

From the Pond to the Jumbotron: Affordances of Hockey as a Multicultural and Social Space

Abstract

This paper examines how physical space shapes access to hockey arenas and participation in the game. Based on site observations and auto-ethnographic personal experience, this paper looks at how the concepts of 'multicultural common space' and 'affordance' can be used to better understand who participates in the sport and how space mediates participation in, and the imagination of, hockey and as an offshoot of Canadian identity. It uses the concept of 'affordance' to look at the opportunities people have to enter spaces and, in turn, the types of participation and interactions they have with hockey. More specifically, the paper explores if 'hockey spaces' are 'multicultural spaces' and, in turn, whether they are spaces that can foster shared identity and bonds. The paper examines 'hockey spaces' ranging from 'the pond' to the arena and all the way to the 'jumbotron' and discusses how specific hockey spaces shape who can participate in the game and how they can interact with others. The paper explores spaces as fields of interaction to understand the role that hockey plays in creating inclusive or prohibitive spaces for people from diverse backgrounds.

Keywords: Affordances, social space, diversity, sport, hockey.

Résumé

Cet article examine comment l'espace physique façonne l'accès aux arénas de hockey et la participation au match. Sur la base d'observations de sites et d'expériences personnelles auto-ethnographiques, cet article examine comment les concepts d'« espace commun multiculturel » et d'« accessibilité » peuvent être utilisés pour mieux comprendre qui participe au sport et comment l'espace intercède dans la participation et l'imagination du hockey et, en tant que ramification, l'identité canadienne. Il utilise le concept d'« accessibilité » pour évaluer les possibilités que disposent les gens pour entrer dans les espaces et, à leur tour, les types de participation et d'interactions qu'ils ont avec le hockey. Plus précisément, l'article explore si les « espaces de hockey » sont des « espaces multiculturels » et s'il s'agit d'espaces qui peuvent favoriser une identité et des accointances. L'article examine les « espaces de hockey » allant du « bassin » à l'aréna et jusqu'à « l'écran géant » et discute de la façon dont le hockey façonne spécifiquement ceux qui peuvent participer et comment ils peuvent interagir avec les autres. L'article aborde les espaces en tant que champs d'interaction pour comprendre le rôle que le hockey joue dans la création d'espaces inclusifs ou restrictifs pour les personnes de divers horizons.

Mots-clés : Accessibilité, espace social, diversité, sport, hockey.



INTRODUCTION

Hockey and hockey arenas are said to be quintessential Canadian spaces. According to the 2013 General Social Survey, 77 percent of Canadians felt that hockey was an important national symbol (Sinha 2015); Global Affairs Canada, moreover, suggests that the sport is a good topic for newcomers to make conversation with native-born Canadians (Global Affairs Canada 2019). The widespread popularity of the game and the central place of hockey in Canadian national identity may mean the sport and arenas are social spaces that foster togetherness among Canadians. For all these reasons, the sport and the arenas it is played in may be gateways for newcomers, and all Canadians, to participate in ‘Canadian’ culture.

If such is the case, the game and arenas are key social sites that foster common bonds and understanding. Dib, Donaldson, and Turcotte (2008, 162) refer to such spaces as “multicultural common spaces.” In their research, they explore a wide range of social spaces that create shared time and space across Canada’s increasingly diverse population. Their analysis looks at workplaces, government institutions, narratives and cultural products, to name but some of the sites they analyze. They do not, however, focus on sports or sport venues as potential multicultural common spaces.

Examining less formal spaces is key to truly understanding multicultural common spaces, as we would argue that hockey arenas are an important space to consider in the Canadian context. Existing research demonstrates the importance of arenas for identity and interaction more broadly (Rich, Bean, and Apramian 2014). It also points to romanticism and nostalgia linked to the sport’s gloried past (Gruneau and Whitson 1993; Mason, Duquette, and Scherer 2005). Therefore, such informal venues are likely key to truly creating multicultural connections across a wide range of Canadians.

At the same time, however, hockey as a game and the arenas it is played in are increasingly questioned for being exclusionary spaces. Ramshaw (2010), for example, shows that the move from outdoor to indoor rinks in the mid-twentieth century gendered recreational ice, favouring hockey over figure skating and other winter activities. Other research shows that many ethno-racial minorities experience hockey as being dominated by white and Anglo Canadians (Ellison and Anderson 2018; Szto 2021). Debate over the game’s openness to diversity came to national and international attention in the aftermath of the Don Cherry incident on Hockey Night in Canada. Cherry, a former professional hockey coach and popular commentator, was called out for remarks implying that immigrants were not patriotic Canadians (Bharti 2019). This can also be seen in the attention raised through former National Hockey League (NHL) player Akim Aliu’s reporting on the racism and hazing he faced as a player throughout his career (Wawrow 2019). Another example

is seen in the NHL's reluctance to embrace actions in support of Black Lives Matter in 2020 (Canadian Press 2020; Clipperton 2020), which was especially noticeable after other professional sports leagues, such as the National Basketball Association (Spears 2020), took clear positions in support of the movement and diversity.

For these reasons, it is unclear whether hockey and hockey arenas are, in fact, multicultural common spaces. We argue that in order to understand whether they are, it is important to explore the affordances of hockey arenas as physical and social spaces to truly be able to understand if they are, or potentially can be, inclusive social sites. Affordances are the opportunities that are assembled through surface or design layouts (DeLanda 2007). They are conceptually used by those in urban planning and design to consider the structural constraints placed on interactions or uses of spaces and things. They are also the opportunities that are overlooked by those who design spaces or things which allow for unintentional uses. Of greatest relevance to multicultural common spaces is that physical affordances structure the passage into spaces, constrain what can be done in spaces once they are entered, and provide opportunity for social engagement as a result of them.

Hence, in this paper, we thus explore hockey arenas as multicultural spaces by examining affordances that shape them. We do this through observational analysis conducted in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Toronto, Ontario, with a focus on the 2019 Memorial Cup Tournament as well as drawing upon personal auto-ethnographic observations of the two authors who have lived in five Canadian provinces and two countries between the two of them. The authors have also played or observed hockey in a range of informal to professional spaces in the course of their lives and research and have played the game at varying amateur and informal levels.

We begin by first reviewing literature on multicultural common spaces and affordances, then present our research methods and introduce the field site, followed by a presentation of results and discussion. The goal of the paper is to illustrate the role affordances play in shaping the potential to engage in social interactions.

