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Hegemonic Masculinity and the Ideal Male Hockey Player: The Constructions of NHL Injuries in Popular Canadian Newspapers, 2016-2017

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Graduate Program in Sociology

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This study critically examines the constructions of men's hockey injuries in five popular Canadian newspapers published during the 2016-2017 NHL season. I draw on feminist theory and social constructionism and conduct a critical discourse analysis of 199 newspaper articles to examine media narratives, understand taken-for-granted assumptions about men's hockey injuries and masculinities, and capture the role of language in producing, reproducing, and challenging hegemonic masculinity. I argue that the injury discourse, which constructs men's injuries, the body, and male hockey players, is rooted in hegemonic masculinity. Specifically, I find that these discursive constructions include: the normalization of injuries as part of the game; injuries as a threat to player success; bodies are for the team; the injured body as an assemblage of parts; the commodified, durable, aged, and replaceable injured body; playing hurt as respectable; health as the responsibility of male hockey players; and the construction of the triumphant return. I conclude and argue that the injury discourse is less about injuries, health, or well-being, and more about validating and recreating hegemonic masculinity. As a discursive site and through injury talk, I find that within these popular newspapers, the ideal male hockey player is produced – one who plays hurt and hides injuries, sacrifices their body, and puts themselves in danger for their team. The ideal male hockey player operates like a machine; he is durable, young, takes care of his health, and when injured, returns unharmed to redeem himself. I show that a particular way of being a man is rewarded through encouragement and admiration. And any actions that do not conform to the ideal male hockey player are discouraged and labelled as unmanly. I do find evidence that the injury discourse is beginning to challenge hegemonic masculinity; I refer to this as 'the humanized injury' where emotions, thoughts, and experiences of injured players are validated and thus challenge and contest hegemonic masculinity. Overall, I conclude that the injury discourse reinforces sport as a gendered and gendering institution and reproduces dominant masculine health practices which have implications for men's health generally. In making visible the ways that injuries are constructed, I open the possibility for parents, hockey coaches, league officials, and sport writers to offer alternative messages. Without alternative messages, harmful health practices will continue to be understood as the only legitimate and acceptable view of health in men's hockey.

Keywords

Sport Injuries, Hegemonic Masculinity, Sports Media, Men's Ice Hockey, National Hockey League (NHL), Discourse Analysis, Feminist Theory, Social Constructionism

Summary for Lay Audience

This study examines how men's hockey injuries are described in five popular Canadian newspaper published during the 2016-2017 NHL season. I analyze 199 newspaper articles to understand how sports media discusses, presents, and talks about men's hockey injuries. The goal of this study was to understand media messages regarding men's hockey injuries and to understand how these messages produce or challenge dominant ideals of masculinity. I argue that men's hockey injuries are constructed in relation to masculinity. I find that the portrayal of men's hockey injuries includes discussions of injuries, the injured body, and male hockey players. I found several depictions of injuries, which I categorized as: injuries as simply part of the game; injuries as a threat to player success; bodies are for the team; the injured body as an assemblage of parts; the economic, durable, aged, and replaceable injured body; playing hurt as respectable; health as the responsibility of male hockey players; and the construction of the triumphant return. This media portrayal of men's hockey injuries, rewards, encourages, and admires particular ways of being a man, and deems as unmanly behaviours, beliefs, and actions outside of this. By exploring the constructions of injuries, parents, hockey coaches, league officials, and sport writers can work to offer alternative messages. Without alternative messages, harmful health practices in men's hockey will continue to be understood as legitimate and acceptable.

Dedication

For Carmen, to the moon.

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Chapter 1

1 Introduction

Men's hockey is central to the construction of hegemonic masculinity – the dominant and idealized form of masculinity (Connell, 2005) – and the Canadian masculine identity (Allain, 2008). Studies confirm that a particular hockey masculinity exists; it is centred on aggression, dominance, and bravado (Young, 2000; Robidoux, 2001; Allain, 2008). Other researchers have argued that the hockey masculine identity is “rough-and-tough” (p. 462) and physically aggressive (Allain, 2008). Through hockey, boys and men learn “how to be a man” and they understand that this means one who is aggressive, stoic, competitive, and who shows little emotion (Colburn, 1985; Robidoux, 2001; Allain, 2008). Sports media constructs male hockey players in relation to hegemonic masculinity; sports media emphasizes aggression, rough play, violence, and celebrates playing hurt (Allain, 2015; Lorenz, 2015). Despite the elevated risk of injury associated with men's hockey, few studies have examined sports media, men's hockey, masculinity, and injuries. Thus, this dissertation explores the understudied area of media, professional male hockey, injuries, and masculinities.

It is popularly assumed that being a professional male hockey player in the National Hockey League (NHL) is beneficial for the body and the mind because sport is beneficial to health and well-being. It is also commonly assumed that professional male hockey players are healthy; male athletes in general are portrayed and looked upon as icons of the fit, strong, able, disciplined masculine body whose participation in sport leads to healthy outcomes (Young, 2004a). The reality, however, is that male athletes suffer high incidence of pain and permanent injury, and they experience varying states of chronic pain, and disablement (Messner, 1994; Sabo, 2004). While the potential health benefits of any sport cannot be denied, these dominant understandings ignore the realities of injuries, downplay how common they are, and disregard the health consequences of sport. Research confirms, rooted in hegemonic masculinity, injuries are largely ignored and

overlooked by coaches, league officials, management, and professional male athletes (Messner, 1994; Young et al, 1994). This is because sport, through hegemonic masculinity, constructs male athletes' bodies as machines and tools. As a consequence, men are alienated from their health and their feelings regarding such experiences (Messner, 2005).

Research on sport injuries and masculinity reveals that injuries are often positively sanctioned by teammates, coaches, and team officials. This is due, in part, to beliefs that playing through injury demonstrates one's commitment to the team, reflects one's athletic identity, and demonstrates the appropriate sport values (Curry and Strauss, 1994). It is argued that, to be successful, male athletes must adopt dominant views of injury which includes playing through, accepting, and tolerating pain and injury (Sabo, 1994). Don Sabo (1994) has termed this the "pain principle" which dictates that male athletes must play through, ignore, and hide their injuries to attain masculine status. Failure to do so results in ostracism, shame, and loss of masculine standing (Messner, 2005; Sabo 1994, 2004). Some injuries are worn with pride (Messner 1994), while others are ignored, suppressed, and concealed (White et al 1995). This popular "no pain, no gain" philosophy, rooted in masculinity, jeopardizes the health of those who conform to it (Sabo, 2004).

The focus on media messages is significant because the media are important to the everyday lives of most individuals, including sports fans. Individuals regularly turn to media for entertainment, information, and news. Mass media constructs, creates, reflects, and reinforces dominant ideologies and culture (Lorimer and McNulty, 1991). While many individuals play sports and attend sport events, the vast majority of those interested in sports consume and access sport through media (Bellamy 2006; Dworkin and Wachs 2000). Sports media commonly report NHL injuries. Hockey injuries are often displayed by sports media, for example, when a player is being taken off the ice after getting hurt, when players receive stitches on the bench, or when players have bloodied faces after a fisticuff. As a combative and violent sport, male hockey players experience injuries in

various aspects of the game including violent contact between players, puck or stick contact, or overexertion during gameplay or training. Through these reports, sports media communicates messages regarding health and sports injuries. Thus, the examination of the NHL injury discourse is important because it sheds light on the messages individuals have access to regarding men's hockey injuries and masculinity.

This dissertation draws on feminist theory and social constructionism to examine and articulate the constructions of NHL associated injuries. I conducted a critical discourse analysis with a focus on media narratives of 199 newspaper articles published during the 2016-2017 NHL season in five popular Canadian newspapers. The goal of this dissertation is to examine language in order to understand what messages regarding men's hockey injuries sports fans have access to, and show how such messages create, uphold, reproduce, and challenge hegemonic masculinity. My research and findings build on and add to previous sport and injury research. I argue that the injury discourse which consists of the construction of injuries, the body, and masculinity, is rooted in hegemonic masculinity. I find that injury talk is less about injuries, health, or well-being, and more about masculinity. Through the injury discourse, the ideal male hockey player is manifested and masculine characteristics are emphasized, valued, and celebrated. By offering a more complete understanding of the injury discourse, we can push for social change that includes alternative messages regarding sport and injuries.

My interest in sport and injuries is inspired by my childhood. Both of my brothers played hockey growing up which resulted in me spending a lot of time going to hockey games, practices, and travelling all over southern Ontario for tournaments. I have many fond memories of my time at the rink but I also saw a fair share of injuries. I can recall the pride that came with sacrifice, the cheering and celebrating of young players who played hurt, and the shame that came with being injured. As a feminist researcher, what brought me to this study and topic is a desire to understand and make sense of sport norms and hockey discourses beyond my own experiences. By analyzing media, I am examining the dominant sport values that I was first exposed to during my childhood and youth. I am

motivated by a desire to contribute to social change and by my concern for the human condition that recognizes male hockey players as people with vulnerabilities, feelings, and emotions rather than simply as invulnerable hockey heroes.

The following research questions guided this research, its data collection, and analysis:

- How do popular Canadian daily newspapers construct NHL-associated injury?
- What ideals of masculinity, injury, and men's bodies are privileged within this discourse?
- What ideals of masculinity, injury, and men's bodies are resisted and challenged within this discourse?

1.1 Chapter Overview

In this study, I critically analyze the construction of NHL associated injuries in popular Canadian newspapers and I consider how the injury discourse, specifically language, creates, upholds, and challenges hegemonic masculinity – that is, the idealized form of masculinity. Focusing on the injury discourse, I draw on the theoretical perspectives of feminism and social constructionism and am guided by Connell's (2005) concept of hegemonic masculinity and multiple masculinities to explore the constructions of men's hockey injuries and understand what messages readers have access to regarding injury and masculinity.

In **Chapter 2: Theory**, I outline the theoretical underpinnings of this research project. I begin first by offering a historical overview of gender and sport research to situate my research and show how masculinity and sport research developed. This historical overview acts as a form of theoretical reflexivity so that I can recognize how gender and sport research has advanced and changed. Guided by this historical review, I then introduce Connell's (2005) concept of hegemonic masculinity and multiple masculinities. In this section, I carefully outline this approach to the study of men and masculinities, and I describe hegemonic, complicit, subordinate, and marginalized masculinities, and I discuss the relationship between masculinity and femininity. I then move into social

constructionism in relation to gender, health, and injury. This is followed by a discussion of why feminism and social constructionism are relevant for the analysis of the media discourse, sport, gender, and hockey injuries. I conclude by introducing my research questions, which guide this research and its analysis.

In **Chapter 3: Literature Review**, I present a critical review of scholarship on sport injuries. In the first section of this chapter, I examine sociological research that has examined sports and injuries. This includes research that has studied the normalization of injuries in sport; playing hurt; experiences of athletes with injuries; sport injuries and medical care; work and injuries; and masculinities and sport injuries. I then examine a body of work that has emerged with a focus on men, sports, and media, including discussions of sport injuries. Finally, I review men's hockey and masculinities research where I examine research about violence, relationships, the Canadian identity, media, and injuries.

I present my methodological approach in **Chapter 4: Methodology**. In this chapter, I introduce critical discourse analysis as my methodological approach as a method that allows for the examination of meaning construction and the what 'truths' are produced and how these 'truths' are sustained, legitimized, and challenged (Hacking 2000; Atkinson and Gregory, 2008). This is followed by a discussion of popular newspapers as a discursive site, data collection, the sample, and my analytic process. Finally, I consider quality criteria including trustworthiness, credibility, and confirmability. In my reflexivity statement, I locate myself in relation to the research and the topic of hockey and injuries by outlining my personal interest in the study of hockey injuries. I identify the assumptions and experiences I bring to the research.

Chapter 5: Findings presents the findings of the critical discourse analysis on media narratives. In this chapter, I outline the injury discourse and trace how NHL associated injuries are constructed in popular Canadian newspapers. I describe a range of discursive strategies through which the injury discourse is presented. The findings are presented in three sections. I first detail the construction of injuries which focuses on injury talk and

examines how injuries are defined, what injuries mean for players, and how injuries are understood. I then examine how the injury discourse privileges particular constructions of the male body. This includes the discursive construction of the injured body in relation to NHL teams, the league, and social expectations of the athletic body. The final section of this chapter explores the constructions of injured male hockey players which outlines the expectations of injured NHL players.

In the final chapter of this dissertation, **Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion**, I return to my theoretical perspectives and hegemonic masculinity. I highlight key findings from the critical discourse analysis and make connections between previous injury and sport research. I also outline the ideal male hockey player that is created through the injury discourse. In this section of the chapter, I identify how the discursive constructions of NHL associated injuries create, uphold, and reinforce hegemonic masculinity. Following this, I outline how aspects of the injury discourse challenge hegemonic masculinity and describe what discourses are silenced by the injury discourse. I consider the implications of my findings for sport, masculinity, and men's health, and outline the limitations of this research and offer direction for future research regarding men's hockey injuries. And finally, I consider steps toward social change.

Chapter 2

2 Theoretical Framework

This research is informed by critical feminism and social constructionism, particularly R.W. Connell's (2005) concept of hegemonic masculinity and the gender order. I begin this chapter by offering a historical overview of gender and sport research as a form of theoretical reflexivity. This historical examination is important because it allows for the recognition of how masculinities research on sport developed and what developments continue to inform masculinities studies. I then outline Connell's (2005) social theory of gender and hegemonic masculinity which allows for the examination of masculinity as relational and the examination of how hegemonic masculinity is upheld, reconstructed, and challenged. Following this, I discuss social constructionism in relation to gender, health, and injury. The combination of feminism and social constructionism allows for the examination of truth construction and the analysis of sport as gendered. I conclude with a discussion of why these theories are relevant for an analysis of the media discourse on sport, gender, and male hockey injuries.

