams, Mary Louise: The Game of Whose Lives?, page 74
605 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 5
606 Even though the author’s add that this is not necessarily so, but rather a common fallacy. Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 2
Never mind that Avery et al. declare women’s hockey “one of the sport’s best kept secrets…played for well over 100 years in total obscurity”\textsuperscript{607}, what has actually changed in regard of its significance amounts to relatively little, as subsequent statistics illustrate. However, those participating in hockey’s somewhat obscure female past often faced a nowadays eased up-hill quest for social legitimacy, as the game was perceived as distinctively masculine. More generally, female athletes were constantly forced to adjust towards society’s expectations and find suitable compromises of accommodation - a problem posed far less by not as “categorically unacceptable” sports as hockey\textsuperscript{608}.

Number-wise, 450,000 boys between the ages of eight and nineteen were registered as players with the CAHA in 1992-93. As were 12,000 girls\textsuperscript{609}. Without a doubt, the female game recently underwent an unprecedented boom, as it grew by 235 per cent between 90 and 97, allowing for Avery et al.’s optimistic assertion that at such a rate, the projected number of women and girls playing hockey “would be around 100,000” by 2000\textsuperscript{610}. However, by then, it stood at 51,105\textsuperscript{611} and, somewhat recently, at 61,177 in 2002-3\textsuperscript{612}. It cannot be seriously questioned whether female registration figures will eventually eclipse 100,000, as they sure will. Constituting an empowering experience, the involvement in sports as hockey has probably helped girls and women to reclaim some lost degree of physical and existential agency\textsuperscript{613}. However, what needs questioning is what kind of empowerment has occurred on whose terms and whether for most females an association to hockey has undergone changes or continues to be defined through the participation of men in their lives, no matter how contested such dichotomised statements naturally are. Regarding the latter, the consumption of \textit{Hockey Night in Canada} might serve as a viable example, especially in the light of its “female experience” by Langley\textsuperscript{614}.

Despite the dangers of metaphorical exaggeration, the female experience of Canada’s most prominent mass ritual shall be sketched and analysed using such\textsuperscript{615}.

\textsuperscript{607} Avery, Joanna and Stevens, Julie: Too many men on the ice: Women’s Hockey in North America (Polestar Book Publishers, Victoria, Canada, 1997), page 8
\textsuperscript{608} Usually, “categorically unacceptable” sports were those involving “combat/body-contact”, thus sports as soccer, rugby or boxing, consisting of combinations of “power, strength, aggressiveness and speed”. Dunning, Eric: Sport Matters: Sociological studies of sport, violence and civilization, page 232-233
\textsuperscript{609} CAHA = Canadian Amateur Hockey Association; Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 154
\textsuperscript{610} Avery, Joanna and Stevens, Julie: Too many men on the ice: Women’s Hockey in North America, page 272
\textsuperscript{611} Hunter, Andria: Hockey Registration in Canada (The Women’s Hockey Web, 1998), http://www.whockey.com/country/canada/registration.html (12.03.2007)
\textsuperscript{612} Adams, Mary Louise: The Game of Whose Lives?, page 77
\textsuperscript{613} Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports, page 156
\textsuperscript{614} Langley, Sandra: Gender, Talk, TV, Hockey, and „Canadian Identity“: Feminist Takes on „Television Rejection“
\textsuperscript{615} Of course, large numbers of women relate positively to men’s sports, as some enjoy to identify with the male athletes, others enjoy the masculine spectacle and sexual display while still others watch or support sports in order to be with men to whom they feel or are affiliated. Burstyn, Varda: The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sports, page 153
To begin with, *Hockey Night in Canada* sets off with the idyllic image of a Canadian family “huddled near the wireless” during the economic depression of the 1930s. Part of the image is “dad in his big old armchair. Mom on the couch, knitting, or in the kitchen tending to some dishes; little Billy kneeling on the floor so close to the radio he’d go blind if it were a television; and, his little sister, Sue, drawing on foolscap, or playing with her dolls, somewhat bored”. Fast forward to Gruneau et al.’s cover design of *Hockey Night in Canada*, appropriately displaying hockey’s ascent on television. Depicted are “a man and a boy on a couch in front of the television set, with eyes and mouths wide open with excitement. On the back, in a small square of light in the far corner, we find “Mom” bent over the sink, wearing a long-skirted dress, and outlined by the frame of the kitchen door”. Sue does not reappear, but we can insert Langley’s childhood experience of Saturday evenings, when she would “flee to (her) room at the first sound of the all-too-familiar music introducing *Hockey Night in Canada*”. However, “there was no escape from the beast…the walls did not keep out the booming noise of the television set”.

Fast forward once more to contemporary times as captured by Podnieks, times often associated with a distinctive weakening of communal links and an erosion of society’s social capital, and “picture various modern permutations of game night in the big city…Dad heads to a bar right after work to watch the game on the big screen with his buddies. His wife is out having sushi with girlfriends; the kids are over at someone else’s house playing Xbox”. Clearly, basing any serious analysis on such oversimplified imaginations opens the floodgates of criticism, but the metaphorically evoked fate of mother and daughter nevertheless deserves recognition and second thought, as confined boredom within the family home has been replaced by taste cultural choice.

It has been claimed that women’s hockey has benefited profoundly from its recent mass-empowering popularity. However, even this is questioned. Exemplarily, Adams sees little progress, but rather a costly loss of independent ideals and values, as the female game has been absorbed by those terms governing the male’s. In a large part, women hockey’s recent success goes back to national triumphs on the international stage, she argues. Therefore, a majority of resources became focused upon elite and competitive hockey, resulting in a pattern all too familiar from the world of men’s hockey (see 6.1). Consequently, participation is high until the threshold of the mid-teens is crossed, when

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616 Podnieks, Andrew: *A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country*, page 27
617 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: *Hockey Night in Canada* cover
618 Langley, Sandra: *Gender, Talk, TV, Hockey, and Canadian Identity*: Feminist Takes on „Television Rejection”
620 Podnieks, Andrew: *A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country*, page 27
recreational opportunities for play decline and participation drops off. A systematic and efficiency driven difference replaced women hockey’s “development ethic”, predominant until the 1990s and serving mostly counter-cultural purposes, focusing on the aims of wide participation and learning. Yet, international successes have rendered parents more ambitious and the game’s incorporation into the larger, male-dominated Hockey Canada network has occurred at a high cost. It has thus been far from beneficial, fostered competitive attitudes and eroded the sports’ female ethos. Equally, the community of women hockey lost its control from within, as the price for broader acceptance has been the loss of effective control.  