MULTICULTURAL COMMON SPACES AND AFFORDANCES

Canada is one of the most ethnically and racially diverse countries in the world (Wilkinson 2018). Before colonization, it was a space that had diverse and broad networks of Indigenous nations and alliances such as the Anishinaabe or Haudenosaunee to name but a couple of examples, and it was colonized by French and English settlers (Dickason and McNab 2009; Russell 2017). From its onset, the country was a multi-ethnic and multi-national space (Russell 2017). In the 20th and 21st centuries, Canada embraced immigration and its population became increasingly diverse, and according to the 2016 Census, the most recent census available at

the time of publication, over 20 percent of the country's population were racialized and over 20 percent were immigrants (Statistics Canada 2017). In Canada's largest city, Toronto, the numbers are over 50 percent (Whalen 2017).

Such demographic trends have led to public debate over the carrying capacity of the country to foster inclusion and acculturation to a new host country (Winter 2011). Such demographic changes partially led Dib, Donaldson, and Turcotte (2008) to theorize the role of "multicultural commons spaces" in providing opportunities for shared time and space that could potentially generate integration of newcomers and the creation of Canadian identity. In their analysis, they consider a wide range of spaces from family units, to workplaces, to government institutions and services. Their analysis largely focuses on the composition of demographic groups in those spaces and the common narratives, cultural products and issues that get created in them. They also consider challenges or barriers to those spaces and discuss how social inclusion and exclusion are among the many barriers or contours that shape such spaces.

In many regards, their theory of social spaces is similar to work by Pierre Bourdieu on social fields. His work examines how social, cultural and economic spaces overlap. He recognized, for instance, that sports, culture, and art are key elements that shape social relations and spaces and overlap with values of worth and status (Bourdieu 1984). For Bourdieu, social fields are the spaces in which relational ties are formed through deep and embodied practices that may or may not be consciously created. He argues that through these spaces, habitus is formed by the practices and positions people have (Wacquant 2016). Bourdieu most famously illustrated this in his work on overlapping fields of capital. There he showed how habits and the practices that create them, shape social relations and power (Bourdieu 1986, 1984). He likewise theorized how sports create habitus and social power (Bourdieu 1978), and this was later taken up by others who have applied his concepts to a wide range of sports (e.g., Tomlinson 2004).

As can be seen through the Bourdieusian conceptualization of social field, it is apt to apply multicultural common spaces to sites outside of the sphere initially conceptualized by Dib, Donaldson, and Turcotte (2008). They largely see culture as an outcome of multicultural common spaces but do not explore specific cultural spaces that shape the creating of the habitus discussed by Bourdieu. They also do not theorize the constraints and opportunities that come with different spaces. This absence is also seen in the work of Bourdieu.

To this end, Manuel DeLanda (2007) and those who work in the area of design offer additional tools for understanding multicultural common spaces. More specifically, the notion of *affordances* is worth exploring. The concept was first deployed in perceptual psychology (Gibson 1979) and has since been used in architecture (Maier, Fadel, and Battisto 2009), urban planning (Grahn and Stigsdotter 2010; Havadi,

Kaplan, and Hunter 2015), communications theory (Evans et al. 2016; Gibbs, Rozaidi, and Eisenburg 2013), and computer science (Morozov 2011; Tufecki 2017). For DeLanda, the notion of affordances are linked to opportunities and risks supplied by surface layouts. This means how a site or space might shape who can enter them, the types of activities that might occur in a space, the level to which experiences may be embodied, and, in turn, the forms of social interactions that may occur. Lastly, affordances create opportunities to transform spaces for unintentional uses.

Unintended uses and the ability to see them have been the focus of many scholars in communications theory and the study of digital activism (Tufecki 2017). This is because innovation and the creation of new norms, politics and practices often occur when a medium or space is used for unintended purposes. For instance, it is the ability to look to the root mechanisms that a technology or space can offer to people to use for their own purposes.

In the study of sports and sociability, the notion of affordances has been applied to social interactions. For instance, Horgan et al. (2020, 147) apply the concept of *social affordances* to observations of public ice rinks. They understand social affordances as elements of a social setting that facilitate positive interactions among strangers. They draw upon Rietveld and Kiverstein (2014) and see social affordances as tied to material or landscape conditions. In many respects, the latter sees affordances in a similar light to DeLanda (2007). Horgan et al. (2020), however, extend the concept to look at the assemblage of interactions and the types and qualities of interactions that might occur by given physical and social conditions. Their focus is on how strangers may interact, offering insight on how relations are produced. The notion of social affordances adds texture to the notion of multicultural common spaces.

While Horgan et al. (2020) focus on types of interaction that stem from spaces, who can enter a space and how the physical features of space offer or limit the ability to interact in the first place, also deserves attention. That is, interactions are the consequence of affordances that permit entry into a space. They are then the result of what a space allows people to do. It is thus worth also concentrating on who can enter a space as a result of its affordances and what agency they have to act in, or participate in, those spaces. For this reason, in the rest of this paper, we will explore the affordances that hockey arenas offer diverse groups of people to enter the space and, in turn, the agency or lack thereof that is associated with entry into those spaces.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF MEMORIAL CUP AND HALIFAX AS A FIELD SITE

We explore the role of affordances in hockey arenas through structured observations of spaces in and around them. We also draw upon auto-ethnographic experiences that we have had watching and playing the game. We observed social behaviour across

a range of hockey spaces to see who enters spaces, what type of participations people have in spaces, what types of interactions they have, and whether hockey arenas offer shared multicultural experiences. In the scope of our research, we conducted 47 structured observations of hockey games, practices, or other engagements in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, as well as eight observations of the 2019 Memorial Cup and events around it. We conducted an additional 37 observations in Toronto, Ontario. The observations were sub-divided by the hockey arena's different spaces, including: areas outside the rink, concourse(s) and lobbies, stands, ice sheets, and the jumbotron.

Our research is part of a broader research project led by Lloyd Wong that also looks at Calgary. Included in the larger project were semi-structured interviews with minor hockey players, their parents, and adult hockey players and fans (Multicultural Common Spaces: A Study of Canadian Hockey Arenas and Social Integration project (862-2017-0002)). Among topics discussed, participants shared their experiences with the game and hockey arenas. In this paper, we engage interviews from the broader project sparingly, only using them to highlight dynamics or trends we observed.

We also draw on our own experiences through auto-ethnographic insights as Canadians who have been fans of the game, who have lived in five different provinces, and who have played the game in various amateur and informal settings ranging from street hockey and organized ball hockey to pick-up shinny hockey and organized amateur hockey in two provinces. We draw on our experience with the game to offer insight and texture to our observations.