2.1 Gender, Sport, and the Social Construction of Masculinities

The purpose of this section is to offer a historical overview of theories of gender and sport research and to perform what I am calling theoretical reflexivity. Theoretical reflexivity is the historical examination of theoretical approaches and a reflexive process of the development of approaches to the social world. For this dissertation, I examine and recognize how masculinities research on sport developed historically, and I identify the developments that continue to inform the construction of masculinities and sport studies more generally. This historical focus is valuable for sociology because it reveals connections between theoretical approaches, it recognizes changes, and it encourages new questions. Theoretical reflexivity thus allows me to recognize how theory and theoretical approaches to sport and gender have changed overtime and been influenced by previous work.

While gender and sport research is of great interest today, gender was once often ignored among sociologists of sport. Early sport research fell into one of two main traps: sport was viewed and treated either as a realm separate from inequality and social constraints, or as a mechanism of social inequality through which dominant classes controlled the masses (Messner, 1998). With respect to the latter, the Marxists of the 1970s argued that sport reflects capitalist relations and serves to promote as well as legitimize competition, meritocracy, consumerism, and militarism. At the same time, sport provides spectators – the proletariat – with an escape from alienation (Hoch, 1972; Brohm, 1978). A theoretical shift occurred in the 1980s as neo-Marxists viewed sport as a self-sustaining independent enterprise that promotes capitalist ideals (Morgan, 1983; Messner, 1988). Gender relations were not central to either of these theoretical perspectives; sport was inherently understood to be the effect of class dynamics (McKay, 1986). This approach to sport does not allow for the examination of gender inequality.

Between the 1960s and the late 1980s, gender and sport research was dominated by the field of social psychology. A key focus of this work was on the feminine, and on “proving” that women’s participation in sport did not masculinize female athletes (Hall, 1988). This literature was largely informed by sex role theory (Hall, 1988; Messner, 1988), which we now recognize rests on essentialist assumptions about the biological sex differences between women and men. This framework led to research questions about differences between female and male athletes (Atkins et al, 1978) and gender differences in the games children play (Lever, 1976). These questions reflect and reinforce separate gendered spheres within the institution of sport.

Other research on sport and gender focused on participation differences as a way of documenting and explaining patterns of gender inequality. Patterns of gender inequality within sport have been linked to sex roles among Canadian youth (Smith, 1979a) and the discouragement of girls and women’s participation in sport based on essentialist assumptions (Kleiber and Hemmer, 1981). Participation patterns have also been examined over the life course – for instance, according to Vaughter and colleagues

(1994), men who played team sports as boys are more likely than women who played team sports to continue their involvement into adulthood.

The focus on the concept of sex roles to examine and understand sex differences in sport is harmful because it perpetuates dominant gender stereotypes and reproduces patriarchal ideology (Hall, 1988). Sex difference research dichotomizes and simplifies gender and sport issues, categorizing and reducing gendered practices to biological sex differences, and reinforces the view that all women are similar to each other and different from men. As I will explore in the next few sections, this approach to sport and gender ignores gender systems, gender ideologies and gendered power relations, and in doing so, does not problematize social structures or power relations.

2.1.1 Feminism, Gender, and Sport

Feminist research on sport emerged in the 1970s as sociologists recognized that sport is a gendered institution. There are several feminist approaches to sport, but generally the goal of feminist analysis is to understand sport as a gendered activity and institution (Birrell, 2000). While marginalized by sociology and mainstream sport research (Messner, 1988), liberal feminist approaches to sport coincided with second wave liberal feminism (Scraton and Flintoff, 2013). Early work on gender and sport provided a critique of the “malestream” – the term used to describe the dominance of male sport sociologists who were conducting research from the point of view of men with no regard for gender relations (Scraton and Flintoff, 2013). Liberal feminist research focuses on women and sport, making women’s sport visible and challenging male dominance and male power in sport (Hall, 1996; Scraton and Flintoff, 2013).

A key contribution of liberal feminism is the documentation of distributive inequalities between women’s and men’s sport, both as athletes and decision makers. In golf for instance, Crosset (1995) identified discriminatory practices in the UK that restrict women’s access to the club to one day a week. There are also fewer female coaches; the underrepresentation of women is linked to both differential coaching and leadership

opportunities for women, and the lack of power women hold (Knoppers, 1994). This is an example of how liberal feminist research was more likely to make visible power relations and systemic inequalities rather than biology as contributors of gendered sports relations.

Despite attention to social systems of inequality, liberal feminist research relies on socialization as the dominant explanation for gender inequalities (Oglesby, 1978; Greendorfer, 1993). Researchers argue that key institutions including the family, the school, the education system, and the media taught girls/women and boys/men to engage in sports differently. For example, they argue that physical education teachers have clear ideas about 'appropriate' activities and behaviours based on notions of acceptable femininity and masculinity. This supports the socialization of girls and boys into appropriately feminine and masculine sports (Scraton, 1992).

On the one hand, these early feminist critiques are valuable as they reject biological explanations for women's 'subordination' in sport. They document distributive inequalities between women's and men's sport, which highlights the need for women in sport as participants and decision-makers (Scraton and Flintoff, 2013). On the other hand, the continued focus on socialization is problematic because it implies that 'women' is a homogenous group, ignoring differences between and among women, and similarities between women and men. The liberal feminist approach to sport also does not question or challenge sporting practices and organizations. Liberal feminism defines women and their world as the problem that requires change rather than sport as an institution. There is no challenge to the sporting practices that produce and sustain broader gender power relations and inequalities (Birrell, 2000; Scraton and Flintoff, 2013).

In the 1960s and 1970s, radical feminism developed in response to the shortfalls of liberal feminism. Radical feminists were interested in the power men maintain over women within as well as through sport (Birrell 2000; Scraton and Flintoff, 2013). The goal of radical feminism was not to push for women's equal access to sport; radical feminism called for the dismantling of sport so that a feminist alternative could be constructed (Birrell, 2000).

A feminist alternative involves establishing sporting spaces and practices for women outside the control of patriarchy (Birrell, 2000). Leagues organized on feminist principles can be both physically and sexually liberating for women. Softball leagues organized by and for lesbians for instance, provide opportunities for the open celebration of female sexuality and physicality (Lenskyj, 1994). Women have reported many issues with mainstream sport including an overemphasis on winning, elitism of skill, and the hierarchy of authority. Exclusion constructed on sexism, classism, ageism, sizism, racism, and heteronormativity, the ethic of endangerment, and the belittling of opponents have also been reported by women as issues with sport. Feminist alternatives have been found to offer collective, supportive, inclusive sport opportunities infused with an ethic of care (Birrell and Richter, 1987).

Sport can also be constructed into a feminist space. This includes female rugby leagues where through song, women celebrate lesbianism and female sexuality, ultimately challenging and disrupting heterosexist ideology that dominates rugby culture (Wheatly, 1994). Haravon (1995) suggests that aerobics can also be a feminist space because aerobics is empowering for women. This is because it provides an opportunity for women to experience their bodies as powerful, strong, and free from male dominance.

Radical feminists also improved the visibility of women's objectification in sport. This includes the expectation of female athletes to conform to an acceptable femininity and appear "heterosexy" through their clothing and hair (Lenskyj, 1994). The media also objectifies female athletes with a focus on women's appearance, sexuality, domestic role, and motherhood (Pirinen, 1997; Wright and Clarke, 1999). Women are further objectified through the display of women at male sporting events – cheerleaders in American football and ring girls in boxing (Scraton and Flintoff, 2013).

Radical feminists' work makes homophobia visible in sport. Because of the hostility towards any sign of "mannishness" among female athletes, lesbianism has been unspeakable in sport. For many lesbian women, mainstream sport is only a safe environment when they remain silent about their sexuality (Cahn, 1994). Lesbian athletes

deny and hide their sexuality (Cahn, 1994; Clarke, 1998) and ‘play’ heterosexual by visually identifying themselves as feminine and heterosexual – wearing short skirts, makeup, and ponytails (Griffin, 1994) in order to maintain a presence in sport. Deviation exposes lesbian athletes to scrutiny for being ‘manly.’

Radical feminists’ have also documented sexual violence in sport. This includes athletes’ experiences with derogatory comments, sexual abuse, and rape (Brackenridge and Kirby, 1997; Crosset, 2000; Brackenridge, 2001; Fasting et al, 2007), the sexual abuse of male and female youth by coaches (Brackenridge and Kirby, 1997), and off the field sexual assaults committed by male college athletes (Crosset et al, 1995, 1996). While a complex topic, it is argued that there is a high tolerance for sexual exploitation in sport. This tolerance is a product of the gender order and is not rooted in the ways in which sport is practiced (Brackenridge, 2001).

Radical feminists challenge sport and sport organizations as well as the gender order. This is important because it means that sport as it exists is not a given. Radical feminism encourages the reconstruction of sport that celebrates and encompasses values beyond traditional masculine aggressive and competitive sports (Birrell and Richter, 1987). While radical feminism challenges the institution of sport, it has essentialist and reductionist assumptions (Birrell, 2000). Radical feminism celebrates women’s values but in doing so, constructs femininity and being a woman as fixed, reducing women and their identity to their body and biology. Radical feminists also focus on gender as the primary category of oppression, often excluding other social hierarchies of inequality including class, race, sexuality, age, and ability (Birrell, 2000). Marxist feminist and socialist feminist approaches developed in an attempt to explore the complex dynamics of class and gender relations. Marxist feminism is grounded in Marxism and rests on the premise that oppression is economic (Birrell, 2000). In terms of gender, Marxist feminists argue that gender inequalities reflect and derive from capitalism, economic exploitation, and class (Scraton and Flintoff, 2013; Luxton, 2014).

While Marxist feminism offers insight into the dynamics of class and gender, women's oppression cannot simply be explained by class relations, or by men's power over women (radical feminism). Socialist feminism developed as a response where capitalism and patriarchy are both the subject of analysis (Birrel 2000; Scraton and Flintoff, 2013). When studied together, we can see how the commercialization of sport not only sustains capitalism, it also strengthens patriarchy. With the growth of professional leagues, more sporting facilities are devoted to male athletes. This provides an avenue for men to control women by systematically excluding women from professional sport by limiting women's access to facilities (Bray, 1983).

Socialist feminism illuminates women's material conditions. In sport, it is argued, women serve men's and children's sport. For instance, women's domestic labour and childcare facilitates the participation of their husbands and children in sport. Examples include transporting children to sporting events, providing and serving refreshments at male sporting events, and washing sports clothing and equipment (Thompson, 1999). Women's supporting activities in sport are often done at the expense of their own leisure and sporting activities (Scraton and Flintoff, 2013).

With the development of these approaches, black feminists challenged dominant white feminist theorizing, arguing that feminism has excluded and made invisible black women and their experiences (Hill Collins, 1991; hooks, 1981, 1984, 1989). Hill Collins (1991) was among the first to argue that sites of oppression for racialized women may be different compared to white women (Hill Collins, 1991). By focusing only on gendered power relations in sport, white feminism neglects to problematize racial power and ignores how racial power is central to the production of white feminist theories and sport knowledge (Scraton and Flintoff, 2013).

Almost three decades ago Birrell (1990) reported that most sport research on black women has been categorical, emphasizing differences based solely on racial categories. Research has also been distributive and additive where the focus is on statistics of unequal opportunity, access, and resources (Scraton, 2001; Ratna 2017; See Eitzen and

Furst, 1989). While there was some recognition of the need for research on black female athletes, research continues to be limited. Ratna (2017) contends that sport research continues “to falsify the bodily characteristics and ethnic cultural sensibilities of Black women” (pp. 154). In other words, research on racialized women removes the athletes from their realities, and portrays the sportswoman as ‘natural,’ ‘mannish’ athletes (Ratna, 2017; See Van Ingen, 2013).

Raval (1989) provides one of the first critiques of sport from the position of a South Asian woman. Raval’s work was in response to sport research on South Asian women by white male academics who employed Eurocentric models of research and definitions which pathologizes South Asian culture and universalizes the South Asian woman. Other research includes Paraschak’s (1997) work on Aboriginal peoples in Canada and how Euro-Canadian sporting practices are adopted, modified, or rejected by indigenous athletes; and Scraton and colleague’s (2005) examination of the experiences of black women and Indian Hindu women in English football leagues. As recent as 2017, there continues to be an urgent need for researchers to engage with other ways of experiencing and knowing sport (Ratna, 2017). Current studies are not only a starting point for future research, they also challenge past feminist research that universalized women (and men) and their experiences.

Poststructuralism represents another shift in the feminist analysis of sport where particular attention is paid to sport narratives. This includes Birrell and Cole’s (1990) examination of newspaper reports about Renee Richards, a transgender woman who played women’s professional tennis between 1976 and 1981; and Disch and Kane’s (1996) examination of the portrayal of sport reporter Lisa Olson who was sexually harassed in the locker room of the New England Patriots football team. Both studies conclude that sport media narratives celebrate masculinity and produce gender differences.

There is also a focus on the Foucauldian notion of power and the sporting body as disciplined. We see this in Markula’s (1995) work which examined aerobics as a site for

disciplining the female body and in Bordo's (2003) examination of the exercise and diet industry which glamorizes self-discipline and defines fat as a symbol of laziness, a lack of discipline, and a lack of will-power. Poststructuralists also examine how sport is a site for the deconstruction of femininity. In sports that are traditionally men's sports, women's participation challenges what is considered feminine and the maleness of such sports. This includes rugby (Howe, 2001), ice hockey (Theberge, 2003), and boxing (Halbert, 1997) which involves female athletes being aggressive, forceful, and violent. Women's entrance into these sports threatens the masculine institution of sport but also has been found to be empowering for female athletes (Theberge, 2003).

Queer theory has also been used by feminist sports scholars to examine resistance and challenges to traditional gender relations and heteronormative discourse. In women's rugby (Broad, 2001) and women's football in the United Kingdom (Caudwell, 2002), sport is a space where multiple sexualities are expressed, and the masculinity/femininity dichotomy is deconstructed. Queer theory is also used by Ravel and Rail (2006) in their research on young Francophone women from Montreal, Quebec, competing in team sports. They found that the athletes positioned themselves as 'gaie' rather than lesbian or queer. The participants emphasized an alternative discourse that tends to be positive and feminine.