In a feminising world, the rink, as a physical entity, has equally become the site of immense communal struggle. Largely in rural settings where the arena constitutes the only, or one of few, public facilities, its notion as “the rightful heart of the Canadian small town” has become the target of increased anger, thus “a symbol of everything that is wrong with the traditional gender order”. The rightful claim that other facilities would provide more options for female recreation than sites traditionally understood as male preserves is undeniable, and it is also claimed that “men who will leave no stone unturned to provide for hockey routinely say the community “can’t afford” facilities that would offer more opportunities…to women”. Female’s ascent in public life is subsequently perceived as a “loss” by hockey’s male subculture, deeply absorbed in the game’s traditions and opposed to socially empowered women not seeing the same necessity for the allocation of communal expenditures towards rinks. What is more, the regular tradition of a rink’s ice time’s allocation on a “historic basis” has been pointed out as an aspect of the systematic discrimination hampering women’s participation in organized recreation. Overall, hockey has only begun to offer opportunities for female participation relatively “recently and grudgingly”, and females making “the effort to participate are subjected to rude, aggressive or dominant behaviour by men or boys who have for too long considered the physical activity and sport facilities their domain”. In short, the history of many small-town rinks with their distinctive, male smell is no herstory – or even theirstory.

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621 Adams, Mary Louise: The Game of Whose Lives?, page 90-96
622 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 209-210
623 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 281
624 Adams, Mary Louise: The Game of Whose Lives?, page 75
625 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 208
626 As described by Adams, stating that “almost nothing smells as manly as a small-town Canadian rink. The smells, the frozen spit on the rubber matting, the decades-old hockey photos – all these suggest to girls and women (including those who play hockey, but especially those who don’t) that their presence in the local arena is an afterthought”. Adams, Mary Louise: The Game of Whose Lives?, page 78
In conclusion, totalising statements identifying hockey as a common, ingrained part of the experience of Canadianing tend to cloak that an analysis of its experience deserves a gendered account. Adams and her companions clearly share the same country, but whereas heroic tales of him-ness soar towards spheres of national significance, tales of her-ness tend not to. However, as Schlesinger points out, “conceptions of the past are far from stable”, as “they are perennially revised by the urgencies of the present”627 – and the constant necessity of historical revision requires a challenging approach towards totalising statements, especially concerning so-called cultural specifics. While it is true that women hockey is a fast growing sport and has, to cut a long story short, had its ups, downs and outs628, the main point is that hockey has not been “handed down, one elbow pad at a time…one game on Hockey Night in Canada at a time”629 within the female sphere of Canada’s lineage, historically disempowered from the equal manufacture of national mythology. Even the “game of the century” in 1972630 was not unanimously perceived as a threat towards nationhood. Some, as Langley, were even bored and claim to fail any detailed recall631. Her account serves as evidence that this thesis’ prior conclusions regarding the game’s drawing powers essentially reflect “the male-made nature of the modernist project”. World affairs, as they are, have been predominately shaped, glorified and enlarged to “larger-than-lifeness” by men - men who have come to define the kind of stories Canadians tend to tell themselves. What is telling is not the somewhat reluctant affection women show towards institutions serving valuable functions for modern senses of we-ness or Canadianing, but rather that very few of these often highly visible institutions have been shaped by them. This is a direct result of gendered conceptualities of appropriate socialisation and a long history of western patriarchy. However, as women have increasingly moved into public life – or onto the ice, many men feel a sense of loss by contemporary developments. Nonetheless, such progressive trends are equally interpreted as a loss by females pointing towards a female absorption into male-made structures and patriarchal ideologies. Apparently, stepping on - or decidedly off the ice - is becoming more of a female choice in a changing world - and not a social convention. As this happens to become part of a broader trend, encompassing far more than “him” and “her”, it becomes advisable to talk of globalisation, modernity and contemporary selfing.

627 Schlesinger Jr., Arthur M.: America needs history as never before
628 For a complete overview of its ups, downs and outs please refer to Avery, Joanna and Stevens, Julie: Too many men on the ice: Women’s Hockey in North America
629 Podnieks, Andrew: A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country, page 5
630 McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 221
631 Langley, Sandra: Gender, Talk, TV, Hockey, and „Canadian Identity”: Feminist Takes on „Television Rejection"
7 Of selfing and globalization

In 2.4, a general conceptualisation of community was introduced. It had been put forward that identities tend to be connected to particular places. Such places evoke a sense of imagined home-ness, thus a sense of the “I” as part of a shared “we”. In addition, it had been outlined how the individuated “self” had come into being as part of the enlightened modernist project and how the human desire to clump results in the manufacture of distinctive symbolic systems – such as hockey as part of the experience of Canadianing.

World affairs had also been introduced as continuously made and remade, as any given cultures’ most significant constant is its inherent state of flux. Therefore, if we shift our gaze towards contemporary practices of selfing and Canadianing, what is there to be seen? What is the general framework for this thesis’ conclusions regarding puck and self (see 8)? How does modernity’s self self? What has changed concerning the relationship of self and place? In past and present, how is history shaped? Has Canada survived, or has the fear of Americanization come true? How come some argue that the nation of Canada has come to an end? If this is assumed to be the case, how come some interpret such assertions as a long-needed empowerment whereas others perceive a tragic loss?

Modernity’s experience of selfing, as an individuated individual, is the direct result of modernist rationalism, Pettman proposes. At its core lies the dogma of reason. Utilizing reason, individuals are urged to “stand back mentally from the world to look at it objectively” and thus become individuated in so far as that a new, rationalizing, mental identity is created, thus “a place in our minds, that is not of that world”. Already uprooted from his or her social embedding by individual objectification, the individual is also taught to place an “especially high value upon the individuated self”, resulting in a mentally ever more autonomous and emotionally freed one. If the manufacture of such selves becomes a social project, the results are nevertheless asocial. Obviously, the

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632 However, a strict adherence to the principle of reason is also the main focus of modernity’s postmodern critique, as modernists’ core belief that “reality can be held apart from the self and is objectively knowable” is dismissed as phantasmal by postmodernists, essentially arguing that such a mind-move creates only illusions. Reality cannot be found “out there” and the world is not knowable “in any absolute, abstract sense, because we are implicated in it, always”. Therefore, abstract entities the objectifying mind observes as “being there” are only there because they are continuously made and remade by such minds - and could equally be very different. World affairs are shaped by the continuous assertion of history’s and philosophy’s selective readings by those socially empowered to construct realities on preferred terms by the assertion of hegemonic powers. Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 99-103

633 This can be said to be the case, as western capitalism has become a global modus operandi since the Berlin Wall came down. Friedman eloquently illustrates this case and argues that the wall’s tumbling replaced a divided, Cold War system with a “new, very greased, inter-connected system called globalization”. See Friedman, Thomas: The Lexus and the Olive Tree, page xvi

634 Such asocial results are justified by reference to the nature of man. Capitalism gets described as „the worst system except any other that’s been invented”, essentially based on the reasoning that life is best mastered within an institutionalised framework of a dog-eat-
ideology of individualism is somewhat opposed to the longed-for conformity of imagined commonality.