The prime focus of our paper is on the observations we conducted during the 2019 Memorial Cup in Halifax. The city is located on Canada's East Coast on the Atlantic Ocean and is a regional hub for the four Atlantic provinces. The city has a deep and rich history with hockey and the game's intersection with multiculturalism. Halifax is about an hour away from Windsor, Nova Scotia, which is one of a number of places to claim being the birthplace of hockey (Bennett 2018; Birthplace of Hockey 2019). It is also home to the Mic-Mac hockey stick, originally used by Mi'kmaq people and later marketed by Dartmouth, Nova Scotia's Starr Manufacturing Company, which dominated the hockey equipment market for much of the late 1800s and early 1900s (Fosty and Fosty 2008). During this early period in the country's history, hockey was extremely popular and linked to notions of 'Canadianess' (Reid and Reid 2015; Robidoux 2002). The Coloured Hockey League (CHL) also had a team in Africville, on the northern tip of the Halifax Peninsula, and the league featured many Halifax-area players (Fosty and Fosty 2008). In more recent years, Halifax has produced three of the NHL's biggest stars – Brad Marchand, Sidney Crosby, and Nathan MacKinnon – who are each a source of local pride and national identification (Croucher 2019).

The city likewise boasts strong university hockey programs and a strong Major Junior club, the Halifax Mooseheads. The team got its start in 1994 and was an expansion team of the Quebec Major Junior Hockey League (Robertson 2005). Notable Mooseheads alumni include Jean-Sebastian Gigueure, Alex Tanguay, Jody Shelley, and more recent stars such as Jonathan Drouin and Nathan MacKinnon who all became successful players in the NHL (No Author 2021). The Mooseheads play in downtown Halifax in the Scotiabank Centre, formerly the Metro Centre, which is a building that can seat nearly 11,000 people. The team regularly draws large attendance from spectators across the city and from communities across Nova Scotia.

The team's positive energy and popularity, the downtown location of the arena it plays in, and the team's 25th anniversary made it an ideal candidate to host the 2019 Memorial Cup in Halifax (Lau 2018) which is the focus of our observational analysis in this paper. The Memorial Cup is a historic junior hockey tournament that brings together four elite junior hockey teams – the host and the league champions of the Western Hockey League (WHL), Ontario Hockey League (OHL), and Quebec Major Junior Hockey League (QMJHL). As Mason et. al. (2005) note, it is an elite tournament featuring the best players in Canada and draws heavily on nostalgia for the game. Tickets to the tournament are more expensive than normal games in each of these leagues and rosters of teams are adjusted for the tournament – often dropping younger players to shore up teams. The Memorial Cup is a round-robin tournament where, in the first round, all teams play against each other and the teams with the most wins or most points advance to subsequent playoff rounds and ultimately the championship. The tournament draws elite hockey scouts and fans from across the country. The games of the Memorial Cup are likewise broadcast on national television, making this tournament one of junior hockey's biggest stages.

Halifax's long history with hockey and the Memorial Cup tournament's national prominence make the city and the tournament a unique field site to analyze the affordances of hockey and hockey arenas and to analyze whether the game and the places where it is played are multicultural common spaces. In the rest of the paper, we explore the properties of hockey spaces in Halifax and the Memorial Cup, their effect on who enters spaces and participates in them, the type(s) of interactions that participants have, how participants embody that space, and how spaces are altered in unexpected ways to potentially generate multicultural common space.

FROM THE POND TO THE JUMBOTRON

One of the most quintessential images of hockey in Canada is the game being played in the great outdoors and not in arenas. There is a romantic imagery of the game played on frozen ponds in small rural communities (Gruneau and Whitson 1993).

This is despite the fact that due to the overall urbanization and suburbanization of Canadian society, increasingly, hockey happens not on open ponds in rural areas but rather in the rinks of suburban centres or mid-sized cities. This trend is visible across levels of hockey, including the NHL. It can, for instance, be seen through the hometowns of elite players that increasingly are mid-sized cities (Kaida and Kitchen 2020).

Yet, as we spoke to people about hockey, stories of playing pond hockey came up over and over again. People talked about ponds as being places where they watched siblings play, or where they learned about the game, or as part of annual rituals around Christmas or other holidays. It was fondly remembered as a place where anyone could play hockey. The idea of turning a frozen pond into a site for sport recognizes the affordance of the space to be altered from natural and pristine environment to a place for game and leisure.

Both authors of this paper have played pond hockey. It is often played in remote areas that are often tucked away (Sugiyama 2021) and are usually linked to suburban or rural areas. To get to those spaces usually involves driving or knowing someone with a car to haul the gear needed to play and to find a pond that is sufficiently frozen. When a pond is found, one not only needs to bring skates, sticks and pucks, but also shovels to clear the ice and create an arena to play on. The space is also usually inclusive of those who decide to enter it and transform the pond into a space for hockey or skating. Pond hockey, however, rarely involves engaging with people one does not already know (see Sugiyama 2021). And when a pond has other people playing on it, the interactions are often fleeting and minimal.

As a result, although ponds offer affordance to play sport, most Canadians do not have access to ponds as a space for hockey, limiting ‘pond hockey’ as multicultural common space. Instead, the majority of Canadians live in urban spaces that limit use of ponds for liability reasons. As one person we spoke with lamented, what was once a fun and carefree pastime as a kid can no longer be done because signs have gone up warning people not to play on their local ponds. They complained that “*you can’t play on ponds anymore.*” Instead, most people who play the game do so through arenas and varying degrees of organized hockey.

The move from informal public spaces to engage the game to more formal spaces also comes with limits on who can enter them. Barriers to the sport are not directly tied to newcomer status, race, ethnicity, gender, or other demographic traits but rather to cost. Almost everyone we spoke to through the scope of the larger project mentioned the cost of hockey as a barrier to playing the game. It is also a barrier seen by researchers of the sport as well (Kaida and Kitchen 2020). As a result, the spaces of hockey are increasingly structured by economic constraints that potentially gatekeep who enters them and the degree to which they can share time and space, or embody experiences in the space, and the degree of agency or choice they have to engage the game.

To some degree, outdoor rinks are spaces that are more inclusive than ponds or formal indoor arenas. As Horgan et. al (2020) observed through their analysis of social affordances, they are spaces that have fewer barriers to entry than indoor arenas. They are also spaces that have less formal hockey and promote skating more generally. They are also spaces that are dwindling as a result of budget cuts and warmer weather due to climate change that make them more expensive to operate. The formalization of arenas was also observed by Ramshaw (2010), who observed that the move from outdoor to indoor rinks in the mid-twentieth century gendered recreational ice, favouring hockey over figure skating and other winter activities and this made them more male-focused spaces.