Both poststructuralism and queer theory have been criticized for their tendency to be relativistic and overemphasize difference. The risk is that research could ignore women's (and men's) shared gendered experiences (Scruton and Flintoff, 2013). Poststructuralism has been criticized for interpretations that are distanced from everyday realities (Dworkin and Messner, 1999). We see this in particular with the experiences of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and intersex athletes who, through their involvement in sport, challenge gender relations while also being labelled as deviant. For example, when gender is 'ambiguous,' sport authorities submit athletes to humiliating and inappropriate tests to categorize them (Scruton and Flintoff, 2013). While theoretical debates in

academia continue, many of these strides are not reflected in sport organizations as the complexities of gender are often completely ignored.

2.1.2 Masculinities, Feminism, and Sport

In addition to these shifts and changes in feminist research on sport, there are a few important developments that moved feminist research towards an analysis of masculinities. With second wave feminism came studies about men's sport. This included Naison's (1972) reflection on men's sport which argued that sport is important for the maintenance of capitalism, and Farrell's (1975) work that connected masculinity, sexism, and male violence in professional football. Early reflections also included Sabo and Runfola's (1980) collection of work on men and sport. The purpose of this collection was to understand how "sports shape undesirable elements of the male role and perpetuate sexist institutions and values" (pp. xvi). As some of the first sociological analysis of men's sport, these early works were journalistic and included personal critiques of sport. They were also ahistorical, treated 'men' as a universal category, relied on essentialist assumptions, and drew on sex role theory (Messner, 2005).

In the 1980s, the foundation was laid for the development of the study of men and sport. This included the sophisticated research by feminist scholars studying women and sport that I discussed earlier. It also included a shift in feminist research which moved from research studying "women in sport" to studying "gender and sport" (Birrell, 2000; Scraton and Flintoff, 2013). This meant that feminist research was no longer focused only on women's experiences; rather, feminism critically looked at gender relations. Don Sabo's (1985) early work on sport also laid the foundation for what feminist research on men and sport could look like. This included questions about boys' socialization through sport, competition and success, emotions, aggression, violence, and injury. Over the next decade, Sabo and others took up many of his questions and topics.

A shift in feminist thought was also significant in the development of masculinities research in sport. A critical feminist approach emerged out of the historical developments

of feminist research and fuses critical theory with key elements from liberal feminism, radical feminism, and black feminism. With this shift came the recognition that gender oppression and inequality along with race, class, and other statuses, were part of a complex system of oppression and domination (Hattery, 2010). When research does not consider systems beyond gender or when gender is additive, there is a tendency to be simplistic and reductionist (Messner and Sabo, 1990). Critical feminism is concerned with power and how power shapes and is shaped by gender. When applied to sport, there is a focus on how gender relations are reproduced by, transformed through, and resisted in sport (Birrell, 2000). We are able to examine sport as a gendered institution, to examine how gendered power shapes sport, and how the construction of masculinity and femininity influence athletes, coaches, and audiences (Hattery, 2010). The feminist approach to research on men, masculinities, and sport allows for the examination of sport as a gendered institution that both costs and benefits men (Messner and Sabo, 1990).

What emerged as well from this shift in feminist theory was Raewyn Connell's theorization of masculinities (Connell, 1985, 1987). In the late 1980s, Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity and multiple masculinities developed as a reaction to dominant gender theory including theories about gender that were based on sex roles and beliefs about essentialism, as well as radical and socialist feminist theory. For social constructionist research on masculinity, Connell's concepts allowed for the examination of gender construction and resistance. Connell's concepts offered scholars a social theory of gender that included conceptual tools to examine and understand gender relations and dynamics in sport (Connell, 1987, 2005). Connell's concepts, notably the concept of hegemonic masculinity, allowed feminist research on men to: first, explore male privilege in sport and identify the ways through which the construction and reproduction of gender relations benefit men inside and outside of sport; second, to explore how men are constrained by an adherence to narrow definitions of masculinity; and third, provided tools to examine inequalities and differences between men and masculinities (Messner, 1992; Scraton and Flintoff, 2013).

This dissertation is informed by R.W. Connell's theorization of masculinities, critical feminism, and social constructionism. Over the next few sections, I will outline Connell's concepts.

2.2 Hegemonic Masculinity and the Gender Order

As a relational approach to the study of gender and masculinities, the concept of hegemonic masculinity has been crucial in studying and understanding masculinities worldwide, including the topic of sport. This is because the concept of hegemonic masculinity allows for the study of how unequal gender relations are legitimated between women and men, between masculinities and femininities, and among men and masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2018).

2.2.1 Gender and Power

For Connell (1987), as I will discuss in more detail when I discuss social constructionism, gender occurs through everyday interactions, but those interactions are influenced and constrained by social structures. Thus, Connell argues that gender is a social structure (Connell, 1987; Connell and Pearse, 2015). The current Western gender order and gender relations are sustained and maintained through gendered power relations (Connell, 1987). Within society, gender intersects and interacts with other social structures including race, class, sexuality, age, and nationality (Connell, 2018).

According to Connell (1987), power is often individualized and because of this, it is sometimes difficult to understand outside of individual actions. However, individual actions of power – for instance, forbidding a daughter to marry, making homosexuality a crime, refusing a loan because of one's race – are rooted in power inequalities and ideologies (Connell, 1987). Connell (1987) argues that power relations function as a social structure. This is because power relations constrain and enable social practice. For instance, power relations (i.e. social power) shapes the ability to impose definitions on situations or events, and to formulate labels or ideals (for instance, cultural definitions of

women as weak). Power relations also create and sustain inequalities within the workplace, household, and other social institutions.

The main axis of the gendered power structure is masculinity (Connell, 1987). In the Western gender order, this includes the subordination of women and the dominance of men – also termed patriarchy (Connell, 2018). The dominant power relations of men are sustained through the hierarchies and work-forces of institutionalized violence (military, police, prison systems); the hierarchy and labour force of heavy industry (steel, oil companies) and the hierarchy of higher technology industry (computers); the planning and control of the state; and working class ideology that emphasize physical toughness and men's association with machinery (Connell, 1987). Power relations also exist among men. As I will discuss in the next section, the hierarchy includes hegemonic, complicit, subordinated, and marginalized masculinities. Thus, gender relations and power relations serve and reflect the dominance of a group whose interests are served and sustained by a particular gender order (Connell, 1987).

2.2.2 Hegemonic Masculinity and Multiple Masculinities

Connell (1987, 2005) developed a model of multiple masculinities in a patriarchal gender order. This model recognizes a relational ordering and hierarchy of femininities and masculinities. The model calls attention to the socially dominant gendered pattern in Western society – hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) – and pays particular attention to the existence of multiple masculinities. Multiple masculinities exist in a hierarchy whereby some expressions of masculinity are more socially honoured, and others are socially dishonoured (Connell, 2002).

Connell (2005) argues that there are four main patterns of masculinity in the current Western gender order – hegemonic, complicit, subordinate, and marginalized. Connell's (2005) concept of hegemonic masculinity and her model of multiple masculinities are theoretical constructs that can be used as analytic tools; masculinities are therefore not 'things' that exist. Rather, the concepts are tools that can be used to identify messages,

attitudes, ideals, and practices among men and within society that sustain, reproduce, and create gender inequality and the current gender order.

While there are various patterns of masculinities, these are not fixed categories, fixed character types, or fixed identities. Masculinities are multiple in and of themselves and intersect with class and race as well as sexuality in various ways. For instance, there are multiple subordinated and marginalized masculinities that may depend on local context, and structured relations among masculinities (Connell, 2002; Connell, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Men can adopt multiple meanings of masculinity according to their needs and the context – they can adopt hegemonic masculinity when desirable and can distance themselves in other moments. This means that masculinity is context specific and thus it can mean different things depending on the cultural, social, and historical context (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Masculinity then is not about a certain type of man; rather, it is the way in which men position themselves to the gender order through social practices (Messerschmidt, 2018).

2.2.2.1 Hegemonic

The concept of ‘hegemony’ is derived from Antonio Gramsci’s (1971) analysis of class relations. Gramsci’s (1971) ‘hegemony’ refers to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims as well as maintains a leading position in society. Hegemony is attained, legitimated, and sustained through consensus from lower, subordinate, less dominant groups. Although it is possible to maintain hegemony through force, it is sustained through the complicity and acceptance of one’s position as non-hegemonic in society.

‘Hegemonic masculinity’ is the pattern of practice – things done, not just an identity or set of role expectations – that allow men’s continued dominance over women and the dominance of some men over other men (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity is a concept that represents the socially dominant and idealized form of masculinity at a given time and place, that subordinates both other forms of masculine expression, as well as women and the expressions of femininity (Courtenay, 2000a;

Connell, 2005). This means that hegemonic masculinity is different depending on the social context (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) – for instance, what is idealized in business may be different than what is idealized in sport or other social institutions. Within the concept of hegemonic masculinity, ‘hegemony’ refers to social dominance that is achieved through contests of power in the organization of cultural processes and everyday life (Connell, 1987). While this dominance can be gained through brute force and violence, it is not necessarily physically violent; rather, hegemonic masculinity’s dominance is achieved through institutions, culture, and persuasion (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

Hegemonic masculinity is highly visible (Connell, 2002) and is embedded in mass media content, social structures, social policies, religious doctrine, and so forth. Rather than direct control and guidelines, hegemonic masculinity works through cultural consent, institutionalization, discursive dominance, and the delegitimization of alternative forms of masculine expression (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

Gender is always relational, meaning that the patterns of masculinity are socially defined in relation to the gender order and to other masculinities and femininities (Connell, 2002). As such, hegemonic masculinity has no meaning outside the relationship to femininity and other masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2018). Hegemonic masculinity requires that men position themselves in relation to it, and that women and femininity are positioned as contradictory and opposite of men and masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). The relationality of gender power and practice legitimizes patriarchy and constructs the dominant position of men and the subordination of women (Connell, 2005).

Gender relations are also historical, so while hegemonic masculinity may exist in one way today, hegemonic masculinity of the past and that of the future are subject to change (Connell, 2018). Hegemonic masculinity thus exists in specific historical, social, political, economic, and geographical circumstances that are open to change as older forms of masculinity may be displaced by new ones. The dominance of any form of

masculinity can be and has been challenged by women, non-hegemonic men, and non-binary individuals (Connell, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

2.2.2.2 Complicit Masculinities

Within the gender hierarchy, a key form of masculinity is that of complicit masculinity. Connell (2005) argues that while few men enact hegemonic masculinity, the majority of men benefit from its institutionalization and gain from the subordination of women. Complicit masculinity has connections to hegemonic and includes men who do not fit all aspects of hegemonic masculinity. While these men do not uphold all aspects of hegemonic masculinity, they do not challenge it either (Connell, 2005). In not challenging the gender hierarchy, they benefit from the gender order.

Connell (2018) argues that complicit masculinities are not simply “slacker” versions of hegemonic masculinity. Rather, these kinds of masculinities benefit from patriarchy, but are not the “frontline troops of patriarchy” – they are the sport fan rather than the athlete (Connell, 2018, pp. 11). Complicit masculinity may include men who draw on patriarchal benefits, but who respect their mothers and wives, are never violent towards women, share housework, bring home a wage, but may also believe that feminists are “bra-burning extremists” (Connell, 2018, pp. 11).

2.2.2.3 Subordinate Masculinities

Within the gender order, there are also relations of dominance and subordination between groups of men (Connell, 2005). Connell (1987) argues that there is not a clear definition of subordinated masculinities because gender relations are related to context in a given time and place. In contemporary society, a key form of subordinated masculinities includes the subordination of homosexual men. Hegemonic masculinity is associated with heterosexuality, the sexual conquest of women, and the institution of marriage (Connell, 1987). The subordination of homosexual men is much more than the stigmatization of the gay identity as it includes material experiences and practices – political and cultural exclusion; cultural abuse; legal and street violence (ranging from

harassment and intimidation to murder); economic discrimination; and personal boycotts (Connell, 2005). These examples of oppression position gay men in relation to hegemonic masculinity at the bottom of the gender hierarchy among men. That is because what is hegemonic within a patriarchal ideology is opposite of what is considered 'gayness' – this includes a range of items including personality, tastes, and the association of homosexuality with femininity (Connell, 2005).

2.2.2.4 Marginalized Masculinities

Marginalized masculinity is a form of masculinity that specifically intersects with other structures including race and class. Black masculinity for instance is a marginalized masculinity and play an important symbolic role in the construction of white manhood. At the same time, hegemonic masculinity sustains the institutional, social, economic, and political oppression of black men which has framed the construction of masculinities in black communities (Connell, 2005).

Some research has focused on the agency of subordinated and marginalized groups. For instance, protest masculinity has been found within working class settings and among racially and ethnically marginalized men. Such a form of masculinity embodies characteristics of hegemonic masculinity which gives these men power at the local and community level, but their power is limited by their lack of economic resources and institutional power (Poynting, Noble, and Tibar, 2003). Other research has found that in some localized communities, non-hegemonic patterns of masculinity are incorporated into the hegemony rather than actively oppressed. Incorporation and oppression can occur simultaneously in the same gendered system. For instance, homosexual men may have experiences ranging from violence to tolerance and even political representation and cultural celebration (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

Not all harmful masculinities are necessarily hegemonic (Hearn, 2004; Connell, 2005; Hearn et al, 2012). Some forms of exaggerated and destructive masculinities have been found to develop among socially marginalized men. Referred to by some researchers as

“hypermasculinity” (Herek, 1987), these forms of masculinity are not separate from hegemonic masculinity as they emerge out of the hierarchy of masculinities. They also emerge out of some men’s inability to meet hegemonic ideals and performances. Hypermasculinity is the use of extreme forms of violence, and in some cases, is connected to lower-status men’s positions and power (Jewkes et al, 2015). Destructive and harmful masculinities reflect poverty, power, regional cultures, and neighbourhoods, and have been found among urban men where power, force, and violence are emphasized and used to obtain status (Jewkes et al, 2015). Research suggests that the origins of this kind of masculinity are rooted in adversity, and the experience of trauma and violence during childhood (Fulu et al, 2013).