Analysing the diminishing social capital of contemporary America, Putnam traces its nowadays globalized democratic claim of individualism back to observations by Tocqueville. Travelling the United States of America in 1835, the latter observed “a calm and considered feeling which disposes each citizen to isolate himself from the mass of his fellows and withdraw into the circle of family and friends; with this little society formed to his taste, he gladly leaves the greater society to look after itself” - a mindset essentially resurfacing in Bennett et al.’s assertion that today’s youth has “become increasingly neotribal”, meaning that an “unity of identity, and in particular an identification with a subcultural grouping, appears to be less significant than ever before”.

Bradbury’s assertion that contemporary selfing therefore occurs somewhat post-cultural is the argumentative counterpart towards assuring conceptions of national identity or totalising declarations that something is some nation’s cultural specific. Increasingly, myths and imaginations are drawn from the “fast-speed screen based world” and senses of alliance with local practices or a national heritage diminish, especially for a global post-cultural youth. This youth, as argued by Klein, no longer lives in geographical places, but rather “in a global consumer loop”. Exposed to an increasingly greater and more varied number of cultural options, post-cultural identities thus tend to become hybrid, individuated and deterritorialized, as will be subsequently explained.

dog world as “this is a system that is in tune with life...and because it is, it works”. Comparing communism and favoured capitalism, Roth put forward that “everything the Communists say about Capitalism is true, and everything the capitalists say about Communism is true. The difference is, our system works because it is based on the truth about people’s selfishness, and theirs does not because it is based on a fairy tale about people’s brotherhood. It is such a crazy fairy tale they have got to take people and put them in Siberia in order to get them to believe it.” Cohen, Roger: Hurrah for capitalism, its many warts and all (International Herald Tribune, Neuilly-Sur-Seine, France, 14.03.2007), page 2

An ideology not only teaching that everyone ought to be merely individuated, “but also the sort of person who actively values the sense of separateness and self-fulfilment that individuation makes possible”. Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 113

Social capital’s core idea is that social networks have value, essentially comparable to physical and human capital. In short, social contacts, networks and norms affect the productivity of individuals and groups as “the individual is helpless socially, if left to himself”; Hanifan, quoted in Putnam, Robert D.: Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community, (Simon & Schuster, New York, United States of America, 2000), page 19

Wilson, Brian: Selective Memory in a Global Culture, page 65

Of course, the individual is not understood as uncultured, but rather as non-aligned with any specific culture confined to a specific sphere, e.g. the nation-state.

Bradbury, Malcolm quoted in Redhead, Steve: Post-Fandom and the Millennial Blues (Routledge, New York, United States of America, 1997), page 93

Klein, Naomi: No Logo (Picador, New York, United States of America, 2002), page 119

Wilson, Brian: Selective Memory in a Global Culture, page 65
Regarding the sheer availability of cultural options, Putnam explains technologies’ impact on the makings of the modern self within the sphere of communal existence, especially as individuation is socially valued as a means of cherished self-fulfilment. No longer forced to coordinate tastes with timed and community-based out-of-home offerings, “the single most important consequence of the television revolution has been to bring us home”, he argues. Equally, the days when last night’s television program served as a viable point of communicative reference are long gone. With the proliferation of niche contents customized to specific interests and multiple televisions per household, its traditional en masse influence on social and political powers is set to change, just as perceived senses of we-ness are subsequently altered. In short, it is thus not only communal life that suffered when the picturised world entered the home. People have not only been brought home by television, but eventually towards a sphere of personalised and deterritorialized worlds, mediated by manifold means of globalized symbolic production.

Glorified by the Time Magazine’s “Person of the Year 2006” award, the individuated individual, exercising what gets described as a “new digital democracy”, is said to “undermine the traditional authority of media institutions like Time”. However, not only large media corporations or political parties are undermined, if this truly is the case, but essentially most imagined entities traditionally used for the ordering of the world, a world which became the “new world” when the Berlin Wall came down and western capitalism lost its last, major, ideological match. Consequently, out went another straw of imagined commonality in opposition to a powerful other-ness, which might have, or might still be, replaced by Huntington’s vision of a clash of civilizations. However, according to Klein’s interpretation of our new world, it is quickly approaching a post-national stage dominated by an all-encompassing web of global brands. In short, it is a

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643 Which probably last occurred sometime back in the era of “two public service channels, usually creatively dubbed Channel One and Channel Two”, as frustratingly confirmed in a recent column of the International Herald Tribune, tellingly dubbed “So many channels, but nothing to watch”. Brulé, Tyler: So many channels, but nothing to watch (International Herald Tribune, Neuilly-Sur-Seine, France, 10.03.2007), http://www.iht.com/articles/2007/03/09/features/tyler10.php (15.03.2007)
645 Contemporarily, here is little reason to assume the internet to wreck any less havoc. Recent findings showing that television viewing might be on the decline among the Canadian young are hardly encouraging from the perspective of communal or family life, as a substantial rise of internet usage has accompanied the decline in television viewership. See: Statistics Canada: Television Viewing (The Daily, Statistics Canada, Canada, 31.03.2006), http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/060331/d060331b.htm (19.03.2007)
646 Thus you, too, dear reader. For assurance, please refer to the respective magazine’s cover and indulge in the sight of you, as the place previously depicting the likes of Bush, Gorbachev, Adenauer or Hitler was occupied by nothing but reflective Mylar, Time Magazine’s tribute to this years award winners, literally reflecting “the idea that you, not we, are transforming the information age”. Stengel, Richard: Now It’s Your Turn (Time Magazine, Time Europe, Amsterdam, Netherlands, Vol. 168, No. 27/28, 25.12.2006), cover and page 4
647 Friedman, Thomas: The Lexus and the Olive Tree, page xvi
649 Nevertheless, and despite western capitalism’s recent spread, such assertions tend to oversimplify a reality also entailing powerful en-masse counter-movements as in contemporary Latin American politics. Klein, Naomi: No Logo, page xix
OF SELFING AND GLOBALIZATION

complicated world out there. No matter the kind of individually favoured interpretations, identity’s frames of reference increasingly appear in transcendence of traditional ones and shared experiences thereof, especially under the influence of modern technologies.

Initially, mass media’s homogenizing reach helped individuals to perceive modernity’s imagined communities (see 5.2)\(^{650}\). But what happens to mental conceptions of such conforming identities when “an army of Davids”\(^ {651}\) sets off to manufacture highly individualised nations-of-ones – nations-of-ones equalling cultural mosaics lumped together by the sovereign consumption of global post-cultural choices - nations-of-ones “more than ever opaque to one another, and alone in the world”\(^ {652}\)?