This means that most Canadians do not engage hockey as a space through directly playing the game on ponds, or even in indoor arenas, but rather through watching hockey on television or through being a fan of the game as a spectator in an arena. It also means that engagement has varying degrees of embodiment and layers of experience with the game and that in turn affects the degree to which hockey and hockey arenas can be multicultural common spaces. For this reason, let us examine how people enter and engage hockey and hockey spaces through the 2019 Memorial Cup.

Most hockey spaces, be it professional, semi-professional, major junior, and even amateur levels, are like onions with layers of space mediating which people can enter them from the lobby all the way to the ice surface on which the game is played. Each layer offers different affordances of entry and participation and in turn the degrees to which the space can be a multicultural common space. In the case of the 2019 Memorial Cup, we observed engagement of the tournament outside the arena on the streets and in a space deemed the 'fan zone' as well as spaces inside the arena such as the lobby and concourse, the stands, the ice surface, and the jumbotron. The tournament was also experienced on the internet, television, radio, newspapers and other areas – but those are beyond the scope of our analysis. Instead, we probe into spaces that people can directly experience in relation to games played and a focus on the tournament we observed.

Outside the Arena – The Streets

As we participated in observing the 2019 Memorial Cup, we started our observations a couple of hours before each game of the tournament. We began by walking around outside the arena on the streets surrounding it. As we walked the streets further away from the arena, it was difficult to discern whether a major national hockey tournament was being played, especially the longer the time was away from the drop of the puck.

As time wound down before the game, more people could be observed wearing hockey jerseys and gathering, especially in the streets around the arena. Most of

those wearing jerseys were men, who often also wore baseball caps or other markers of team paraphernalia. Overwhelmingly the crowd was white, though people of different racial and gender backgrounds also engaged the space outside the arena.

On the streets directly around the Scotiabank Centre, where tournament games were played, there are a number of pubs and restaurants which filled closer and closer to game time. Ticket scalpers could also be seen in locations near the main entrances of the arena. It was here that we could see the most diversity, with some scalpers appearing to be African Nova Scotian and a number of the staff in restaurants ranging from different ethnic, and potentially newcomer, backgrounds. This is an observation we will probe further as we discuss space in the arena. For now, we highlight that such engagement is transactional, is not directly tied to the leisure of hockey, and is rather a position of work and service.

In the public spaces outside the arena, we also observed groups of newcomers and other ethnic minority groups, occasionally, but they were by far a minority and reflective of the lack of diversity in the city compared to larger Canadian cities. Outside the arena it was less common to see people of African Canadian, East Asian, South Asian, or other racialized groups wearing jerseys or team paraphernalia.

Some of the folks observed may have been drawn to the area for reasons other than watching hockey and, in some cases, seemed to be curious to see what was going on in the space around the arena. As a result, although the space outside of the arena has fewer barriers to participation, the deepness of participation in hockey is indirect and less embodied than other spaces we observed around the Memorial Cup.

Relatedly, outside of the arena, the organizers of the tournament offered concerts on a cordoned off street outside of the city's new Halifax Convention Centre, which also hosted events around the Memorial Cup. The street was sectioned off by fencing for the concerts because of alcohol sold at the concerts, but outside of the fencing, local restaurants and pubs on the streets also set up patios and people watched events from the sidewalks. The concerts featured nationally prominent Atlantic Canadian musicians and were a draw on their own not only for hockey fans, but also music fans.

As a space the concerts drew crowds of several hundred people and often the space created around them had the most gender parity and racial and ethnic diversity throughout the tournament. It also attracted a greater proportion of young adults than other spaces we observed. Signage clearly linked the concerts to the 2019 Memorial Cup and often musicians wore hockey jerseys and the experience of listening to the music could be felt blocks away because of the large concert speakers. However, like with other streets around the arena, people's direct participation in hockey was fleeting at best. The space may have had a high degree of embodied experience, not to mention much capacity for sharing time and space, and the street afforded room to host a con-

cert in the name of hockey, but those participating only indirectly engaged hockey unless they entered other spaces of the 2019 Memorial Cup.

Outside the Arena – The Fan Zone

Adjacent to the Scotiabank Centre, where 2019 Memorial Cup games were played, was the Kubota Fan Zone. It was set up inside the Halifax Convention Centre, which opened only months before the 2019 Memorial Cup and was still partially unfinished (Bosquet 2019; No Author 2019a). The space was free to enter, making it very accessible economically speaking and potentially allowed a wide range of people to engage it. Despite having no cost to enter, it was a much more formalized hockey space, and although we observed some African Nova Scotian and some East Asian people in the space, the diversity was less apparent than in the concert area on the street or surrounding streets in general.

The Fan Zone was a family-oriented and multi-use space featuring exhibits that were sponsor-product and hockey related. Some music events were moved inside the zone during the tournament. Inside the Fan Zone, a number of exhibits were featured throughout the tournament – often tied to promoting goods or services. These included an obstacle course for children run by the Canadian Armed Forces – an example of the tight linkages between the Canadian military and junior hockey, not to mention the tournament itself which is named in honour of those lost in the First World War – as well as an e-sports exhibit featuring a hockey video game, various carnival-style games, a mock plastic ice rink that allows people to try skating on plastic ice and shooting pucks, and an exhibition of NHL trophies put on by the Hockey Hall of Fame. The Fan Zone also had an area for selling merchandise with 2019 Memorial Cup branding and other tournament-related goods.

Interestingly the Fan Zone was visibly demarcated in terms of age into two areas – children and parents visited the fun, family-oriented exhibits, while some families but generally older men tended to visit the trophy area. At times, we observed families that were racialized and may have been newcomer families in the Fan Zone and at exhibits. Both the area selling merchandise and the exhibits had women salesclerks, some of whom were racialized minorities. A number of the Halifax Convention Centre security staff were African Nova Scotian. As a result, diversity could be observed in the space, and people were linked to hockey. However, the reason for why people engaged the space differed as did their agency for being in the space.

For example, one of the authors chatted with an acquaintance, a young adult East Asian man, who was working at the e-sports booth mentioned earlier. When asked whether hockey integrates people of different ethno-racial backgrounds, in other words, whether hockey is a multicultural common space, he said, “No. This is

the whitest event ever.” He continued that only those who had previous experiences with hockey would spend money to go to a hockey game, and that no international student he knew of went to hockey games, whether Memorial Cup or otherwise.