2.2.2.5 Masculinities and Femininities

The construction of masculinities also occurs in relation to the construction of femininity (Connell, 1987). Femininity is the subordination of women to men that provides the basis for differentiation between females and males (Connell, 1987). ‘Emphasized femininity’ is one form of femininity and it is defined around compliance with women’s subordination and is structured around accommodating the desires and interests of men (Connell, 1987). Like the multiplicity of masculinities, many femininities exist that represent various combinations of compliance, co-operation, and resistance (Connell, 1987).

In summary, the concept of hegemonic masculinity is abstract and theoretical in nature. Hegemonic masculinity and multiple masculinities provide a framework and an analytic tool for examining multiple masculinities, gender relations, and the experiences of women and men (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). For this research, hegemonic masculinity as a concept provides a way to approach, understand, and make sense of gender politics and gender relations in society.

2.3 Social Constructionism

My research is also guided by social constructionism, which is a theory of knowledge that highlights the dynamics of social reality and the processes by which reality is constructed and given meaning (Gubrium and Holstein, 2008). “Social constructionism” as a concept, was first introduced by Berger and Luckmann ([1966] 1991). They contended that while sociology was interested in ‘reality’ and ‘knowledge,’ sociologists must recognize that the reality and knowledge of one individual is different from others. Further, sociologists should not concern themselves with whether such reality or knowledge is invalid or valid – rather, sociologists should focus on analyzing how knowledge is constructed as reality (Berger and Luckmann [1966] 1991; Hacking, 2000; Hibberd, 2005).

The focus of doing social constructionist work is to ‘raise consciousness’ and knowledge regarding the social world (Hacking, 2000). Social constructionism calls for the examination of what and how ‘truths’ are produced. In other words, social constructionism allows for an understanding of how dominant meanings become accepted as natural and inevitable in society (Hacking 2000; Atkinson and Gregory, 2008). In striving to do this, social constructionism rejects essentialist understandings of social phenomena as natural, inevitable, and simply biologically determined (DeLamater and Hyde, 1998). Through a social constructionist lens, researchers critically examine taken-for-granted knowledge. This includes a critical look at our own assumptions, views, and observations as researchers. Social constructionism challenges the view that research in and of itself is objective and unbiased observations of the world (Burr, 2016).

From a social constructionist perspective, knowledge and social reality are historically and culturally specific (Weinburg, 2014; Burr, 2016). This means that ways of knowing and ‘truths’ are historically and culturally relative. While social constructionism understands social phenomena as socially constructed, social constructionism does not view social phenomena as non-existent or without consequence (Weinberg, 2014). Rather, truths and knowledge influence and are influenced by social inequalities and the

lived experiences of people. With a social constructionist lens, I will examine the injury discourse, and in doing so, examine how and what knowledge is constructed in relation to health, masculinity, and men's hockey.

3.4.1. The Social Construction of Gender

The perspective that gender is socially constructed includes the premise that gender is an organizing principle of our social world that divides individuals into two categories – women and men. These categories are expected and understood to be different, and are socially, politically, and economically treated differently (Lorber, 2008). The social constructionist view of gender argues that gender is constructed at both the individual and structural levels of society. As a social structure, gender influences and informs gendered behaviours, perspectives, and beliefs (Lorber, 2008).

In our social world, we are gendered because we “do gender” (West and Zimmerman, 1987). At the individual level, gender is an on-going interactional process whereby individuals construct gender through interactions with others (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Lorber, 2000, 2008). People engage in everyday activities – this includes conversations with others, economic behaviour, housework – and are held accountable in terms of their presumed ‘sex category’ as woman or man (Connell and Pearse, 2015). That is, individuals create their social realities as well as their identities and their gender through their interactions with others – their friends, family members, and colleagues. These gendered identities are constructed for themselves and for those around them (Lorber, 2000, 2008). Girls and boys are not simply blank slates that are “socialized” – rather, they are active participants in the construction and reconstruction of gender (Courtenay, 2000b).

While we *do* gender, we are not simply free to *do* it however we like. Our gender practices are powerfully influenced, constrained, and shaped by the gender order (Connell and Pearse, 2015). The gender arrangements of Western society are a social structure. This means that gender is not merely something done by individuals and made and re-made in everyday life (Connell and Pearse, 2015); gender is a social system that

structures social practice as it encourages, influences, restricts, and constrains gendered beliefs, actions, and behaviours (Risman and Davis, 2013; Connell, 2018). It also defines possibilities for actions, beliefs, and performances, and structures and defines the consequences for actions and inaction (Connell and Pearse, 2015).

Gender structures and is built into the major social institutions and organizations of society. This includes the economy, ideology, and the family (Lorber, 1994, 2013). Gender expectations and definitions exist in the representations and constructions of women and men in media, through religion, education, and political institutions (Lorber, 1993; Connell, 2005). These institutions reinforce gender ideals and expectations in society, and ensure that what is permitted, demanded, and off limits for women and men is well-known and followed (Lorber, 1993). The result of such a system is a gendered social order and gendered institutions that reproduces, maintains, and legitimates gender inequality between women and men (Lorber, 2013; Risman and Davis, 2013).

Gender intersects and interacts with race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, age, and other social categories. Gender also constantly interacts with nationality and geographic position in the world order (Lorber and Farrell, 1991; West and Fenstermaker, 1995; Connell, 2005, 2018). To understand gender then, we must constantly go beyond gender. While the gender order and gender relations are a major component of Western society and social inequality, we cannot understand gender in isolation (Connell, 2018).

It would be incorrect to assume that the gender structure and the gender order are both immutable (Lorber, 2008). On the contrary; gender is a historical structure that is contested. The structure of gender has been altered by changes in social forces and patterns. For instance, modernization has altered gender structure including new technologies, mass communication, secularism, and urban life (Connell and Pearse, 2015). Gender can also be challenged in the daily lives of individuals – anatomically male bodies can take up traits that are deemed ‘feminine;’ anatomically female bodies can take up traits that are deemed ‘masculine;’ or individuals can reject such notions and identities partially or entirely. The gender order can also be challenged through social

action – the Women’s Movement, Gay liberation movements, and social action focused on violence against women are a few examples. While gender encourages, restricts, and constrains, gender can be and has been resisted (Connell, 2002; Connell and Pearse, 2015).

Social constructionism allows for the study of the ways in which gender as a structure influences and constrains everyday relations, experiences, and cultural meanings, and the ways in which institutions are gendered (Glenn, 1998; Lorber, 2008). It also allows for the examination of how social structures – for instance, work organizations, the education system, the family – become gendered through the use of gendered discourse, symbols, and images, and the allocation of resources, control, and power along gender lines (Glenn, 1998). With this said, gendered structures are not simply gendered because gender inequalities accumulate within institutions – social structures become gendered because they organize the gender order (Lorber, 2008).

2.3.1 The Social Construction of Gender, Health, and Illness

Social constructionism views health and illness as socially constructed and socially experienced. Physiological experiences of health and illness are influenced by cultural values, experienced through interactions with others, and influenced by dominant beliefs regarding health and illness. Illness is constructed in relation to diagnosis, treatment, moral and cultural values, socially appropriate and acceptable illness behaviour, and stigmatized social statuses (Lorber and Moore, 2002). Thus, the ways in which individuals do health and understand their health are related to dominant cultural meanings of health and illness (Courtenay, 2000a; Conrad and Barker, 2010).

As a theoretical framework, both feminism and social constructionism allow for the examination of how health is gendered. In interactions with other individuals, the activities that women and men engage in are a form of gender currency that continuously demonstrates one’s gender and the social conventions of gender (Courtenay, 2000a). Health behaviours and beliefs are a tool for demonstrating gender (Crawford, 1995) and

may also be a way in which women and men differentiate themselves from others in the gender order (Messerschmidt, 1993).

Men's health practices and beliefs are means of demonstrating masculinity, and masculine ideals. This includes the denial of pain and the suppression of health needs. Additionally, the denial of weakness or vulnerability, the appearance of being strong and robust, the dismissal of needing help, physical and emotional control, and the display of physical dominance and aggressive behaviour are health related behaviours and beliefs that are used to demonstrate hegemonic masculinity (Courtenay, 2000a). Men also demonstrate masculine ideals when they embrace risk and participate in dangerous activities. This includes dangerously driving or performing risks in sports. In these ways, masculinities are constructed against positive health beliefs and behaviours. These constructions in particular preserve the existing power structures and the privileges enjoyed by Western white men (Courtenay, 2000a).

Health practices also demonstrate men's superiority to women and femininity, and particular men's superiority over other men. Rejecting what is constructed and believed to be feminine is crucial in demonstrating hegemonic masculinity. With health, men and boys who attempt to engage in 'feminine' health norms are subordinated and understood as 'sissies' and 'wimps' (Courtenay, 2000a). Not accessing or utilizing health care (O'Brien, et al 2005), denying and disregarding physical discomfort, and participating in dangerous activities are all means of demonstrating the difference between women and men, and femininity and masculinity. Health actions and behaviours are gendered social acts and "the doing of health is a form of doing gender" (Saltonstall, 1993, p. 12).

Gendered health behaviours are not static. Rather, men and boy's health behaviours and beliefs are influenced by their social position in society. This includes race, class, sexuality, age, and nationality (Courtenay, 2000a). Boys and men also may enact masculinity and health differently in different contexts. For instance, with sports, male athletes may ignore pain and injury to demonstrate hegemonic masculinity, while at

parties, they may excessively drink to achieve the same masculine ideals (Messerschmidt, 1993).

Social institutions and social structure also constrain, define, and influence gender and health construction. These structures – media, the health care system, the government, the military, corporations, education system, sports – help to construct and sustain gendered health beliefs and behaviours. For instance, on television, alcohol consumption, smoking, and violence are linked to men and manhood, while dieting and taking care of one's health are portrayed as feminine activities done by women (Courtenay, 2000b; Stibbe, 2004).

Important to the discussion of gender and health is a discussion of biology. While sociology does not always deal with the biological (Jackson and Scott, 2001; Rieker, Bird, and Lang, 2010), it is important to recognize that gender is embodied within the body. The physical body is central to cultural definitions of gender. Masculine gender, while related to particular characteristics, is related to certain postures and ways of moving, and certain muscular shapes and tensions (Connell, 2005).

The use of a feminist lens and social constructionism allows for the recognition that biology itself is constructed as gendered. This means that understandings of biology are intertwined with dominant cultural and social definitions of femininity and masculinity. In this sense, biological sex differences exist but the ways in which they matter in society are related to the social definitions and meanings of those differences (Lorber and Moore, 2002). While biology and the social interact in complex ways (Rieker, Bird, and Lang, 2010), feminism and social constructionism allow for the examination of meaning construction in relation to biology, gender, and health.

2.3.2 Defining Sport Injuries

In the sociological study of injury, injuries are defined in relation to the physiology and the social context in which they are experienced. While not always visible, physical injury is defined as damage to the physical body caused by mechanical stress to which

the body cannot adapt (Howe, 2004). It includes the breakdown of the structure of the body which may affect or limit the body's abilities and functions. Injury may be restrictive, but it does not necessarily suspend the bodies' functionality (Spencer, 2012). Pain is present when injuries occur and is defined as a sensory experience. Depending on the injury and the healing process, the pain that comes with injury can be acute or chronic (Howe, 2004). Injuries, including those that occur in sport, can occur because of the environment in which we play and live. Other injuries occur when initial damage or minor injuries are ignored and participating in activities that lead to further injuries (Howe, 2004).

Injuries must both be understood in relation to the social context in which they are experienced and expressed. This means recognizing how injuries are both physical and social experiences. How an individual understands their injury is influenced by the meaning others, such as medical professionals, attribute to it (Kotarba, 1983). The meaning of sport injuries is influenced by medical professionals, teammates, and coaches (Howe, 2004).

Athletes themselves may not understand or define injuries as the above sociological definitions. Rather, athletes have been found to define injuries based on the sport they play or the level of play (for instance, professional versus amateur). Injuries may also affect athlete's ability to play particular sports in different ways. For example, a shoulder injury may not affect whether a runner can run, but it would affect whether a goalie can play ice hockey (Howe, 2004). Male athletes have been found to define and understand pain and injury as distinct experiences. Pain is understood as something that one could play with and includes "mostly soreness and aches" (Young et al, 1994: pp. 184). Injury on the other hand is unbearable suffering that causes unplayable body conditions. In this sense, pain is understood as something you can play with, and injuries are something you cannot (Young et al, 1994).

Pain has also been defined by male athletes positively. Bodybuilders for example convert pain into pleasure. This occurs as bodybuilders work to 'build' a muscular body, and pain

exemplifies their work and their desires to meet particular criteria (Klein, 1993). In rugby, pain from training is understood to add to and enhance player performance. Between matches and during the off-season, pain caused from training is believed to signal that male athletes are pushing their bodies (Howe, 2004). Positive pain here is understood as constructive.

While male athletes' definitions differ from the sociological definition of injury, understanding the definitions of athletes provides insight into dominant sporting culture and norms regarding sport injuries. This includes how athletes define and understand injuries in relation to the context of sport and hegemonic masculinity.

2.4 Conclusion

This research, its methodologies, and analyses are informed by feminism and social constructionism. In particular, this research is informed by Connell's (2005) hegemonic masculinities approach to the gender order. As a study on men and masculinities, this theory allows me to understand how hegemonic masculinity is upheld, reconstructed, sustained, and challenged within and through the gendered institution of sport. Along with this gender focus, social constructionism allows for the examination of truth construction and understanding how truths come to be understood as natural and fixed.