In short, the existence of national identities is increasingly challenged\(^ {653}\), no matter that such assumed commonalities have always been dubious at best. However, having been so does not entail that no tendency towards their becoming even more so exists. Historically, the assertion of such typical lives is “more selective than collective”, Wilson explains, quoting Bairner’s statement that “blindness to diversity is common in statements about national identity”. In short, all societies tend to treasure the past and seek to freeze and recall the cultural heritage they decide to hold precious, no matter that such “theys” tend to be far from all-encompassing and result in the manufacture of selective and often decontextualised historical canons\(^ {654}\). Whereas this is often done along the lines of a more comforting and conforming past, what will be bottled up for nostalgia of contemporary life appears to become far less homogeneous than the past’s somewhat exclusionary, but cherished, experiences\(^ {655}\). However, perceiving a loss of typical national experiences and conforming identities as part of a spreading asociality is an at best nostalgic recollection of a past that never really was. Even global consumerism’s more equalized, but isolated, individuated identities, however all-empowering for transnational corporations, are not

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\(^{650}\) Anderson, Benedict: Imagined Communities, page 35-36

\(^{651}\) Johnson, Steven: It’s all about us (Time Magazine, Amsterdam, Netherlands, Vol. 168, No. 27/28, 25.12.2006), page 55

\(^{652}\) Hannerz, Ulf: Views of Culture in Globalization Studies in Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Verkehr und Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften: The Contemporary Study of Culture (Turia + Kant, Wien, Österreich, 1999), page 215

\(^{653}\) A trend not only perceived within the developed world, as a recent column in the Deccan Herald of Bangalore, India, illustrates. Fearing an end of communal commonality, it challenged the national government to re-introduce the anthem’s compulsorily singing at schools and public functions “so that the pride of knowing and singing the anthem is restored…at a time when materialism and globalization are becoming the all-pervasive mantra, especially for the young generation…it is all the more essential to inculcate a genuine sense of “Indianess” in them”. Being Indian (International Herald Tribune, Neuilly-Sur-Seine, France, 13.04.2007), page 6

\(^{654}\) Pettman, Ralph: Commonsense Constructivism or the making of world affairs, page 103

\(^{655}\) Recapturing the 1950s, Putnam states that engagement in community affairs, a shared sense of identity and reciprocity have never been greater. However, the fifties and sixties “were hardly a golden age”, as dichotomised perceptions of reality tended to marginalize any manifestation of other-ness not compatible to a life that was essentially “white, straight, Christian, comfortable, and (in the public square at least), male”. Segregation was the norm, environmental degradation had just been exposed and “Betty Friedan had not yet deconstructed the feminine mystique” – observations made concerning social life in the United States (1), but equally true for the contemporary experience of Canadianing, as lines between both cultures had begun to blur to an unprecedented extent (2). To a certain degree, modernity’s almost sacred individualisation of the individual has thus been just as much of a benign empowermen as it has been a vehicle of widespread asociality. (1) Putnam, Robert D.: Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community, page 17-18 / (2) Riendeau, Roger: A Brief History of Canada, page 250
without distinctive virtue, as Friedman illustrates by proposing that “no two countries that both had McDonald’s had fought a war against each other since each got its”.  

Generally, effects of globalisation and so-called Americanisation have resulted in “diminishing contrasts between cultures, but increasing varieties of cultures”, Maguire points out. However mediated, the arousal of transnational cultures diminishes the value of more localised cultural expressions unless they are successfully established as transnationally available “world standard products”. Nevertheless, it is a common fallacy to simply assume that the tentacles of Pax Americana’s cultural imperialism threatened or even extinguished any distinctive Canadian identity - or any other, for that matter. As explained by Bhagwati, critics of globalisation and Americanisation frequently exhibit a contradicting tendency to include romanticised elements into their desired utopia that were themselves intrusions in the first place and lament change based on a reconstruction of a past bearing little relationship to today’s reality. Equally, as argued by Veseth, the arousal of cultural hybrids tends to be dismissed by a conventional wisdom equalling globalization with the “Borg Collective in Star Trek: “Resistance is futile; you will be assimilated (and homogenized and dehumanised)”.

Marginal experiences of reality, historically “naturalized out of existence”, are voiced ever more frequently and became the recognised focus of cultural studies (see 2.2). Therefore, it has not only become possible to tell about history, but also about, among others, herstory. Regarding culture, one needs to be well aware that “we may have to cultivate a certain scepticism to our old habit of thinking and speaking of cultures in the plural form, as if it were self-evident that there are complete packages of culture naturally

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656 However, Friedman’s „Golden Arches Theory of Conflict Prevention” was falsified by NATO’s bombing of Serbia. Nevertheless, he argued that this exception rather proved his rule, as the war ended quickly “because the Serbian population did not want to lose their place in a global system symbolised by McDonald’s”. Apparently, they wanted their burgers back. Recently, Friedman updated his theoretical framework with the “Dell Theory of Conflict Prevention”, essentially arguing that “No two countries that are both part of a major global supply chain, like Dell’s, will ever fight a war against each other as long as they are both part of the same global supply chain”. Friedman, Thomas: *The World is Flat*, (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, United States of America, 2005), page 421

657 Wilson, Brian: *Selective Memory in a Global Culture*, page 57-61

658 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: *Hockey Night in Canada*, page 244


660 As was exemplarily explained by Canada’s alleged cultural sellout in 5.3. Bhagwati, Jagdish: *In Defense of Globalization* (Oxford University Press Inc. New York, United States of America, 2004), page 111

661 Veseth, Michael: *Globaloney: Unraveling the Myths of Globalization*, page 8

attached to well-defined populations and territories” Hannerz asserts. In short, their stories might be relatively alike.

A defining moment in the history of Canada was the 8th of October 1971, as Prime Minister Trudeau announced his government’s support of multiculturalism, initiating a phase perceived by some as post-national. Understood as such, it brought about perhaps the end of the nation itself and clearly altered the stories Canadians began to tell about themselves. Concerning such, a distinctive master-narrative was replaced by the simultaneous chatter of all. In some ways, history had come to an end at the hands of their story. Post-national Canada, eventually containing, as stated by Prime Minister Chrétien in 2000, “the globe within its borders”, gave rise to the celebration of mutually expressed post-culturalism.

In retrospect, “the Canadian state is still recognizably the same”, Solecki puts forward, “but the nation – that often inchoate aggregate or complex of attitudes, values, and traditions – has significantly altered”. What is recognised is the nation’s abandoning of its illusive quest for cultural homogeneity in the name of multiculturalism. Whereas Pandora’s box was opened for those striving towards homogeneity, expressed diversity became widely celebrated. As a result, only 23% of those surveyed by The Dominion Institute passed the “Annual Canada Day History Quiz” in 2000. Needless to say, such results clearly indicate the recent post-national approach of post-culturalism: if diversity is embraced, how can specific knowledge of history’s selective readings be expected?