Several hours before each game, there were also ‘Hot Stove’ events, where Bruce Rainnie, president of the Nova Scotia Sports Hall of Fame, interviewed high-profile Mooseheads alumni such as Jean-Sebastian Gigueure, Alex Tanguay, and Nathan MacKinnon as well as NHL stars such as Guy Lafleur who played for the Montreal Canadians in the 1970s. At a number of events, people sought autographs on cards, jerseys, or other items. Like the area featuring NHL Trophies, this area was older, more male, and less racially or ethnically diverse than other areas. This being noted, some African Nova Scotian men and a few East Asian children with their parents could be observed in the area during the tournament. Many of the people who attended Hot Stove events could also be observed inside the arena during games. Most were seen at games as fans, but some were also seen with ticket scalpers outside the rink. Many of those who were seen with ticket scalpers were racialized and may have gone to the Fan Zone to get memorabilia signed to sell. Arguably the people attending these events had a deeper engagement with hockey or were developing one.

In the Arena – The Concourse and Lobby

For those who were able to enter the arena to watch 2019 Memorial Cup games, the first point of entry was through the concourse. Entry was contingent on having a ticket and unlike engaging the tournament on the street or in the Fan Zone, this was not free. When tickets first went on sale they were sold to season- and fifteen-game pack holders for either \$320 or \$270, depending on the seat’s proximity to the ice. Tickets were later opened to the general public, where those same packages sold for \$450 and \$350, respectively. Closer to the date, single-game tickets were sold for between \$35 and \$75, depending on the game’s place in the tournament and the seat’s proximity to the rink. The cost of entry became a barrier to participation. As a whole, these tickets are both significantly more expensive than typical Mooseheads games, where tickets are about \$20 a game, and significantly less expensive than for an NHL game. All this noted, in the concourse, people experienced time and space together before the game, during 20-minute intermissions, and at the end of the game. Much of the experience in the concourse was hectic, crowded, and structured around getting to the game, purchasing concessions, purchasing merchandise, or using facilities. Interactions were fleeting and although space and time were shared, it was often done in a shallow manner – saying ‘thanks’ for holding a door open or joking about hoping to win the 50/50 draw while waiting to purchase tickets for it, for example.

In these spaces we saw fewer children and families, though a number of people attending games did so with their children – usually boys. One of the authors spent

30 minutes before the game at one of the entrances to the arena. About 1800 people passed through the doors during this time, and the only ethno-racial diversity in that group was a dozen East Asian and South Asian families. Walking the concourse at other times, though, we did observe other East Asian and South Asian people as well as Middle Eastern, African Nova Scotian, and Mi'kmaw fans. Some of these racialized people were the same ones we saw in the Fan Zone and at the Hot Stove events in particular. Some wore team jerseys, usually hometown Mooseheads, or other paraphernalia. We also regularly could hear French being spoken, and more so when the Quebec-based Rouyn-Noranda Huskies were playing. Most of the fans were white, male, and tended to be adults, many of whom appeared to be middle aged or older. Some men came with what appeared to be their partners, and that was how we most frequently observed women who were with men. The concourse and lobby may have had some diversity, but interactions were within existing groups rather than across them.

Much of the space in the concourse and the lobby focused around sales of beer, other beverages, food and merchandise as well as the 50/50 fundraising draws. As with other spaces, we observed much diversity through those working for the tournament. Many of the workers in the concession stands, for instance, were South Asian men or women, a number of the security guards or ushers were African Nova Scotian men, we saw at least one medic wearing hijab, and some of the corporate giveaway stands had East Asian women working at them. Far more racialized people were seen working in the arena's concourse or lobby than being fans who participated in the spectacle of the game. What this means for being a shared multicultural common space is worth probing. People in a space because they are working in it experience hockey as labour, not as leisure. Those who experience the space as leisure may not see those who are racialized as engaging the space in the same way as they are and may even see them as excluded from the space. How people become part of a space thus affects how they can engage the sport and that has implications on how the sport can build common experience and identity.

In the Arena – The Stands

Another space that is inside the arena is the stands where people watch the game. In the case of the Scotiabank Centre, it is an uneven shape because of renovations and an addition that was built onto the original arena. This means that one side of the arena has more seats than the other side, and because of the construction of box seating, it also means that one side of the stands has obscured views. During our observations, we sat in the lower bowls of the arena behind the visiting team's goalie. Fans by themselves, in pairs, and in groups of friends populated our section. The section to our left had about a row and a half used by groups from visiting Memorial

Cup teams – they wore jerseys of their team, cheered loudly, and talked about the kin-based and friendship-based connections they had to particular players. Compared to the streets around the arena, the Fan Zone, or even the concourse and lobby, the stands are a more direct engagement of the game of hockey. From the stands, spectators can watch the game directly, albeit with variation depending on where seats are located. Those locations are correlated with the cost of tickets. The closer to the ice surface, the more costly the tickets and the greater the financial barrier to entering the space.

In our observation, those who had seats in the upper bowls and who had seats behind the box seating that overhangs the upper stands on one side of the arena tended to be more diverse in terms of age, race and ethnicity, as well as gender. Whereas the lower bowl tended to be older, more male, and more white. That being said, we did observe East Asian and African Nova Scotia fans in the lower bowl, some of whom we recognized from other Mooseheads games that we attended outside of the 2019 Memorial Cup. The upper bowl tended to have more families.

In terms of the stands, because seats are assigned, opportunities to engage one another are limited. Usually people can engage those in the seats in front and beside them as well as some seats behind them. The authors shared hockey banter with their seat neighbours. One of the authors connected a bit with a man sitting at the end of our row, because the author regularly sold bread to him at a local farmer's market. During gameplay, however, lights in the stands are dimmed, which places focus on the play of the game and people are discouraged from getting out of their seats. Largely the banter we overheard was focused on plays in the game, the tournament, or aspects of hockey. Engagement across parties was limited by design. As a result, the space affords a deeper hockey experience than other spaces we have discussed so far, but less of an opportunity to engage, at least directly with, a wide range of people. Outside of the arena, we saw a more diverse range of people than inside the arena, and within the arena, as we entered the inner layers closer to the game being played, the diversity decreased with fewer women, children, or racialized people entering.