The theoretical combination of critical feminism and social constructionism moves the focus away from the nature of sport towards a critical analysis of sport. Sport is often understood as outside of society and based on pure competition. It is popularly believed to be free from ideologies regarding gender, race, class, sexuality, ability, and national identity (Messner, 1992). Sport is not free of ideology or inequality; the values as well as the structure of sport have always been intertwined with dominant norms and social values, social and political conflicts, and power relations related to gender, race, and class (Kidd, 1990; Messner, 1992).

Feminism and social constructionism thus allow me to analyze sport as a gendered institution. It is through sport and within sport that hegemonic masculinity is

continuously being created and legitimated (Messner, 1992). As a gendered institution, sport reproduces men's power and superiority over women. Sport also reproduces dominant men's (Western, white, heterosexual, middle- and upper-class men) superiority and dominance over marginalized and subordinated men – non-Western, non-white, non-heterosexual, working class and working poor men (Connell, 2005; Messner, 2005). Sport is more than a place for activity and play – it is a key institution for the construction and contest of gender.

And finally, critical feminism and social constructionism allow me to examine mediated messages regarding sport, men's health, and masculinity. While many individuals play sports, sports are mostly accessed through sport media. Newspapers in particular are a highly read source of information regarding sports and sports news (Coakley and Donnelly, 2009). Sport media constructs male athletes in relation to hegemonic masculinity – male athletes are presented as the ideal man, strong, brave, and physically dominant (Messner, 2013). Thus, critical feminism and social constructionism allow for the examination of how such ideals regarding gender and men's hockey injuries are constructed and sustained in Canadian popular newspapers. It is vital to examine what messages individuals have access to.

Consistent with my theoretical framework and methodology, the following research questions guided this research, its data collection, and analysis:

- How do popular Canadian daily newspapers construct NHL-associated injury?
- What ideals of masculinity, injury, and men's bodies are privileged within this discourse?
- What ideals of masculinity, injury, and men's bodies are resisted and challenged within this discourse?

Chapter 3

3 Literature Review

Most sport injury research is concentrated in disciplines outside of social science and sociology – this includes psychology, physiology, and biomechanics. These disciplines largely focus on answering the questions: “what causes sport injury?” “when do sport injuries occur?” and “where do sport injuries come from?” (Young, 2004a).

Physiologically, causal factors may include the movement of the body, as well as various stresses sport places on muscles, joints, and bones (Caine, C et al, 1996). Causal factors may include the technical requirements of the sport (Young, 2004a), the sporting environment, and equipment used by the injured athletes (Caine, C et al, 1996).

In sport medicine numerous volumes and articles of epidemiological research have been produced focusing on the causal links between sport and injuries (chronic, acute, and catastrophic), see for example Vinger and Hoerner 1981; Adams et al. 1987; Caine, D et al. 1996; Harris et al. 1996; Mueller et al. 1996; Tator, 2011; Frost and Chalmers, 2014. Extensive literature exists for most sports, detailing how injuries occur, why they occur, and prevention methods. For instance, epidemiological research on hockey in Canada reveals that sprains and contusions are the most frequently reported injuries while knees, shoulders, ankles, and hands are the area of the body most injured. Hockey injuries are often caused by collisions with opponents’ sticks, the boards, other opponents, or the goal post (Montelpare et al. 1996).

While this research is important, the sociological lens illuminates the social context of sport injuries, including the cultural milieu, systems of inequality, social structures, and social norms. This chapter outlines and explores literature relevant to the constructions of men’s hockey injuries in popular Canadian newspapers. Included here is a review of relevant research on injury in sport, media and sport, and masculinities research on men’s ice hockey. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an analytic review of relevant literature, integrate these overlapping but disparate bodies of literature, and identify key

gaps in our knowledge about the discourses that exist around men's hockey injuries, and masculinities. In some places, I offer a historical review of literature which provides a historical context and demonstrates how sport as an institution has changed or has remained the same over time. The literature discussed over the next sections demonstrates that sport injuries, including hockey injuries, are not just due to the nature of sport itself; sport injuries are influenced by how sport is planned, organized, structured, administered, managed, and practiced.

3.1 Sports and Injuries

Sociological research on sport and injuries has explored many topics. Over the next several sections, I will summarize and examine the contributions of this work to our understanding of sport, injury, and masculinities.

3.1.1 The Normalization of Risk, Pain and Injury in Sport

Research has explored how risk, pain, and injury are experienced and normalized in sport. While this research does not directly focus on masculinities, it reveals the dominant values and understandings regarding injury. In sports, risk taking, and the experiences of pain and injury are sanctioned because they are believed to demonstrate an athlete's commitment to the team, to their athletic identity, and to the values of sport (Frey, 1991; Hughes and Coakley, 1991; Curry and Strauss, 1994; Nixon, 1992, 1994b, 2004).

Sport occurs in a cultural context that normalizes as well as glorifies pain, injury, and risk. Nixon (1992, 1994a, 1994b, 1996, 2004) argues that within sport, there exists a "culture of risk" whereby athletes must accept, ignore, or minimize the risks of injury. Athletes must be willing to play hurt if they want to compete and succeed in sport. While playing hurt outside of sport may seem irrational, decisions to play hurt are understood as rational among athletes and those involved in sport (Nixon, 2004). Indeed, Nixon (2004) argues that in order for sport to exist at all, athletes must be willing to accept the risk of pain and injury.

Most athletes readily accept sport culture, including the culture of risk. Research confirms that values regarding risk and sport exist all levels (youth, Singer, 2004; high school and college, Messner, 1992; Curry and Strauss, 1994; Nixon, 1994, 1996, 2004; Young and White, 1995, 2000; and professional, Messner, 1990b; Young, 1993; Messner and Sabo, 1994). For example, Curry and Strauss (1994) presented a series of sport injury photos to a group of college students – non-athletes reacted with disbelief while athletes saw the images as relatable experiences; pain and injury are largely a normal aspect of sport.

Risks are simply ‘part of the game.’ Williams and Donnelly (1985) note that within the subculture of climbing, accepting risk is essential to the sport; climbing would not be climbing without it. This is similar among freestyle BMX athletes (Faure and Fitzpatrick, 2016), youth triathletes (Safai et al, 2016), and cyclists (Albert, 1999, 2004). Among these sports, risks and the occurrence of pain and injury are normal and expected. Risk and injury are bound up in athletic status and what it means to be an athlete.

Another example of the culture of risk is non-elite rugby. Liston et al (2006) interviewed non-elite rugby players at a British university. To their surprise, the culture of risk was very much present as the players understood risk, pain, and injury in the same way as professional male athletes – they showed a willingness and desire to continue to play with pain and injury. These male athletes, like professional athletes, accepted pain and injury as part of the game.

Thus, pain and injury are normalized and accepted in sport. Among athletes playing sport at various levels, pain and injury are understood to be part of the game. With this dominant belief, the risks associated with playing sport are unquestioned, and are viewed as normal. This research, however, does not discuss the culture of risk in relation to ideals of hegemonic masculinity.

3.1.2 Playing Hurt

Expanding the culture of risk research, many sport scholars have studied how athletes accept common sports values, resulting in them deciding to play hurt. Some sociologists suggest that the acceptance of pain and injury occurs through institutional relationships, socialization, and norms. Nixon (1992) notes that the willingness of athletes to risk injury is affected by “sportsnets” – an athlete’s sport networks. He argues that through one’s sport network, direct or indirect interactions with other members of a given sport subculture influence athlete’s values, norms, and beliefs. Athletes are exposed to “biased social support” that can impose particular messages regarding health (Nixon, 1994b). Such support, according to Nixon (1993b) operates “conspiratorially” and “collusively.” An example of this is Sam, an elite amateur male wrestler, who experienced injury in college wrestling. As Sam progressed and moved into higher levels of competition, he learned to define pain and injury as a routine aspect of wrestling (Curry, 1993). Curry (1993) argues that Sam learned to accept pain and injury as he interacted and observed other successful athletes who had endured pain and injury.

This approach to sport networks has been critiqued for being too simplified (Roderick, 1998) and lacking empirical support (Walk, 1997). Roderick (1998) argues that when we consider sport networks, we must be careful not to simplify these social interactions. When we look at sport subcultures, it is important to recognize that interactions between athletes, coaches, medical staff, and so on, are not one-way. All parties involved are constantly influencing each other. Roderick (1998) suggests that sportsnets should be situated outside of the subculture and in the community in which it exists.

Hughes and Coakley (1991) expand on the concept of sportsnets, arguing that the “sport ethic” – values that emphasizes sacrifice, challenging limits, seeking distinction, and taking risks – is significant to the acceptance of pain and injury. When athletes conform to, and for some, unquestionably accept the sport ethic, it influences their behaviours regarding injury by increasing their willingness to play hurt. Over-conformity to these norms produces athletes who are willing to play hurt and creates sanctions that vilifies

those who do not conform (Hughes and Coakley, 1991). Over-conformity exists within the “culture of risk” where athletes accept the possibility and probability of pain and injury (Nixon, 1992).

Researchers note that male athletes decide whether to play hurt based on their teammates and coaches perceived feelings toward injury. For example, both high school and college rugby players’ decision to play hurt are influenced by the rules of the game, the opinions and views of their coaches, medical staff, and teammates, and their status as an athlete (Fenton and Pitter, 2010). Playing hurt is a symbol of social distinction among elite college rugby players. Howe (2001) argues that when a player experiences an injury that he could conceivably play through, the injured player lets other players know that he was not-pain free. This elevates the injured player’s status because of his ability to deal with the pain and play through it.

Decisions to play hurt are motivated by overt and covert institutional pressures. Female athletes often play hurt because of team commitments and not wanting to let their team down (Charlesworth and Young, 2004). In line with Nixon’s (1996) work on sportsnets, pressure from their sport networks motivates decisions to play hurt. Fears about changes to one’s body (decline in strength, ability), ambition, athletic standing and status, and financial incentives motivate women to play hurt (Charlesworth and Young, 2004).

Reasons to play hurt are linked to athletic identity and status. In professional ballet for instance, pain and injury are understood to be a reflection of one’s dedication to dance and to one’s identity as a dancer; it is a sign of discipline and a part of dance (Turner and Wainwright, 2003). Similarly, in rugby, risk and injuries are linked to a player’s identity and status. When serious injuries occur, athletes report feeling guilty, excluded, isolated, and depressed. Playing hurt or playing through pain ensures that they are able to avoid such experiences and keep their athletic status (Malcolm and Sheard, 2002).

We know that, because they have authority and power, coaches influence athletes’ decisions to play hurt (Johns, 2004). It is not uncommon for athletes to feel pressured by

their coaches and their medical trainers to play hurt (Nixon, 1996). Research confirms that coach's attitudes and beliefs are strongly supportive of the culture of risk. Among high school varsity coaches, Noe (1973) found a multitude of beliefs regarding pain and injury; for some, hiding pain was frowned upon, while others believed that athletes should have a reserved and "conquering attitude" when they experience an injury. Some coaches feel sympathy for injured players and others feel that the coaching staff acted as a support system for players (Noe, 1973). Some coaches believe that sports involve sacrifice, risk taking, striving for greatness, rejecting limits, and playing hurt (Nixon, 1994a). While not all coaches are the same, coaches contribute to the normalization of pain and injury in sport by enforcing, supporting, and seeing value in athletes playing hurt (Nixon, 1994a; Malcolm and Sheard, 2002; Johns, 2004).

Another reason why male athletes play hurt is because of institutional constraints based on team and sport context. This includes the status of the player on a given team, the stage of the season, and the significance of the upcoming matches or games (Roderick et al, 2000; Roderick, 2004). The number of 'healthy' players available to play, the number of players on the team, and the extent of competition for a spot on the team influence whether athletes play hurt (Roderick et al, 2000). In terms of the latter influences, wealthier and larger clubs can afford to retain more players, and if necessary, can easily replace an injured player. As such, the more limited the resources of a team, the more likely players are to be pressured to play hurt. Along with institutional factors, Roderick et al (2000) found that athletes learn that club managers are looking for athletes with a 'good attitude,' and one way to demonstrate a good attitude is to be prepared to play through pain and injury.

Yet, especially at the professional level, athletes are aware of the harm that injuries cause their health. Risk is lessened by the advancements in medical care. Therefore, decisions about playing hurt are linked to their utilization of the medical assistance provided to them (Malcolm and Sheard, 2002). In this sense, as playing hurt is normalized and is known among all levels of sport, decisions to play hurt is the result of social and

institutional factors (Young, 2004a). This research will contribute to our understanding of the institutional and organizational factors and pressures that influence athletes and their decisions to play with injuries.

3.1.3 Experiences with Injuries

At some point in their career, an athlete will experience an injury, whether minor, serious, or disabling (Messner, 1994; Young, 2004a). Documenting experiences with injuries captures the lived experience of athletes and adds to our understanding of how individuals understand and make decisions about their health.

When injuries occur, athletes often ignore, minimize, and hide their pain and injury from themselves, suppressing the physical and mental effects on their body while hiding their injuries from coaches, teammates, and medical staff (Young et al, 1994; Young and White, 1995). Injured athletes feel stigmatized for being injured and report feeling frustrated, angry, excluded, and isolated. This has been found among rowers (Pike and Maguire, 2003; Pike, 2004), cyclists (Albert, 1999, 2004), runners (Collinson, 2003, 2005), and rugby players (Malcolm and Sheard, 2002). Some athletes report experiencing a state of despair when injured because they have to deal with the temporary loss of their athletic selves (Collinson, 2003, 2005). Injuries disrupt their ability to participate and their athletic identity (Sparkes, 1996, 1999).

Athletes tend to define pain and injury as separate experiences; pain being the everyday, tolerable aches, while the latter causes unplayable body conditions (Young and White, 1995). Among professional rugby players, Howe (2001) notes that if an injury was obviously serious, pain was not made visible and the injury was rarely spoken about because teammates, coaches, and fans can 'see' the injury. 'Playable' injuries are made more visible by the injured player to coaches and teammates because they are not as obvious and may be less known to others around them – this gives the player a reason for not playing well or elevates their status because the athlete played hurt and could deal with the pain of the injury.