According to the 2001 census, Canadians have apparently begun to replace traditional distinctions between French and English ancestry and identity by a new dichotomy based on period of settlement. What no longer appears of heightened relevance to long-settled Canadians is a marked sense of belonging to other, more distinctive and sub-national ethnicities, no matter their cherished past. As a consequence, fiercely held regional

663 Hannerz, Ulf: Views of Culture in Globalization Studies, page 214
664 Service Canada: Canadian Diversity: Respecting our Differences (Service Canada, Ottawa, Canada, 20.01.2004) http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/multi/respect_e.cfm (22.03.2007)
665 Solecki, Sam: The Last Canadian Poet: An Essay on Al Purdy (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Canada, 1999), page 3-4
666 Riendeau, Roger: A Brief History of Canada, page 292
667 The quiz’s purpose it is “to promote greater knowledge and appreciation of Canadian History”. Not surprisingly, those aged 55 and older outperformed those aged 18 to 34 by a ratio of three to one. The Dominion Institute and The Council for Canadian Unity: Annual Canada Day History Quiz (The Dominion Institute and The Council for Canadian Unity, Toronto, Canada, 2000), http://www.ipsos-na.com/news/client/act_dip_pdf.cfm?name=000701.pdf&did=1056 (19.03.2007)
668 Overall, this shift in perceived identity has occurred somewhat recently and with surprising swiftness. Between 1986 and 2001, the number of Canadians claiming French or English ancestry dropped by 6.7 million. Simultaneously, the populace’s proportion claiming at least some element of Canadian ethno-cultural ancestry climbed from fewer than 1% to 40%. Especially people who previously claimed French or English ancestry began to claim Canadian ancestry alone. However, newer groups of immigrants continued to state their original ethnic ancestry, resulting in the aforementioned dichotomy of identification based on period of settlement, possibly
alliances coming to full bloom as in the 1955 Montreal riots or economically exploitable by the institutionalisation of the Montreal Canadiens (see 4.2) can be assumed to have lost much of their appeal – and will continue to do so, most predominately for future generations. In the long run, the same process could be applied to contemporarily still perceived senses of national we-ness, as it would be somewhat arbitrary to assume the ongoing relative loss of locally rooted senses of being to adhere to the imagined stop signs of national borders within the framework of post-cultural globalization.

Not surprisingly, Winter et al. observed that Canadians often have a relatively high level of American cultural knowledge and tend to know less about their “own”\textsuperscript{669}. However, it appears more appropriate to assume that what has emerged is a relatively good knowledge of a transnational culture of consumed triviality, a cultural hybrid most powerfully mediated by the United States, but is far from distinctively American in nature, as the United States are in no way immune to the challenge of post-national post-culturalism. In short, contemporary world affairs, limiting a nation-state’s powers and forming “considerable threats to its continued legitimacy in a world of instantaneous, transnational image exchange” not only undermine typical experiences of Canadianing, but equally shape and affect the apparent cultural imperator. Dissenting interpretations often prove to be what Veseth refers to as narratives making “a good story” - stories nevertheless so “one-sided that (they) would make a very boring game”, namely the game of “Globaloney”\textsuperscript{670}.

As “we are more or less seeing ourselves as others see us”, as stated by Mead, evoke, as put forward by Cooley\textsuperscript{671}, the concept of the “looking-glass self” or only “know who we are when we know who we are not and often only when we know whom we are against”, as described by Huntington\textsuperscript{672}, national senses of self or common experiences of Canadianing stand little chance if contrasts between cultures diminish and variations of a

\textsuperscript{669} Wilson, Brian: Selective Memory in a Global Culture, page 61-62

\textsuperscript{670} Veseth defines the “Globaloney Syndrome” as follows: “The Globaloney Syndrome is a set of political, social, and economic arguments that draw upon certain vivid images, persuasive narratives, and memorable anecdotes or examples that are claimed to represent the causes or effects of globalization. These images, narratives, anecdotes and examples are used to create or reinforce bogus syllogisms and half-baked arguments that intentionally misinterpret aspects of globalization in order to further particular intellectual, political, or economic interest.” Veseth, Michael: Globaloney: Unraveling the Myths of Globalization, page 5-21

\textsuperscript{671} Bramanam, Ann: Self and Society (Blackwell Publishers, Malden, Massachusetts, United States of America, 2001), page 169

\textsuperscript{672} Huntington, Samuel: The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order, page 21; Interestingly, as Warner discovered during an analysis of the second world war’s impact on the US home-front, war can also help to improve unconscious senses of well-being, as “everyone is doing something to help the common desperate enterprise in a co-operative rather than a private spirit”; Putnam, Robert D.: Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community, page 270-271
globalized, but by no means exclusively Americanized, culture arise\textsuperscript{673}. Celebrated by
global marketers as a growing convergence of lifestyle interests and tastes, such
convergences require active cultivation\textsuperscript{674}, as global cultural trends have been
transformed into “little more than a collection of brand-extensions-in-waiting”, Klein puts
forward\textsuperscript{675}.

In conclusion, far-reaching intrusions into everyday life are required to hold up an
imagined looking glass on the level of national identities, often resting upon “shared
adversity and a shared enemy”, as Putnam explains in reference to the phenomena of
war\textsuperscript{676}. As today’s world affairs, never mind that “war” against the de-territorialized
phenomena of global terrorism has become a constant background interference, tend to
socialise the developed world’s neo-tribal youth outside such periods of “heightened civic
obligation”\textsuperscript{677}, it becomes somewhat more difficult to develop feelings of national
attachment or experience the oftentimes cherished and supposedly comforting
commonality of Canadianing’s past manifestations. Instead, the sacred manufacture of
deterritorialized and post-cultural “worlds-of-ones” gets glorified as any given
individual’s valuable expressions of global consumerism\textsuperscript{678}, no matter that the result
tends to lead towards an unsustainable commonality of consumed triviality. Increasingly
failing to see oneself as part of a distinctive collective in the face of the unique other, as
such equally fragmented collectives basically come to seem ever more alike\textsuperscript{679}, most
come to strive for self-fulfilment within the globalized framework of sovereign
consumption, happily allowing for the pressing of national symbols into the services of
marketing\textsuperscript{680}, a process nevertheless empowering for those historically marginalized by
the naturalization of cultural master narratives. However, what remains of puck and self
if we assume this to be the case?