Another feature of the stands in the Scotiabank Centre is a wall on one end of the arena that is, besides several small beer and popcorn stands, usually fairly empty during game play but is a meeting point before and after the game and during intermissions. We affectionately called that space 'the wall of solitude' because older adult men tend to line the wall and either observe their surroundings, usually with beer in hand, or talk with friends and acquaintances that come by. It is also a space where people stand until play is stopped when the game is played if they are late to arrive to their seats or go away from the seat for concessions or other reasons. Most of the talk we heard while walking by and standing at the wall of solitude was banter about

the game at hand or hockey in general. The vast majority of men who stand at the wall are white, many of whom are wearing hockey paraphernalia or jerseys. Although people may know each other and catch up, conversations overheard were usually about the game and often fleeting. While not everyone stands at the wall, it is a space most people in the arena pass at some point during their attendance of games. As a result, much like Hugh MacLennan's observation of 'two solitudes' in his famous novel of the same name in Quebec where Anglo and Francophone Quebecers live side by side with parallel but separate interaction, one can arguably say the same occurs at that wall. We have explored this analogy in relation to hockey in Bondy and Ramos (2021).

In the Arena – On the Ice

Yet another space, with the deepest embodiment of hockey experience, is on the ice. As with entering the arena, it is a space that is mediated by cost, as only the most elite Major Junior players access the ice of the Memorial Cup tournament and only elite coaches and other hockey support staff enter the benches, dressing rooms or other spaces related to the game being played (Allain 2008). Few people get to play in the Memorial Cup. The demographics of the Canadian Hockey League – as with all current high-level hockey leagues in Canada today – are nowhere near reflective of the diversity of the demographics of the Canadian population (Kalman-Lamb 2018). This is not to say, however, that racial or ethnic difference is not seen on the ice. In the 2019 Memorial Cup, for instance, one of the star players was Nick Suzuki, who is Canadian and of Japanese ethnic ancestry (Cudzinowski 2020; No Author 2019b). The league does not have gender diversity as it is a male league.

Those on the ice provide the spectacle for those in the stands and those at home watching the game on television. There is little direct engagement with those watching and, for that matter, little direct engagement of one another on the ice. The playing of the game is fast paced and offers few opportunities for engaging players on other teams except for between plays or face-offs. Although players "chirp" each other during games, little direct verbal interactions happen during a game across teams. Some conversations happened on the bench, but the bench is structured in a way where interactions are only with players immediately beside each other.

The equipment used to play the game makes it difficult to see player's faces which are the only parts of their bodies that are exposed and visible. At the Major Junior level, all players wear face shields that obscure even that. The most visible way to see diversity on the ice is through looking at last names on jerseys, but that can easily be missed unless spectators or others in the arena pay attention. As a result, although the game drives or affords the reason for others to be in the arena to share time and space through attending the game, it is played by few and deems the con-

nectedness through hockey limiting direct experience of diversity or multicultural engagements.

Before the game, between plays, and between periods, others enter the ice surface. These include the person or people singing the national anthem at the start of the game, those that do ice maintenance between play stoppage, and between periods people who are part of promotional events and contests or children who sit on a child seat on the Zamboni that cleans the ice. We saw women sing the anthem, work on ice-crews repairing the ice, and help with promotional events or contests during the tournament.

On the ice, another space are the boards that bound the rink. On the boards, advertising largely reflects the images and messages of sponsors. Most of the ads were for national brands but noticeable among them was Kubota, which also sponsored the Fan Zone and an associate sponsor, or Kia, which was a title sponsor for the tournament. The former is a company that makes tractors and other farm and yard equipment and is based in Japan, and the latter is a Korean car company. Similarly, at local rinks in Toronto which we also observed in our study, we noticed ethnic business sponsorship as visual diversity on the ice, outside of the players and a feature of such space. Whether people in the arena are mindful of the origins of such brands or take them for granted is unclear but if seen as part of the scene and unquestioned, this may be a sign of hockey affording multi-national or multicultural space.

In the Arena – The Jumbotron

As we attended games as spectators, observers, and fans, we were repeatedly struck by the role of the jumbotron at the centre of the arena above the ice. It is a space that plays replays of the game, reports on the score and penalties, features people in the crowd and airs advertising by sponsors. As already noted, Kubota and Kia were associate and title partners, respectively, and are international Asian-based companies. Ads from other national sponsors during the tournament often featured racialized Canadians or women, reflecting multiculturalism or diversity often not seen in other spaces of the arena. We were also struck by who was broadcast on the jumbotron during games.

Compared to those who we observed in the concourse or lobby as well as in the stands or on the ice, those who appeared on the jumbotron were more diverse. A pre-recorded video from the Canadian Hockey League highlighted the experiences of league player Akil Thomas and his parents, who are African Canadian. Besides these pre-recorded videos which played during each Memorial Cup game, images of children, women, or racialized fans in the arena often appeared on the jumbotron. This happened as the camera scanned the crowd, as images from social media feeds were rebroadcasted, and as promotional in-arena events occurred. In one game, one

of the two authors also appeared briefly on the jumbotron. We were not able to interview the communications team of the 2019 Memorial Cup or those in the Mooseheads organization, so we cannot speak directly on the intentionality of the curation of who appeared on the jumbotron, but we observed more diversity on it compared to other spaces. As a curated space, it afforded the possibility of increasing the visual diversity of the space and linked hockey to a wider range of people. It helped create shared time and space and potentially was a tool that transformed the in-arena space into a multicultural common space. Yet, as with other spaces in the arena, such interactions of visibility are fleeting. Actions to include a wider range of people in the game are needed to increase the diversity of hockey and hockey arenas as spaces that afford diversity. Unless organizations are proactive, change in who is part of the game will not occur.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this paper, we set out to explore whether hockey and hockey arenas are multicultural common spaces and to understand how the spaces of the game and arenas foster shared experiences. This is particularly important to Canada, where the game is seen as a national symbol and key cultural experience, while at the same time, coming under increasing scrutiny for being an exclusive space that limits diversity.

In trying to understand whether hockey arenas are multicultural common spaces, we argued that it is important to consider the affordances of the spaces where the game is played and experienced and to focus on who has access to those spaces and the types of participation and experiences they have as a result. We also explored how degrees of access to the game, and participation with it, are correlated with diversity and how spaces may need to be transformed in order to be multicultural common spaces. We did this by drawing upon observational data of hockey in Halifax and, specifically, the spaces around the 2019 Memorial Cup tournament. Using this as a test case allowed us to see a variety of engagements with hockey, from front-row fans to concertgoers who may have had no interest in hockey itself. In this way, we were able to focus on whether spaces are open to people and how they engage in activity in these spaces as a result of their affordances. We believe that is the next logical step of examination as well as exploring the social forms created through the game (see Bondy and Ramos 2021). Our observations suggest, much like Horgan et al. (2020) who analyzed public outdoor ice rinks, that social interactions stemming from the affordances of arenas are fleeting and characterized by degrees of being strangers.