For some athletes, the benefits of sports outweigh the costs to their health and bodies (Young and White 1995; Theberge, 2008). We see this in Ewald and Jiobu's (1985) study which compares runners and bodybuilders; runners are more likely to try to reduce pain, while body builders are more likely to seek pain. Ewald and Jiobu (1985) suggest that pain is not necessarily enjoyable for bodybuilders; instead, pain is recognized as necessary and believed to be rewarding because it leads to more rewarding outcomes. Pain then is not necessarily understood as negative; for some, pain is understood to be a good and even positive bodily experience.

When injuries occur, athletes use a variety of coping strategies. One-way athletes cope is to focus on a health-constructed timetable. Roderick (2004) argues that when injuries occur, conceptions of time predominate the minds of those injured. For instance, one English footballer explained: "I'd been having problems with my groin for most of the season...I got back in four weeks. I was out for six games. My right knee. I did that this season and I missed eight games" (Roderick 2004, pp. 141). For athletes, while recovery and rehabilitation timetables are socially constructed, timetables are a coping strategy in dealing with injury.

Coping with injury occurs on the field. For youth basketball players, Singer (2004) found that the boys manage their injuries by getting angry, yelling, and pushing others away in an attempt to displace their feelings and demonstrate a commitment to the sport. Young girls cope with injury similarly but Singer (2004) contends that instead of their gender being questioned, their athletic identity is threatened.

Injuries do not just affect gameplay; they can end careers. Career ending injuries affect athletes' self-esteem and life satisfaction long after the injury occurs (Kleiber and Brock, 1992). Athletes who experience career ending injuries report feeling shame, feeling lost, devalued (Kleiber and Brock, 1992), worthless, useless, and as if they lost their body (Smith and Sparkes, 2008). Those with career ending injuries report that they are treated differently based on how visible and obvious their injury is to others around them – those that are more visible and obvious are viewed as more "acceptable" compared to injuries

that are subtle and hidden (Kleiber and Brock, 1992). Career ending injuries mean that athletes move from having a strong and able body to a “useless” and “worthless” body (Smith and Sparkes, 2008). For many athletes, career ending injuries are “a descent into ordinariness” (Kleiber and Brock, 1992, pp. 422), demonstrating how the athletic identity is an embodied identity.

3.1.4 Sport Injuries and Medical Care

Sociologists have examined the complexities of the relationship between athletes who risk their bodies and the sport clinicians whose job it is to negotiate treatment and their health care. Athletic medical staff find themselves in the middle of competing interests, and must function as “bridges” between athletes, coaches, physicians, team administrators, and owners (Kotarba, 1983). They report being pressured by coaches (Kotarba, 1983), athletes, and management to allow injured athletes to return to play (Waddington, 2006). Some report operating more or less on the basis of the confidentiality rules that govern general medical practice; others are more ready to pass on athlete’s personal medical information to managers and coaches (Waddington and Roderick, 2002).

Some team doctors report withholding information regarding injuries and ailments from athletes. In some cases, this has prevented athletes from making informed decisions (Roderick et al, 2000). Other medical staff note being frustrated with athletes who hide injuries (Walk, 1997) while others prefer working with athletes who complain less and are more tolerant of their injuries because it means medical staff make fewer decisions about their injuries (Kotarba, 1983). Surprisingly, research suggests that among English football clubs, most club doctors had no prior experience with sports medicine and had little power to resist managers’ attempts to influence medical decisions (Waddington et al, 2001). Clearly, sport medical staff must navigate complex issues as they manage athletes’ injuries because they are employees of sport clubs.

Safai's (2003) work on the relationship between injury, athlete, and medicine raises questions about the ultimate goals of sport clinicians. Safai (2003) examines the relationship between student-athletes and medical clinicians in a large Canadian university. Safai (2003) found that the culture of risk does exist between clinicians and athletes, and at the core of this relationship is the desire to heal. Safai (2003) maintains that this is the result, in part, of an institutional focus that emphasizes policies that creates an academic and an athletic context in which health is valued and prioritized. This focus is very different than professional sports, especially capitalist sporting leagues.

This research shows that medical staff may act on behalf of the athletes, while also taking up and accepting dominant sport norms (Safai, 2004; Walk, 2004). Differences in how much medical staff believe in dominant sport norms may be linked to sport contexts as doctors and trainers in professional corporatized leagues like the NHL may be very different than a university team trainer. This is because the stakes and interests of the coaches, and management are different (e.g., financial gain), and thus, the pressures and job would differ. With respect to my research, this research brings to light the different decision makers in sport and the interests and negotiations that occur with injured athletes.

3.1.5 Work and Injuries

Some sociologists have analyzed professional sport as an occupation, focusing on the conditions, expectations, and athletic experiences. While studies are limited, they shed light on professional athletes and their position as workers and the conditions of their employment. The research illuminates the role of sport leagues and organizations as employers, and the hazardous workplace conditions of professional sports.

Among researchers, there is general disagreement about work and injury. Young (1993) argues that sport is rarely discussed in relation to work and workplace hazards. He notes that "sports workplaces are simultaneously sites of medical mastery and extraordinarily medical neglect" (pp. 376). Although workplace parallels can be drawn between sports

and other hazardous professional groups – especially ‘blue collar’ workers in traditional risky industries including construction jobs, meatpacking, oil mining, production line workers – most other types of workplace violence and hazards are not normative or seen in a positive light (Young, 1991). In professional sport, especially revenue sports, the conditions that cause bodily harm are not only deemed normal and acceptable, but entertaining.

While a contentious statement to make, professional athletes can be viewed as exploited workers. Professional athletes are not typically thought to be relatively powerless or vulnerable, and thus, much of the discussion around professional athletes as exploited workers is ignored given that professional sports are often associated with high salaries and lavish lifestyles (this is mostly true for male athletes in professional North American revenue leagues – NHL, NBA, NFL, MLB, and in some football and rugby leagues in Europe). Yet it can be argued that exploitation occurs as there is power and profit involved in the leagues, and team owners and management do not want teams to win just because of the love of sport.

In sports, exploitation occurs in various ways – athletes are exploited by coaches and managers while coaches can be exploited by team owners and organizations (Murphy and Waddington, 1995). In the NFL for instance, within a four-month season, all athletes are injured at least once (Young, 1993). Regardless of the length of the season and the professional sport, athletic injuries are associated with the following – the nature of the sport, the workplace culture, the organization (management, ownership) and supervision (coaching, medical staff) (Young, 1993). Regular activities including overtraining, playing while hurt, and improper playing techniques are all hazards of sport workplaces (Young, 1993). The few studies on work and injury give this dissertation insight into professional athletes as workers. They discern how injuries fit into the sports world as a workplace and the relationships between the professional athlete, their injured body, and relations of exploitation.

3.1.6 Masculinities and Sport Injuries

Research on masculinities and injuries focuses on understanding the health costs of playing sport and situates injuries in relation to masculinities and the gender order. Sociological research on masculinities and sport injuries points to the paradox regarding male bodies in sport. It is often believed that sport is a healthy activity, and sporting bodies are the epitome of health and fitness (Messner, 1994, 2005). Yet, men's sports are often associated with unhealthy behaviours and practices, as well as drug and alcohol abuse, pain, injury, and low life expectancy (White et al. 1995; Young and White, 2000). Sabo (1994, 2004) argues that, as athletes, boys and men are subject to a system of control that is highly authoritarian. This includes the "pain principle" which dictates that if men experience pain and injury, they must play through it. Following the pain principle leads to athletic success (Sabo, 1994, 2004). Boys and men are taught and expected to "shake it off," to ignore their own pain and injuries, and to treat and understand their bodies as instruments to be used and used up to "get a job done" (Messner, 2005).

Boys learn early in their sporting experiences that if they do not conform and uphold the pain principle, they cannot and will not be successful. They may lose their position on the team, or they may be labelled as a "woman," a "fag," or a "pussy" for not being "manly" or tough enough to play hurt or through pain (Messner, 2005). Young and colleagues (1994) found that when male athletes do not prescribe to such standards of manhood, they may be ostracized or may leave the sport altogether. As a result of these social processes, decisions regarding playing hurt become "natural" and unquestioned (Messner, 1992, 2005). Thus, the masculine identity is linked to the acceptance of pain and the tolerance of injury (Messner, 1992, 1994; Sabo, 1994, 2004; Young, 2004a) despite the long-term harm sport pain and injury may cause.

The pain principle is not exclusive to male athletes; both female and male athletes comply with it, although in different ways (Sabo, 2004). For men, injuries are understood as simply part of being an athlete. Those who hide, ignore, and play through their pain and injuries are doing what 'athletes' do as injuries are believed to come with the

territory (Sabo, 2004). In contrast, female athletes tend to be skeptical about pain, injury, and risk in sport, and injuries only threaten their athletic identity, not their womanhood. Sabo (2004) found that female athletes are aware of gendered meanings of sport involvement and injury and are more likely to talk about their pain and injuries with their teammates.

While women and men hide, ignore, and play through sport pain and injury, they do so in gendered ways, and we cannot ignore the context within which injuries occur. Sport is a male preserve where the majority of opportunities and rewards go to men. Competition, muscularity, violence, aggression, athletic skill, and playing through injuries are defining features of the masculine identity. These features are celebrated and empowering for men, compared to women, who can be criticized for the same features (Birrell, 2000; Theberge, 2000). Women's sports are not culturally prominent, are less profitable for teams, athletes, and media networks, and are believed to be less strenuous, less competitive, and involve less skill compared to the 'real' male sport (Theberge, 2000). While research in this area is lacking, we can understand that female athletes' decisions and social views of injuries occurs within the gendered institution of sport.

Alas, at some point during one's athletic career, whether amateur or professional, most men experience an injury (Messner, 1994). Messner (1994) found that when injuries occur, some injuries are worn as "badges of masculine status" (p. 95) to indicate sacrifice and signify their ability to play through pain. Athletes generally recognize that their bodies and their health are sacrificed in sport, and they often rationalize these experiences of pain and injury as simply part of the game. Their injuries gain them the respect of their teammates and others (Messner, 1994).

Curry's (1993) interviews with Sam, a college wrestler reveals similar themes. An ear injury for Sam became an "emblem" of masculine status as well as a sign of his bravery. As a wrestler, Sam accepted pain and injury as part of wrestling, and while he knew that injuries would occur during his career, he notes that "It doesn't scare me" (pp. 286). Curry (1993) argues that there is a contradiction in Sam's experiences – Sam himself did

not understand his injury as sign of masculinity and was reluctant to even speak of his injuries. Other athletes and coaches on the other hand, viewed his injuries as honourable as they demonstrated his ability to withstand pain (Curry, 1993).

Injuries allow young boys and men to establish their masculinity and their masculine status. Among rugby players for instance, it is a common belief that players need to put their bodies on the line. Whenever possible, they should continue to play with pain and injury for the good of the team; leaving a match is embarrassing and shameful (Liston et al, 2006). Among school aged boys who play contact sport, Gard and Meyenn (2000) found that injuries are an instrument to achieve masculine status. This occurs by accepting risk, pain, and injury as a normal and acceptable aspect of playing sport, and the acceptance of inflicting pain and injury on others in order gain advantage and be successful in sport.

Among heterosexual and gay athletes, pain and injury is understood in relation to hegemonic masculinity (Filiault et al, 2012). Filiault and colleagues (2012) interviewed elite male athletes in Australia, Canada, and the United States, and found a willingness and desire to play through pain and an acceptance of pain as a normal career expectation regardless of sexuality. Some of the athlete's report playing through pain because of the enjoyment of the game and the need to achieve results, while others linked playing through pain to further their career. Regardless of sexuality, playing hurt is believed to be a "noble" act that demonstrates courage and heroic characteristics, ultimately reinforcing hegemonic masculinity (Filiault et al, 2012).

Young and colleagues (1994) similarly argue that men prescribe to the pain principle and to dominant definitions of masculinity. Some male athletes deny their pain, often suppressing its mental and physical prescriptions on their bodies – with a foot injury one athlete notes that they "sort of live with it. [They] block it out somehow" (pp. 184). Young and colleagues' (1994) research uncovers what they termed "disrespected pain." This occurs as male athletes differentiate pain from injury, where pain is normalized as aches and soreness, while injury is unbearable suffering, leading to unplayable body

conditions. Pain is understood to be unwelcomed by coaches and teammates because it has a negative impact on their team. For many of the athletes interviewed, Young et al (1994) argues that pain is depersonalized and understood as outside of the athletes, as something ‘othered.’

With professional male athletes, Young (2004a) argues that men often feel that they are locked into an “occupational trap”. While many male athletes acknowledge risk and concede that playing with injuries can lead to further physical damage, most athletes are aware that their work setting – their club, their sporting league – is largely intolerant of injuries (Young, 2004a). Under pressure to perform a particular masculinity and to not complain about their pain, professional athletes are legally bound to their professional obligations – “play or don’t get paid” – and to the values of their sport culture (“take the pain like a man”). Young (2004a) calls this a “double-jeopardy” that is especially true of contact team sports including football, rugby, and ice hockey. Hegemonic masculine ideals are imperative to any understanding male athletes, their identities, and health experiences. Studying hegemonic masculinity allows for the examination of the role of sports in constructing and maintaining the gender order.

3.1.7 Summary

Sociological research on sport injuries focuses on sporting contexts, cultures, structures, processes, and norms. From this research, we know that injuries are a sanctioned, glorified, and celebrated aspect of sport that demonstrates athletes’ commitment to the team. Athletes must not complain about their pain or injuries; rather, they must be willing to put their bodies on the line and play hurt if they want to compete and succeed. By playing hurt, athletes achieve social distinction; however, their choice to play hurt is not free; they are pressured by coaches and teammates, and by the expectation that they should play hurt. When injuries occur, athletes report feeling isolated, frustrated, guilty, depressed, angry, and excluded. Many athletes hide, suppress, and ignore their pain and injuries in order to avoid negative sanctions. According to sport sociologists, when athletes play through, hide, and minimizing pain and injury, they are demonstrating

hegemonic masculinity. The masculine identity is linked to the acceptance of pain and the tolerance of injury; when male athletes do not conform, they are labelled as unmanly, ostracized, and they lose their status on the team. It is clear that injuries occur within social structures. This includes the health care system which finds that physicians influence athletes health decisions, and some accept and prescribe to dominant norms regarding injuries. It is argued that professional athletes are exploited workers who work within a hazardous workplace that is structured to produce profit.