\textsuperscript{673} Tellingly, Joan Laporta, current president of FC Barcelona, recently stated that there are three immediate images of life on earth
he would want a space alien to encounter upon his or her earthly arrival: Coca-Cola, Disney and Barca. If he, top-manager of a culturally
powerful symbol of regional Catalan pride long gone global, has such visions of his enterprises’ earthly cultural reach, what kind of
immediate impression would earthlings have to offer to their visitors? An impression of a planet indulging in the consumption of
unhealthy drinks, mostly stupefying entertainment and regional pride turned into a global brand? One can only wonder, but the mere
fact that between 2002/3 and 2005/6 the sporting clubs’ annual turnover has galloped from 123,4 million euro towards 259,1 million is
\textsuperscript{674} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 244-245
\textsuperscript{675} Klein, Naomi: No Logo, page 30;
\textsuperscript{676} Putnam, Robert D.: Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community, page 270-271
\textsuperscript{677} Compared to past military conflicts, the now more or less globalized “war on terror” fails to evoke such senses of heightened civic
obligation – not only because it has become increasingly difficult to draw distinctive lines between “us” and “them”, but also because
the war’s actual fighting has been externalised from the general experience of social life, as tellingly illustrated by the scrawled
assertion that “America is not at war. The Marine Corps is at war. America is at the mall” recently found at the civil affairs office in
the Government Center in Ramadi, Iraq. Kansas City Star: Letters 02/28/07 (Kansas City Star, Kansas City, United States of America,
28.02.2007), \url{http://www.kansascity.com/mld/kansascity/news/opinion/local1/16797643.htm} (14.03.2007)
\textsuperscript{678} Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 277
\textsuperscript{679} Clearly, this is not so on the global stage. No matter that “some forces in the current world may push us in the direction of becoming
more alike”, “some other forces may simultaneously work to draw lines of distinction and confrontation around collectives, large and
small”, Hannerz points out. Nevertheless, strictly national senses of being are eroding in the face of such emerging transnational
collectives. Hannerz, Ulf: Views of Culture in Globalization Studies, page 214-15
\textsuperscript{680} Gruneau, Richard, and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 278
8 Of contemporary Canadianing and puck: a conclusion

Established in 1984, the Canadian Studies Program began to address concerns about Canadian’s apparent lack of knowledge and interest in Canadian history, culture, society and politics, a lack of interest not significantly surprising in the light of contemporarily somewhat post-national practices of a self’s selfing. Randomly quizzed in 2000, only one in three managed to name Paul Henderson as the decisive scorer of hockey’s 1972 Summit Series, described as “an event that mobilized patriotic interest among Canadians like no other cultural event before or since” (see 4.3). Roughly twenty-eight years and a new, no longer ideologically bi- or tri-polar world later, most cannot remember or have never been taught how their nation put its “national psyches so nakedly on the line” or how Henderson scored, never mind Podnieks’ recent assurance that “we all know the details of “The Goal”.

No – we do not, Canadians stated in relative unison and revealed the selective memory’s gendered nature, as 49% of all males provided the correct response whereas 81% of all females did not. Without question, hockey has always been more of history than herstory. Looking forward, what remains for hockey in the writings of theirstory?

Looking backward before glancing forward, hockey’s quest and journeys had been introduced as unifying means for the experience of Canadianing and the nationwide spread of its codified rules, means thus helpful for the successful imagination of the relatively arbitrary entity of the modern nation state (see 3.4).

What is more, hockey subsequently evolved into a multi-layered anchor of identity, helping Canadians to arouse a sense of belonging towards hierarchically ordered perceptions of we-ness, corresponding conceptions of other-ness and place. For many, it served as a connection to the rest of Canada “more vivid and far more acceptable than

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681 Department of Canadian Heritage's Canadian Studies Program: Summative Evaluation of the Department of Canadian Heritage's Canadian Studies Program: Executive Summary (Department of Canadian Heritage's Canadian Studies Program, Gatineau, Canada, 12.10.2005) http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/em-eval/2005/2005_10_e.cfm (22.03.2007)

682 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 249

683 If the Third World’s past and frequently incoherent ambitions for development outside the spheres of First or Second World interest are considered a distinctive pole. A good introductory read is Julius K. Nyerere’s address to the United Nations Conference of the Group of 77 on 12 February 1979 in Arusha. See: Nyerere, Julius K.: Unity for a New International Economic Order (Address to the Ministerial Conference of the Group of 77, Arusha, Tanzania, 12.02.1979), http://www.southcentre.org/info/southbulletin/bulletin49-50/bulletin49-50-03.htm (19.03.2007)

684 Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 240

685 Podnieks, Andrew: A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country, page 40

686 The Dominion Institute and The Council for Canadian Unity: Annual Canada Day History Quiz

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banks and federal bureaucrats”, Dryden explains. On the municipal level, teams quickly became favourable means of the corporate-civic project’s ambitious manufacture of “lots to do” cities – and for those involved in the manufacture of cultural meaning such lots to do cities allowed - and still allow - for the amassment of respectable riches, especially as modern means of symbolic mass fabrication turned local productions into nationally branded commodities, nowadays marketable towards global audiences.

Hockey not only helped to place municipalities onto the map. By the same token, it helped to represent the latter’s distinctive regions and assert the nation’s whole on the world’s stage, never mind that its disproportionally well recognised manifestations of national and international representation have always been male - no matter the other half’s recent achievements (see 6.2). The symbolical meaning of formally equal accomplishments thus remains highly unequal.

Popular references to hockey’s past significance for the experience of Canadianing are described by Adams as “part of the obfuscating construction of the so-called “ordinary Canadian””, a somewhat arbitrary being commonly evoked to “homogenize discourses about an increasingly heterogeneous population”. A valid argument, but the historical heterogeneity of gender requires at least equal recognition as the nation’s current emphasis on heterogeneous multiculturalism. As explained in 8, common perceptions of history tend to obscure that the contemporary phenomena of heterogeneity is far from unique, as herstories, woven by the small majority of the Canadian female, were never fully included in the nation’s drive towards its cohesive story-making.

As Langley highlights, there is no truly gendered account of Canada’s most storied popular mass ritual: Hockey Night in Canada. Glancing back towards the 1930’s and the
emergence of a mass-mediated national consciousness, we imagine a depression ridden populace indulging in the feats of its common male heroes on the nation’s airwaves, largely ignoring that more than half of all Canadians probably longed for the broadcasts’ babblings to end. History’s perceived homogeneity and commonality is largely defined by the selective magnification of patriarchal male experiences - especially, but far from exclusionary, in regard of puck and self. Such assertions issue a valid challenge towards many of this thesis’ initial findings, but even nowadays such selective experiences still tend to get magnified towards the sphere of unreasonable commonality. However, if today’s dad watches hockey, a big “if” in the first place, “his wife is out having sushi with girlfriends…(and)...the kids are over at someone else’s house playing Xbox” (see 6.2).