Through our analysis, we found that hockey has layers of space and the 2019 Memorial Cup elucidated all this. We observed that the game outside the arena is

more racially, ethnically, and gender diverse than inside the arena. We likewise saw that even within the arena, spaces further away from the game being played on the ice were more diverse than on the ice. Cost is a barrier that limits access to the game as a spectator, especially in an elite tournament like the Memorial Cup, not to mention being a player. We would contend, however, that cost and access is also an issue for the game on ponds and local or other hockey arenas as well. We observed that outside of the arena, the engagement of the game may be superficial and fleeting over direct and deep participation. We also observed that inside hockey arenas, at least at the professional or semi-professional level, much diversity is seen through labour supporting the game over the diversity of those who experience the game as a form of leisure. Whether that form of experience translates to being a shared multicultural common space over being a space of solitude is unclear.

We also found that fewer people have access to the inner layers of hockey arenas and the game, such as the stands or on the ice, and this means deeper hockey experiences are less multicultural ones. However, the affordance of spaces can be overcome through physical features of arenas such as boards or the jumbotron which are curated spaces that can be purchased or reformulated in order to change the image of the game and, in turn, link the game and arenas to a wider and more diverse range of people. This means that hockey and arenas potentially offer opportunities to drive change toward hockey arenas being multicultural common spaces if affordances are considered and used to transform spaces. Observing and leveraging the physical affordances that hockey arenas offer is one way to study and influence hockey arenas as multicultural common spaces on who accesses the game and, in turn, the type of participation people gain as a result of it.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council through the Multicultural Common Spaces: A Study of Canadian Hockey Arenas and Social Integration project (862-2017-0002) led by Lloyd Wong. We thank project colleagues Martine Dennie and Lloyd Wong for their insights and leadership in putting this special issue together. We thank the anonymous reviewer for their helpful and critical comments. Any errors are those of the authors.

REFERENCES

- Allain, Kristi. 2008. 'What Happens in the Room Stays in the Room': Conducting Research with Young Men in the Canadian Hockey League. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health* 6.2: 205-219.
- Bennett, Paul. 2018. Re-Imagining the Creation: Popular Mythology, the Mi'kmaq, and the Origins of Canadian Hockey. In *Hockey: Challenging Canada's Game – Au-delà Du Sport National*, eds. Jenny Ellison and Jennifer Anderson, 271–285. Gatineau, Québec: University of Ottawa Press.
- Bharti, Bianca. 2019. Complaints about Don Cherry's 'You People' Remark Overwhelm Broadcast Standards Body. *National Post*, November 11. <https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/don-cherry-hnic-you-people-hockey-coachs-corner>.

- Birthplace of Hockey. Windsor Hockey Heritage Society. 2019. <https://www.birthplaceofhockey.com/>.
- Bondy, Patrick, and Howard Ramos. 2021. Arenas of Solitude: Social Forms and Textures of Togetherness in Hockey. *Journal of Canadian Studies* 55.3: DOI: 10.3138/jcs-2020-0012.
- Bosquet, Tim. 2019. The Nova Centre Hotel isn't Opening Anytime Soon: What Does that Mean for the City Budget? *Halifax Examiner*, April 23. <https://www.halifaxexaminer.ca/featured/the-nova-centre-hotel-isnt-opening-any-time-soon-what-does-that-mean-for-the-city-budget/>.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1978. Sport and Social Class. *Information (International Social Science Council)* 17.6: 819-840.
- . 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . 1986. The forms of capital. In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson, 241-258. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Canadian Press. 2020. Hockey Diversity Alliance to Operate 'Separate and Independent' of NHL. *TSN Hockey*, October 7. <https://www.tsn.ca/hockey-diversity-alliance-to-operate-separate-and-independent-of-nhl-1.1535782>.
- Clipperton, Joshua. 2020. NHL Postpones Remainder of Weekday Games in Support of Protests Against Police Shootings. *CBC News*, August 27. <https://www.cbc.ca/sports/hockey/nhl/nhl-season-bubble-1.5764228>.
- Croucher, Philip. 2019. *The Three Stars*. Lunenburg, NS: Macintyre Purcell Publishing.
- Cudzynowski, Matt. 2020. 'I just Want to Set a Good Example for the Younger Generation'. *NHL – Canadiens News*, February 10. <https://www.nhl.com/canadiens/news/i-just-want-to-set-a-good-example-for-the-younger-generation/c-314866712>.
- DeLanda, Manuel. 2007. The Expressivity of Space. *Can Art Mag* 252: 103-107.
- Dib, Kamal, Ian Donaldson, and Brittany Turcotte. 2008. Integration and identity in Canada: The importance of multicultural common spaces. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 40.1: 161-187.
- Dickason, Olive, and David McNab. 2009. *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Ellison, Jenny, and Jennifer Anderson. 2018. *Hockey: Challenging Canada's Game, Au-delà Du Sport National*. Gatineau, Québec: University of Ottawa Press.
- Evans, Sandra K., Katy E. Pearce, Jessica Vitak, and Jeffrey W. Treem. 2016. Explicating Affordances: A Conceptual Framework for Understanding Affordances in Communication Research. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 22.1: 35-52.
- Fosty, George Robert, and Darril Fosty. 2008. *Black ice: The Lost History of the Colored Hockey League of the Maritimes, 1895-1925*. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing.
- Gibbs, Jennifer L., Nik Ahmad Rozaidi, and Julia Eisenberg. 2013. Overcoming the "Ideology of Openness": Probing the Affordances of Social Media For Organizational Knowledge Sharing. *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication* 19.1: 102-20.
- Gibson, James J. 1979. *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Global Affairs Canada. 2019. Centre for Intercultural Learning. https://www.international.gc.ca/cil-cai/country_insights-apercus_pays/ci-ic_ca.aspx?lang=eng#cn-2.
- Grahn, Patrik, and Ulrika K. Stigsdotter. 2010. The Relation between Perceived Sensory Dimensions of Urban Green Space and Stress Restoration. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 94. 3-4: 264-75.
- Gruneau, Richard, and David Whitson. 1993. *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities and Cultural Politics*. Toronto: Garamond Press.
- Hadavi, Sara, Rachel Kaplan, and Mary Carol R. Hunter. 2015. Environmental Affordances: A Practical Approach for Design of Nearby Outdoor Settings in Urban Residential Areas. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 134: 19-32.
- Horgan, Mervyn, Saara Liinamaa, Amanda Dakin, Sofia Meligrana, and Meng Xu. 2020. A shared everyday ethic of public sociability: Outdoor public ice rinks as spaces for encounter. *Urban Planning* 5.4: 143-154.
- Kaida, Lisa, and Peter Kitchen. 2020. It's cold and there's something to do: The changing geography of Canadian National Hockey League players' hometowns. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 55.2: 209-228.