For this dissertation, the above research illuminates the complexities of injuries in sport, bringing attention to athletes' experiences, attitudes, and understandings of pain and injury. The findings provide a foundation for the analysis on the construction of injuries in popular Canadian newspapers. They allow for and inform the examination of newspapers and how media discourses uphold or challenge dominant sporting culture.

3.2 Men, Media, and Sport

Over the past 20 years, a body of work that focuses on men, sports, and media has emerged (Messner, 2013). The media plays a central role in communicating general sporting information to fans and the media highlights, controversies and scandals that occur within the sporting world. As a result, not only does the media reflect what is going on in sport, it plays a role in constructing gender and sport relations.

3.2.1 Sports Scandals and Fallen Men

Sports news today is filled with stories about male athletes and scandals. This includes coverage of drug test failures, drunk driving incidences, assault, rape, and domestic violence. These stories have the potential to disrupt dominant beliefs and understandings of male athletes as hegemonic masculine idols (Messner, 2013). Messner and Solomon's (1993) research for instance followed the 1991 story of boxer Sugar Ray Leonard's drug use and physical abuse of his wife. They note that the articles ignored the domestic violence. Instead, they used language of redemption for Leonard's "mistakes" with drugs and alcohol and focused on the moral aspects of his drug use. This news frame ensured

that the sport of boxing was not delegitimized. In turn, the hegemonic masculine values that underlie both intimate partner violence and the sport of boxing were reinforced, validated, and unchallenged (Messner and Solomon, 1993).

Other research assesses the interplay of class, race, sexualities, and gender in the media coverage of men's sports. For instance, McDonald (1999) examines media accounts of physical assault and abuse by male athletes against women. When domestic violence is acknowledged, it is individualized and is not understood in relation to male cultural power. McDonald (1999) argues that media representations of domestic violence are examples of male and white privilege. When the media discusses male athletes' violence against women, presentations are devoid of critical conversation, and instead rely on racist and patriarchal meanings of violence.

Studies of media coverage focus on media treatment of male athletes who have contracted HIV. In a study on the media coverage of HIV-positive NBA basketball player Magic Johnson, McKay (1993) notes that Johnson initially received sympathy from the media that was not afforded to others with HIV/AIDS. Much of the media coverage portrayed Johnson as the "victim" of female groupies. Similarly, Dworkin and Wach (1998) looked at three different stories of HIV-positive male athletes – Magic Johnson, Greg Louganis, and Tommy Morrison. They found that the media focused heavily on how Johnson and Morrison, two heterosexual athletes, contracted HIV, while there were no inquiries into the cause of Louganis' HIV transmission, a gay athlete. They conclude that that media polices sexuality and constructs heterosexuality and monogamy as "safe" while it condemns homosexuality, casual sex, and promiscuity as "dangerous." Together, these studies demonstrate the ways in which sport media play a role in reproducing social inequalities within sport and within society more broadly.

3.2.2 Men's Consumption of Sports Media

Studies that examine sport media consumption show that men's consumption of sports media is a site for male preserve (Messner, 2013). The *Sports Illustrated* swimsuit issue

for instance, constructs and reproduces sport as a site for men, in particular, white, heterosexual men (Davis, 1997). Superbowl advertisements construct sport as a male preserve. For example, beer and liquor advertisements in the United States use a “the white-guy-as-loser-trope.” In these advertisements, white, heterosexual men are constructed as the “Average Joe” and male viewers are asked to identify with and revel in their loser status (Messner and Montez de Oca, 2005). Messner and Montez de Oca (2005) note that this image is built on male victimization, male insecurities, and anger towards women.

We see sport as a male preserve in televised sport shows and commercial advertisements as well. Messner and colleagues (2000) argue that this occurs through the use of the “Televised Sports Manhood Formula.” This formula consists of ten themes – white males are the voices of authority; sports is a man’s world; men are foregrounded in commercials; women are sexy props or prizes for men’s success in sport or consumption choices; whites are foregrounded in commercials; nice guys finish last, aggressive players get the prize; boys are violent; give up your body for the team; sport is war; and athletes must “show some guts!” This formula, seen in varying degrees in televised football, basketball, baseball, extreme sports, and *SportsCenter* programs, promotes dominant ideologies regarding gender, race, aggression, and violence.

Sabo and colleagues (2000) specifically look at the effects of men watching televised sports and found that televised sports trigger frustration and rage among abusive men. Interviews with abused women did not paint a picture of the male sport fan happily lounging in front of the television – instead, the interviews reveal that their partners were extremely focused, irritable, tense, and frustrated. The women report physical violence after their partners’ favourite team lost, anger over gambling losses, and disappointment with their favourite players. Sabo and colleagues (2000) argue that at the forefront of abuse is violent masculinity whereby battering behaviour is used to reestablish the masculine identity and dominance of men. As such, televised sports, is not an innocuous refuge from everyday reality.

3.2.3 Men, War, and Sports Media

A few studies examine the ways in which spectator sports, through mass media, construct sport in relation to war. Trujilo (1995) found that television coverage produces male football players' bodies as a weapon. This occurs as media coverage references football in relation to war; both players and plays are described using war imagery. Players are described as "weapons," "missiles," and "hitting machines" (pp. 411). In the Persian Gulf War, Jansen and Sabo (1994) maintain that war and sport metaphors were used to mobilize the patriarchal values that construct and maintain hegemonic forms of masculinity. They found that constructions of hegemonic masculinity were often expressed within sport/war tropes; differences between women and men were exaggerated and celebrated. Men and masculinity were valorized; aggressive men were depicted as heroes. In relation to sport injuries, the few studies that have looked at war metaphors and sport illuminates the types of metaphors and constructions that are commonly found within sport discourse.

3.2.4 Sports Injury and Media

A few researchers explore how injuries are discussed in media. While injury is an embodied experience, sport injuries reach most people through sets of images and discourse transmitted by various media (Young, 2004a). Television lenses capture and replay the struggling and injured athletic body in "super slo-mo" as sports commentators and other media personalities respond with approval. In print media, perfect photographs of the injurious moment are printed, often with humorous captions that ignore the actual pain reflected in the photo. Sports media in general then marginalizes injuries and represents injuries as routine. Further, such injuries are constructed as a sign of commitment (Young, 2004a). In effect, injured athletes become heroes because they expose themselves to danger, and their injury demonstrates their willingness to "pay the price" (Nixon, 1993a; Young, 2004a). In advertisements as well, injuries are made to appear unthreatening. Young (2004a) cites Adidas' slogans: "Pain is weakness leaving the body" and "Own the pain and you'll own the game" (p. 14).

Nixon (1993a) argues that sports media “convey the messages of the culture of risk” (pp. 190). *Sport Illustrated* exposes readers to such messages. Nixon (1993a) found that athletes, according to magazine articles, accept the risks of pain and injuries for several reasons: this includes perceived expectations, demands, and obligations associated with performance. Acceptance was found to be linked to disposability, replacements, and the precariousness of work. Athletes who accept the risks of pain and injury in sport, obtain status recognition and financial rewards, and are often constructed as invincible.

Results from a study on how football injuries were depicted in the newspaper articles further suggests that injuries are framed as part of the game and in language that depicts players as either a hero or a sissy (Sanderson et al, 2014). Within the newspapers, injury severity was downplayed, the injured athlete’s toughness was questioned, and coaches, trainers, and doctors were blamed for the experiences of injury. The articles at the same time emphasized injury severity by referencing medicine, portrayed injuries as part of the game, and constructed those who played through pain and injury as heroes and resilient athletes (Sanderson et al, 2014).

Some research suggests that there have been some changes in how health is discussed in sport media. Media largely promote dominant masculine scripts, constructing the ideal male athlete as one who sacrifices their body for the sake of sport. With the advent of more research and awareness about concussions, Anderson and Kian (2012) argue that American newspaper coverage of the NFL is changing and is becoming more health aware. With concussion and head injuries in particular, they conclude that sport media is beginning to support the notion of health and the body over a hegemonic masculine warrior athletic narrative. Overall then, sport injuries are presented within the media in relation to hegemonic masculine ideals. This includes portraying injury as part of the game, and athletes who play through them as heroes and committed athletes.

3.2.5 Summary

Research on men, sport, and the media focuses on several different topics. Among all the different topics covered, the key finding is that male athletes are discussed and portrayed in relation to hegemonic masculinity. With injuries in particular, media reinforces notions that injuries are part of the game and those who do not accept this are not strong, committed, or dedicated athletes. Those that play through pain and injury are honorable heroes that should be celebrated. Sport media is not free of dominant values and beliefs regarding gender and sport. Instead, sport media reinforces, reflects, and reconstructs dominant ideologies and norms. Because of this, studying sport media is important so that we can understand the messages media produce and the types of discourse that consumers of sport media have access to.

3.3 Men's Ice Hockey and Masculinities

Scholarly research on men's hockey has covered several different topics in relation to masculinity. In the following, I will discuss the key areas and findings of ice hockey and masculinity research.

3.3.1 Ice Hockey, Masculinity, and Violence

One of the popular areas of research among scholars interested in ice hockey and masculinity is on violence and the physicality of men's ice hockey. Violence in hockey is the use of physical force, which includes fighting, brawls, hitting an opponent with a stick, kicking, checking from behind, and intentionally hurting another player. Research findings confirm that violence in hockey is an accepted and expected aspect of the game (Tjønnedal, 2016). Allain (2008) argues that the hegemonic masculine male ice hockey player is specific to Canadian ice hockey and is one who is "rough-and-tough" (p. 462). Canadian ice hockey masculinity is centered on "a hard-hitting, physically aggressive game" (p. 476). Several researchers argue that because of the physical nature of ice hockey, male players display a certain form of bravado and aggressive behaviour (Colburn, 1985; Young, 2000; Robidoux, 2001; Allain, 2008).

Early research on men's ice hockey violence shows that violence has both expressive and instrumental value to the game of hockey. Faulkner's (1974) study of hockey violence exposes how male hockey players understand and make sense of violence in hockey. For many male athletes, violence is a strategy to deal with different aspects of hockey. While some acts are more aggressive than others, male hockey players frame violence as reactive strategies whereby hockey players prioritize "taking charge" of their situation. Faulkner (1974) found that these responses include defensive responses (i.e. resisting threat) and protective responses (i.e. preventing opponent-initiated force or coercion and threats).

Fighting and intimidation are understood as essential to the tradition and culture of hockey where physical toughness is both required and respected within hockey (Weinstein et al, 1995) and fighting is essential for both team success and individual player success (Weinstein et al, 1995; Allain, 2014). At the Junior A level, not only is violence culturally important, those who are more violent are more respected by teammates and coaches. This understanding of violence is built into the structure of Junior hockey; when players were evaluated, skills as well as aggression influences player's evaluations and ranking (Weinsten et al, 1995).

Violence is generally accepted by male hockey players. This includes both amateur and professional male hockey players (Smith, 1979b). Those that support violence in men's hockey are significantly more violent while playing than those who do not support violence in hockey (Smith, 1979c). Among players as well, illegal acts on the ice are not always understood to be violent; instead, they are often framed as part of the game (Colburn, 1985). More recent research finds that among Canadian Hockey League (CHL) male players, aggression, fighting, violence, and vigilante justice within hockey are openly celebrated (Allain, 2014). While there are many ways to take up masculinity in hockey, dominant rough and tough Canadian hockey-style masculinity is the aspirational model for players and coaches, and one that often leads to ridicule for those who refuse to

play this style. Thus, hockey violence is understood as an appropriate expression of masculinity within men's hockey culture (Allain, 2014).

Robidoux (2001) notes that male hockey players who fight – the enforcers – play an important role on a hockey team. Enforcers are the athletes who demonstrate physical dominance and presence, who use their bodies to 'hit' and body check others, and who fight regularly to defend themselves, their team, and particular teammates. These kinds of players, as Robidoux (2001) argues, are highly respected by their coaches and teammates, as well as by sport and hockey fans. Because players who are most physical are highly respected (Robidoux, 2001), aggression, violence, and physicality are celebrated as normal aspects of men's hockey and the hegemonic masculine Canadian male hockey identity (Colburn, 1985; Young, 2000; Robidoux, 2001; Allain, 2008).

Both Pappas et al. (2004) and Colburn (1985) conclude that men's hockey fights are a battle of dominance that help to restore order and allow players to release aggression. Colburn (1985) notes that given that male ice hockey players do not see illegal assaults as violent, fist fights in ice hockey are understood as legitimate aspects of hockey. Fist fights have symbolic significance as an expression of honor, respect, and fairness (Colburn, 1985). Fighting in male ice hockey is thus a socially approved act and is understood as the preferred and appropriate retaliation response in the game of ice hockey (Colburn, 1986).

There are links between masculinity and violence outside of the hockey arena. Compared to non-athletes, male hockey players report being involved in more physically violent acts (Segrave et al, 1985). Older Canadian male hockey players not only approve of violence, they are more likely to act violently in social situations outside of hockey compared to younger Canadian players (Bloom and Smith, 1996). More recent research by Pappas et al (2004) shows that interpersonal aggression is common in the lives of male hockey players, both on the ice and off the ice. Through interviews with former college and professional hockey players, it was found that off ice, violence is situated in

hegemonic masculine ideals, in relation to alcohol, and a player's objectification of women (Pappas et al, 2004).

Within ice hockey, violence is normalized. Violent, aggressive, and physical hockey players reflect the ideals of hegemonic masculinity.