As Gruneau et al. explain, a reference to an older sense of Canadianing therefore papers “over some of the most deeply rooted inequalities and conflicts in society”\textsuperscript{690}. Not only limiting such charges towards the issue of gender, Adams insists that a “pickup game among a group of gay men” is hardly compatible with the past’s image of a less complicated reality\textsuperscript{691}. Nonetheless, this hardly means that heterosexuality was the all-encompassing norm.

It appears safe to assume that for women and men, the Stanley Cup’s early journeys and quests played a different role concerning the mental unification of the nation’s imagined community. Equally, the same holds truth in regard of the game’s validity as a multi-layered anchor of identity.

This shall not allow for the conclusion that hockey was – or is – in any way irrelevant. What needs to be recognised is that whenever history’s stories are told, many others are not – and as this is done, highly selective master-narratives tend to get blown out of appropriate proportions. Nevertheless, the sheer magnitude of the human experience, past or present, requires some sort of simplification. Such simplifications shall then be treated cautiously, as one can never seize on ultimate and absolute truths. Without such simplifications, the past and present’s complexities may become unknowable. By nature, as Schlesinger points out, “the historian is committed to a doomed enterprise – the quest for an unattainable objectivity”\textsuperscript{692}. Nonetheless, “getting close” is what counts, getting

\textsuperscript{690} Gruneau et al. quoted in Adams, Mary Louise: \textit{The Game of Whose Lives?}, page 80
\textsuperscript{691} Adams, Mary Louise: \textit{The Game of Whose Lives?}, page 81
\textsuperscript{692} Schlesinger Jr., Arthur M.: \textit{America needs history as never before}
close and simultaneously remembering that the closer one imagines to be, the farther one may drift if the perspective of analysis is only slightly altered.

In spite of everything, Canada’s valued heterogeneity drives the spreading celebration of hockey as an anchor of “true Canadianess”, Gruneau et al. observe. Staunchly opposed to yesterday’s imagined comfort of abundant commonality, nowadays’ “chaotic cultural, political, and economic environment”, promoting a somewhat global commonality of consumed triviality (see 8), helped hockey to transcend the rink and enter “art galleries, television movies, commercial and government advertisement, and even commemorative stamps”. Having gone there, the its manufactured presence helps to remind Canadians of a collective memory, however invented it may be. What is kept alive is “the idea of a national common culture” in a nation Gruneau et al. consider to be “coming apart on so many other levels”693, but considering the limitations of historical appreciation, what is deemed to come apart might have never been really close in the first place.

Nonetheless, the romanticised and nostalgic manufacture of a less complicated reality is “a powerful means of keeping us from imagining how Canada might be different”, Adams insists. It also obscures how Canada was different. Therefore, the equation of a less heterogeneous and more patriarchal past’s national symbols with contemporary notions of Canadianing reflects and promotes subcultural interests no longer appropriate for modern-day Canada, happily imagining itself as “the very house of difference”. This house of difference “(still) contains a family with a distinct household head”, Mackey therefore constitutes, as the nation is not coming apart fast enough for those marginalized by manufactured nostalgia694.

The nation’s “coming apart” goes hand in hand with the dismantling of masculine entitlement towards space, status and national belonging, however slow this generally benign process may be. “If hockey is life in Canada”, Adams challenges such common assertions frequently articulated by the hockey subculture, “then life in Canada remains decidedly masculine and white”695. But how much hockey remains part of the actual experience of Canadianing? How many Canadians play or watch their nation’s specific? First off, hockey no longer automatically equals Canadian life – and is set to do so even less once today’s neo-tribal youth grows old. “Before there were malls, kids would hang

693 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 277
694 Adams, Mary Louise: The Game of Whose Lives?, page 82-83
695 Adams, Mary Louise: The Game of Whose Lives?, page 71
around in hockey arenas”, Dryden observes. For many, the mall has come and the rink has gone. Hockey, once only challenged by “parties and the beer parlor in the local hotel”, is now up against “VCRs, theatre, movies, fine dining, Nintendo, and water slides”\textsuperscript{696}. Any claim that “hockey, youth, and Canada” are naturally linked thus becomes increasingly exaggerated and simplistic, Wilson observes\textsuperscript{697}. Equally, Gruneau et al. assert that, concerning the nation’s youth, “there is nothing to guarantee that they will identify with hockey any more than with basketball or dance music”\textsuperscript{698}. Such trends may even be accelerated by hockey’s dismal popularity in the United States, whose globally influential consumer culture impacts local cultures and thus promotes non-hockey-related trends young Canadians are hardly immune to. Theoretically and somewhat ironically, the game’s apparent sellout to US interests could even increase hockey’s appeal for some of Canada’s youth\textsuperscript{699} - at least if it came to be part of globally hip- and youth oriented advertisement campaigns\textsuperscript{700}.

Over the course of the 1980s, the nations population became “almost evenly divided among the British, French, and “other” ethnicities”, Riedeau states\textsuperscript{701}. Discussing hockey’s acclaime grip on Canadian life, Langley not only points towards a necessity for gendered accounts, but likewise towards multi-faceted ones reflecting the common experiences of refugees, immigrants and others\textsuperscript{702}, who, in the presence of hockey talk,
may or may not relate to such tales “constructed as central to being Canadian”. Therefore, their story goes far beyond narrow-minded perceptions of his- or her story along the lines of Anglophone or Francophone descent – and has been written with an ever increasing commitment since older hierarchies of identity have begun to fracture and new means of cultural attachment have opened up “spaces for re-imagining the role that hockey might play in Canadian life”, as Gruneau et al. observe.

Nonetheless, hockey remains an extremely popular sport and continues to serve as a wellspring of pride and community among many Canadians, especially where urban entertainment is not as readily available as in the nation’s metropolitan areas. However, minor hockey’s professionalised organization and subsequent suburbanization have moved hockey inside and for many, especially from the working class, the cost of it all has become a significant issue - especially if more than one hockey-minded child is raised. Other sports, basketball for example, offer certain advantages - even taking into account the ridiculous price tag of hip sneakers.