- Kalman-Lamb, Nathan. 2018. Whiteness and Hockey in Canada: Lessons from Semi-Structured Interviews with Retired Professional Hockey Players. In *Hockey: Challenging Canada's Game: Au-delà Du Sport National*, eds. J. Ellison and J. Anderson, 287-300. Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press.
- Kiverstein, Julian, and Erik Rietveld. 2020. Skill-Based Engagement with a Rich Landscape of Affordances as an Alternative to Thinking Through Other Minds. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 43. DOI:10.1017/S0140525X1900284X.
- Lau, Rebecca. 2018. Halifax Wins Hosting Rights for 2019 Memorial Cup Championship. *Global News*, April 5. <https://globalnews.ca/news/4125500/halifax-wins-hosting-rights-for-2019-memorial-cup-hockey-championship/>.
- Maier, Jonathan R., Georges M. Fadel, and Dina Battisto. 2009. An Affordance-based Approach to Architectural Theory, Design, and Practice. *Design Studies* 30.4: 393-414.
- Mason, Daniel S., Gregory H. Duquette, and Jay Scherer. 2005. Heritage, Sport Tourism and Canadian Junior Hockey: Nostalgia for Social Experience or Sport Place? *Journal of Sport Tourism* 10.4: 253-271.
- Morozov, Evgeny. 2011. *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom*. New York: Public Affairs.
- No Author. 2019a. 2019 Memorial Cup presented by Kia. *Downtown Halifax Business Commission*. <https://downtownhalifax.ca/memorialcup>.
- . 2019b. Scott, Suzuki, Dobson earn Playoff MVP honours. *Canadian Hockey League*, May 15. <https://chlmemorialcup.ca/article/scott-suzuki-dobson-earn-playoff-mvp-honours>.
- . 2021. Halifax Mooseheads (QMJHL) Alumni. *Sports Reference LLC*. <https://www.hockey-reference.com/amateurs/team.cgi?t=hms01>.
- Ramshaw, Gregory. 2010. Remembering the Rink: Hockey, Figure Skating, and the Development of Community League Recreation in Edmonton. *Prairie forum* 25.2: 27-42.
- Reid, John G., and Robert Reid. 2015. Diffusion and Discursive Stabilization: Sports Historiography and the Contrasting Fortunes of Cricket and Ice Hockey in Canada's Maritime Provinces, 1869-1914. *Journal of Sport History* 42.1: 87-113.
- Rich, Kyle, Corliss Bean, and Zale Apramian. 2014. Boozing, Brawling, and Community Building: Sport-facilitated Community Development in a Rural Ontario Community. *Leisure = Loisir* 38.1: 73-91.
- Rietveld, Erik, and Julian Kiverstein. 2014. A Rich Landscape of Affordances. *Ecological Psychology* 26.4: 325-52.
- Robertson, Dan. 2005. *The Mooseheads: The History of Halifax's Favourite Hockey Team*. Halifax, NS: Nimbus Publishing.
- Robidoux, Michael A. 2002. Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport: A Historical Interpretation of Lacrosse and Hockey. *Journal of American Folklore* 115.456: 209-225.
- Russell, Peter H. 2017. *Canada's Odyssey: a Country Based on Incomplete Conquests*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Sinha, Marie. 2015. Canadian Identity, 2013. *Spotlight on Canadians: Results from the General Social Survey*. Statistics Canada (89-652-X2015005): <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-652-x/89-652-x2015005-eng.htm#a1>.
- Spears, Marc J. 2020. 'Black Lives Matter, People': How the NBA's social justice efforts dominated the season. *The Undeclared*, October 12. <https://theundefeated.com/features/how-the-nba-social-justice-efforts-dominated-the-season/>.
- Statistics Canada. 2017. *Focus on Geography Series, 2016 Census*. Statistics Canada (98-404-X2016001): <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-can-eng.cfm?Lang=Eng&GK=CAN&GC=01&TOPIC=7>.
- Sugiyama, Jamie. 2021. Offside: What a Secret Hockey Rink Revealed About What I've Internalized About 'Canada's Game.' *Globe and Mail*, March 20. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-what-a-hockey-rink-speakeasy-revealed-to-me-about-canadas-game/>.
- Szto, Courtney. 2021. *Changing on the Fly: Hockey through the Voices of South Asian Canadians*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Tomlinson, Alan. 2004. Pierre Bourdieu and the Sociological Study of Sport: Habitus, Sapital and Field. In *Sport and modern social theorists*, eds. Richard Giulianotti, 161-172. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tufekci, Zeynep. 2017. *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*. London: Yale University Press.

- Wacquant, Loïc. 2016. A Concise Genealogy and Anatomy of Habitus. *The Sociological Review* 64.1: 64-72.
- Wawrow, John. 2019. 'This is for Real': Akim Aliu's Viral Tweet Continues to Rock NHL. *CBC News*, December 22. <https://www.cbc.ca/sports/hockey/nhl/akim-aliu-nhl-discussion-culture-change-1.5406181>.
- Whalen, Julia. 2017. Census 2016: More Than Half of Torontonians Identify as Visible Minorities. *CBC News*, October 25. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/census-visible-minorities-1.4371018>.
- Wilkinson, Lori. 2018. A Demographic Overview of Ethnic Diversity in Canada. In *Immigration, Racial and Ethnic Studies in 150 Years of Canada: Retrospects and Prospects*, eds. Shibao Guo and Lloyd Wong, 103-128. Boston: Brill.
- Winter, Elke. 2011. *Us, Them and Others: Pluralism and National Identities in Diverse Societies*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

HOWARD RAMOS is Professor and Chair of the Department of Sociology at Western University. His work focuses on issues of social justice. He has published in race, ethnicity, immigration, human rights, social movements, Indigenous mobilization, and environmental advocacy.

PATRICK BONDY is an anthropologist and researcher. His scholarship focuses on morality, identity, Christianity and hockey, particularly in Canada. His Master's thesis, *Hockey Talk: A Textured Description of Morality and Ethics in a Sporting Context*, was completed at Dalhousie University.

Reproduced with permission of copyright owner.
Further reproduction prohibited without permission.