Beyond minor hockey, roughly 1.5 million aged fifteen and older reported playing in 1998. 1.3 million played baseball and 1.8 million played golf, but neither golf nor baseball are perceived as Canadian as hockey. Concerning the latter, the game has been somewhat democratised, Gruneau et al. insist, as people have begun to act as if hockey really “belongs to them”. Accordingly, it no longer equals an almost compulsive means of masculine socialization (see 6.1). Not without struggle, it has evolved into a matter of taste cultural choice, increasingly chosen by seniors and females. Nonetheless, the rhetoric of women hockey’s recent growth appears exaggerated. It also papers over the fact that this growth resulted in the female game’s

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(4) Adams, Mary Louise: The Game of Whose Lives? Gender, Race, and Entitlement in Canada’s “National Game”, page 71

703 Langley, Sandra: Gender, Talk, TV, Hockey, and Canadian Identity: Feminist Takes on Television Rejection

704 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 279

705 Wilson, Brian: Selective Memory in a Global Culture, page 66-67

706 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 156-157

707 Never mind that Canadian baseball has a long and rich history, having been played by virtually standardized rules by 1870 and thus even before modern hockey’s invention. According to Bouchier and Barney, the game may even have a Canadian origin and, after having become a popular working-class sport by the 1870s, was quickly recognized as Canada’s summer game of choice, putting aside cricket and lacrosse. Howell, Colin D.: Blood, Sweat, Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada, page 39-43

708 Sports Canada: Sports participation in Canada 1998: Sports We Enjoy

709 Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 154

710 At least if analysed on the basis of statistical figures. No matter women hockey’s splendid growth rates, only 65,000 females aged fifteen or older reportedly played in 1998, a figure somewhat in line with the number of registered players Adams cited for 2002-3 (see 6.2), even though it should be assumed that not everyone playing hockey is officially registered and not everyone officially registered actually plays. However, in 1998, numerous sports reported impressively higher participation figures than female hockey, namely figure skating (75,000), softball (92), curling (133), weightlifting (140), soccer (189), badminton (204), tennis (224), basketball (237), cycling (250), bowling (272), cross-country skiing (304), downhill skiing (315), volleyball (350), baseball (386), swimming (688) and golf (476). Sports Canada: Sports participation in Canada 1998: Sports We Enjoy.
integration into male-dominated institutions and thus wrestled the burgeoning subculture out of the sphere of autonomous control, wrecking havoc to a distinctive ideology of increased inclusion somewhat opposed to the traditionally performance-driven ideology of men’s hockey (see 6.2).

Concerning the allegedly popular national pastime of passive hockey consumption, surprising observations are to be made. Despite strong attendance figures on its “world class” level, most urban hockey enthusiasts, having been “priced out of the market”, have been forced to follow their teams through the media. Asked whether he feared losing hockey’s blue-collar fan, Quinn, coach of the Maple Leafs, thus recently stated that “We’ve already lost the blue-collar fan…(and) I am worried about the white collar fan”. Apart from the costly arena experience, recent TV figures critically challenge common assertions voiced during the NHL’s latest lockout in 2004-5, as it was assumed that Canadians would get “a sense of how long a winter Saturday night could be” without the league’s on-screen drama. Quite recently, Hockey Night in Canada’s game #1 fetched approximately 1.7 million English viewers and finished as the 15th most watched program of the week, whereas the French Saturday evening broadcast ranked even worse and finished as the 30th most watched program in Québec. Apparently, Canadians would be off far worse without the ongoing drama of American Idol, capturing in excess of two and a half million English viewing eyeballs, or CSI: Miami, netting approximately three million such viewers – twice a week. Saturday nights could be long without television, but, assuming that little but hockey went off the air, there is no reason to suppose that this would be so for more than its well-defined subculture. Actually, a majority of Canadians appears to feel as Adams, stating that “if hockey ceased to exist tomorrow, my life would not really change”. If Podnieks therefore introduces Hockey Night in Canada’s ditty as a “second national anthem”, what is transmitted is at best a half truth stemming from an allegedly more uniform past.

Gruneau, Richard and Whitson, David: Hockey Night in Canada, page 242
Striking a similar vein, Dryden states that whereas past tickets were far cheaper, they were never available, as “What price had once allowed, lack of access did not allow (the attending of games)…Yet, undeniably, things do feel different now. Once, people accepted that there were certain others who were able to go certain places and have certain things that they didn’t, and that was simply the way it was. We don’t accept that today. Privilege is for everyone. Not going to games in earlier times because of lack of access, when access wasn’t assumed and cost wasn’t a barrier, was only to be regretted. Now, not going to games even with better access, when access is assumed and cost is a barrier, is deeply resented.” Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 300-301
McKinley, Michael: Hockey: A People’s History, page 291
Gatehouse, Jonathon: The next hockey fight (Macleans.ca, Maclean’s Magazine, Toronto, Canada, 07.04.2006), http://www.macleans.ca/culture/media/article.jsp?content=20060410_124870_124870 (22.03.2007)
Game #2 of the weekly doubleheader failed to crack the thirty most watched programmes.
Adams, Mary Louise: The Game of Whose Lives?, page 71
Podnieks, Andrew: A Canadian Saturday Night: Hockey and the culture of a country, page 35
In conclusion, it appears safe to assume that hockey has become openly subculturalized and somewhat marginalized, increasingly democratized and globalized. Simultaneously, it has been blown out of proportion as a perceived, but nevertheless manufactured, anchor of commonality – as there remains little else to cling to in opposition to a borderless commonality of consumed triviality. Equally, it offers a source of manna from heaven for its most successful entrepreneurs. Top professional hockey, turned into branded world class entertainment by the corporate-civic project, has become part of a globally consumed post-national spectacle. The future association of hockey to the common experience of Canadianing is likely to fade - expect for those stepping out onto the ice. More and more have been empowered to do so due to the game’s slowly changing, more inclusive ideological framework and shifting focus, as a slight and welcome shift of the latter appears to be underway. Many organizations no longer focus exclusively on the ritualised and performance-driven socialisation of the young within the sphere of a distinctively male preserve, formerly understanding its rightful purpose as that of a NHL feeder system. Nevertheless, the sport, just as the nation, still has a long way to go. Despite encouraging counter-ambitions, hockey often remains beset by the professional game’s ideological embracement of hypergendered masculine asociality - valuable for the selling of a sporting spectacle but of little to none value for the appropriate socialisation of a nation’s young. Within the fragmented reality of multicultural Canada, hockey has become a much celebrated anchor of imagined commonality, predominately consumed along the lines of either world class entertainment, marketed nostalgia or, just as importantly, not at all. It is a common nostalgia nevertheless needed. The imagined entity of modern Canada requires a certain degree of comprehensibility, never mind that nowadays’ comprehensibility continues to rests upon somewhat unjust simplifications of the past and present. Shared cultural metaphors are of importance, as they help Canadians to retain some kind of unified standing in a world of post-nationalism and post-culturalism: a world of many living in worlds-of-ones.

Taking into account such world affairs, romanticised, nostalgic perceptions of outdoor hockey as “Canada in a box…played on Mother Nature’s rinks” are thus necessary ingredients of imagined commonality, no matter that, as Dryden understood as far back as in 1983, “hockey has left the river and will never return.”

720 Adams, Mary Louise: The Game of Whose Lives?, page 79
721 Dryden, Ken: The Game, page 159
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