3.3.2 Male Hockey Players, Relationships, and Outsiders

Research on men's hockey and masculinities explores relationships between teammates. Robidoux's (2001) research found that male hockey players have a strong bond with their teammates built on loyalty and allegiance. As male hockey players spend more time together, they begin to have a shared worldview. This includes not only a shared view and understanding of hockey, but a hegemonic masculine worldview that emphasizes violence and aggression, misogynistic attitudes, a lack of emotion outside of emotions related to winning and losing, and a focus on success (Robidoux, 2001; Pappas et al, 2004). With close bonds, some male hockey players are comfortable acting together in ways that would be deemed by masculinity standards as 'homosexual.' This includes making suggestive jokes or grabbing each other's genitals (Robidoux, 2001). Robidoux (2001) suggests that these relationships are centred on competition with each other because they need to compete for spots on the team and for ice time (see Connell, 2005 and Messner, 1990c).

The practice of hazing is important for team dynamics and involves older or veteran athletes forcing new or younger players into embarrassing acts. This includes nudity, infantilization, feminization, and excessive alcohol consumption (Bryshun and Young, 2007). Pappas et al (2004) and Robidoux (2001) note that acts of hazing build team trust and bonds and build stronger relationships on the ice.

Research finds the hockey world to be closed to outsiders. Allain (2014), a female researcher, interviewed current and former Canadian Hockey League (CHL) male hockey players. Reflecting on the interview process, she concludes that that the CHL is a closed institution where, through the use of gatekeepers, an air of suspicion about scrutiny

exists. The players themselves were often hesitant to speak, they carefully chose their words, and they guarded the interests of the institution. This included evading questions about the locker room and framing the league and teammate relations in the best possible way, even if evidence existed to suggest the contrary. Some of the interviewees actively made her feel like an outsider and treated her as if she had no hockey knowledge. Allain (2014) notes that the participants expressed masculinity through the interview dynamic, and accentuated gender differences by using aggressive language and telling sexually explicit stories, thereby asserting themselves as dominant and powerful men. For this research, these studies give insight into male hockey culture, relationships between male hockey players, and the treatment of outsiders.

3.3.3 Canadian Identity and Men's Ice Hockey

Research on masculinity and men's hockey in relation to Canadian national identity illuminates how men's hockey reinforces patriarchy and ideals of manhood (Allain, 2008). Men's ice hockey is an important site for Canadian men to learn and negotiate their identities through practices of hegemonic masculinity (Robidoux, 2002). In relation to national identity, men's hockey is often used to promote national pride and Canadian unity. Ideas regarding manhood and masculinity exist in hockey specific advertising. For instance, NHL's "Inside the Warrior" campaign constructs male hockey players in relation to hegemonic masculinity – aggression, driven, brave, and proud are some of the characteristics identified in the campaign (Gee, 2009).

In terms of the Canadian identity, Allain (2011) argues that men's ice hockey is tied to Canadian national identity and the production of Canadian masculinity. Male hockey players are constructed as heroes and stars who are models of the nation and exemplify desirable masculine conduct. Sidney Crosby, a Canadian NHL superstar, is a symbol of Canadian national identity and Canadian masculinity – he is as a Canadian athlete who demonstrates courage and self-sacrifice, he is a noble, hardworking, fearless and aggressive player, and a determined and tough athlete (Allain, 2011).

3.3.4 Men's Hockey, Masculinity, and Media

Among scholars, there is an interest in the media representation of male hockey players. When we compare men's and women's hockey coverage, men's hockey is depicted in relation to masculinity (Reichart Smith, 2016). In the 2010 Olympic winter games, women's hockey coverage was presented as the inferior event through visual production and camera angles. This includes close up shots of the female athlete's faces, highlighting the only visibly feminine attribute of a female hockey player, focusing on women's attractiveness. Men's hockey on the other hand had more shots that focused on the physicality of the game and included camera angles that showed hard hits and body checking along the boards. Ultimately, men's hockey was depicted as more important and more skilled compared to women's hockey, constructing hockey as a masculine sport.

Within the media, men's hockey violence is celebrated, accepted, and constructed as 'manly.' We see this in Lorenz's (2015) examination of the constructions of masculinity in the newspaper coverage of Stanley Cup games involving the Ottawa Silver Seven between 1903 and 1906. The Ottawa team was portrayed as very violent and praised for its rough tactics. The newspaper coverage included multiple discourses of the same events and incidents; 'manly' hockey was expected to be fast and clean, yet 'rough' violent hockey was seen as legitimate. Bloodshed and injuries were expected, and the ability to absorb pain without complaint was respected and depicted as masculine. Within the newspapers then, depictions of violent hockey emphasized ideals and characteristics of hegemonic masculinity.

Media analysis reveals that media construct a 'crisis of masculinity' whereby hockey masculinity – aggressive, rough, and tough, violent – is portrayed as under attack. Allain (2015) examines the former prominent Canadian sportscaster, Don Cherry on *Hockey Night in Canada's Coaches Corner*. The show aired on Saturday nights between the first and second periods of play and features Ron MacLean. Cherry, known for his loud suits and larger-than-life persona, is an ex-hockey player and coach; he offered viewers a short discussion of the week's events in hockey. Allain (2015) argues that the show emphasizes

masculinity in crisis, whereby hockey masculinity is under attack by outsiders (e.g. immigrants), corporate interests that are influencing hockey, and the educated elite (including feminists). Throughout the show, Cherry advocates for a ‘throwback’ to simpler times when the “self-made man” who through hard work could make his way in the world, and to a simpler time when violence and aggression went unchallenged and was celebrated and respected.

The crisis of masculinity is portrayed in the hockey comedy movie *Goon* (2012). Boyle (2014) argues that the film, which is a “homage to enforcers,” celebrates violence, and portrays enforcers as heroic and necessary. Hockey masculinity is under attack because fighting and violence is being questioned in the NHL of today. This portrayal of violence is in line with dominant understandings of violence in hockey culture, but it masks enforcers’ violent labour and the power relations in which their labour is embedded (Boyle, 2014). For my research, these studies demonstrate how men’s hockey is constructed in relation to masculinity in the media.

3.3.5 Men’s Hockey and Injury

Physical risk is naturalized, promoted, and celebrated in men’s hockey. While injuries have been declining over time with changes to rules and advances in equipment, hockey accounts for a significant number of catastrophic injuries in Canada among males of all ages (Young and White, 2000).

Historical sport research suggests that injuries that are the result of violent acts are often downplayed and ignored in the media because violence is deemed intrinsic to hockey. For instance, in the newspaper coverage of the manslaughter trials of Allan Loney (1905) and Charles Masson (1907), two hockey players who were accused of killing opposing players by striking them in the head with their hockey sticks, violence and aggression was regarded as ordinary. This means that violence and rough play that leads to injury are tolerated and are framed as being a normal aspect of men’s hockey (Lorenz and Osborne, 2017).

Injuries are not always perceived as negative. Collings and Condon (1996) examine the beliefs and experiences of Inuit male hockey players and found that while injuries can prevent athletes from playing hockey, injuries are sometimes understood as enhancing a hockey player's status. Playing hurt enhances a player's status because it means that along with the game and opponents, injuries are just another thing to overcome. Thus, playing hurt means that a hockey player is skilled enough to be able to play and win despite their injury (Collings and Condon, 1996). Collings and Condon (1996) note that injuries are used as excuses for when the players are losing or not playing well. Such findings are similar to other research on masculinities and sport (Messner, 1990a).

Research on the injuries of boys who play competitive minor hockey suggests that concussions are treated more carefully among male hockey players than other injuries (Yeldon and Pitter, 2017). Yeldon and Pitter (2017) found that young male hockey players all engage in and have strategies to play through injuries. This includes hiding and ignoring pain, adopting an attitude of irreverence towards some pain and not others, and understanding that injuries may be received poorly by teammates and coaches, which may lead to negative consequences.

Tjønnal (2016) analyzed the biographies of two former NHL enforcers, Bob Probert and Derek Boogaard. She found that while the biographies were about their experiences in the NHL generally, the players' biographies were dominated by discussions of violence as an accepted and encouraged aspect of men's hockey, and by how such violence led to injuries. Within the narratives, Tjønnal (2016) found stories and events where the dangers and risks involved in professional men's hockey went unquestioned and resulted in broken bodies. The biographies tell the stories of experiencing and suffering multiple injuries during their careers as enforcers, as well as causing injuries to others. Professional men's hockey then, is an environment that maintains and is influenced by hegemonic masculinity where injuries are accepted and expected.

3.3.6 Summary

Research on masculinity and men's ice hockey provides important insight into the ways in which hockey produces, maintains, and is influenced by hegemonic masculine ideals. While research in the area is limited, this research is in line with research on masculinities and sport generally which finds that sport is a male preserve that celebrates and idolizes the hegemonic masculine athlete. Within men's hockey, like other sports, injuries are understood as normal and expected as physical risks and physical injuries go unquestioned. Playing hurt is understood as enhancing one's status in men's hockey, similar to the ways other researchers have identified it does in other sports. Overcoming injuries demonstrates strength and commitment, and in this sense, injuries are what Messner (1994) calls "badges of masculine status." For this dissertation, these studies are significant foundational studies as they provide insight beyond epidemiological understandings of hockey injuries and illuminate men's hockey in relation to hegemonic masculinity and the gender order.

3.4 Conclusion

It is clear from this literature that sport injuries are not just due to the nature of sport itself; sport injuries are influenced by how sport is planned, organized, structured, administered, managed, and practiced. Key findings of this work are: injuries are a glorified, celebrated, normalized, and sanctioned aspect of sport; playing hurt is expected, accepted, and rewarded because it demonstrates an athlete's commitment and brings masculine status; and, in order to succeed in sport, athletes must hide, minimize, and ignore their pain and injuries. Upholding such sport values regarding sport injuries demonstrates hegemonic masculinity. This literature tells us that the masculine identity is linked to the acceptance of pain and the tolerance of injury; when male athletes do not conform, they are labelled as unmanly and they lose their masculine status. In sport media, male athletes are portrayed in relation to hegemonic masculinity; injuries in particular are presented as part of the game and those who do not accept this are not strong, committed, and dedicated athletes. When we look at literature historically as well,

we are able to see how sport as an institution developed as a male preserve and developed into a gendered and gendering institution as it exists today. This historical focus in particular is important for this dissertation because it gives context to masculinity and sport as well as to the injury discourse and provides information about sport and the athletes who play.

From the men's ice hockey literature, we can conclude that the hockey player who is violent, aggressive, rough, and physically dominating is conforming to hegemonic masculinity. Research specifically on men's hockey injuries is sparse, but the conclusions are similar to other sport research – in men's hockey, physical risk is naturalized, celebrated, and promoted, and the resulting injuries are accepted, hidden, and unquestioned. Accepting pain, tolerating injury, and playing while hurt represents masculine and athletic status.

This literature lays a foundation for this dissertation, but there are gaps that this research will fill. First, research is needed on men's hockey injury discourse in media. While studies have examined injury in media, men's hockey injuries are absent from the media literature. Studying specific sports media illuminates sport specific discourse and situates such discourse within sport processes, structures, and organizations.

Media research has only recently considered hegemonic masculinity in relation to injury discourse in media. This means that when men's sport injuries have been examined, gender relations have largely been ignored. In doing so, most sport injury media research has failed to examine male athletes in relation to gender relations and inequalities. Studying men and masculinities allows for the examination of gender relations, the power of men over women, and the power of some men over other men. The goal of masculinities research is to render gender and masculinity visible so that existing gender constructions and relations can be challenged.

Sport media and injury research has exclusively examined media discourses among American media. While American media is accessed by those outside of the United

States, the media is created within the American social, political, and economic context. Sport media, especially print media, is often local whereby the local teams receive the most attention. This is because the intended audience is often a local sport fan who is concerned with the happenings of their favourite teams. As such, examining Canadian popular newspapers will expand previous sport injury and media research by examining other media discourses.

Thus, this dissertation will add to and expand previous literature on sport, examining masculinities, male hockey injuries, and sport media. While the research areas discussed above are often disparate, when we integrate these areas, we are able to understand how sport, including men's hockey, is a gendered institution, one constructed and upheld by gender relations. As such, the sporting structure and its values – this includes sporting rules, organization, and beliefs and practices regarding pain and injury – reflect dominant ideals and performances of masculinity and femininity. Sport is a gendering institution whereby sport helps construct the current gender order (Messner, 1990c). The goal of this research is to examine media discourses and through an examination of language, understand what messages about men's hockey injuries sports fans have access to, and how such messages uphold, reproduce, and challenge hegemonic masculinity.

Chapter 4

4 Methodology

This study is concerned with understanding the constructions of NHL injury in Canadian popular news media. Critical discourse analysis is my methodological approach. This research is well suited for a critical discourse analysis because I want to understand the role of media narratives and language in producing, reproducing, and challenging dominant ideals and performances of health and masculinities in sport. My goal is to illuminate how the NHL injury discourse is shaped by and shapes ideologies, and how it produces and reconstructs gendered social relations, social structures, and systems of knowledge.

4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis is motivated by pressing social issues, social inequality, and social change. In conducting critical discourse analysis, the goal is not to just study and document discursive processes – the hope is to foster social change through critical understanding of inequality (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002; van Dijk 2003; Wooffitt, 2005). Analysis and research are motivated by a concern for identifying injustice and improving the conditions of those who are oppressed (Wooffitt, 2005). As such, critical discourse analysis aims to investigate dominance, oppression, and social inequality as it is produced, reproduced, challenged, constructed, legitimated, expressed, and constituted by language use (van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 2001).

While there are several definitions of discourse, I define discourse as a set of meanings, ways of understanding, or a framework of ideas that produce a particular social ‘truth’ (Burr, 2003; White, 2004). Discourses are constructions of meaning or ‘truths’ that exist within human texts. Texts are products of the social world which includes speeches, writings, images, paintings, songs, blogs, photos, books, advertisements, movies and television shows, human actions, and other products of the social world (Cheek, 2003; White, 2004; Wooffitt, 2005). In examining discourse, the goal is to understand meaning

construction and to examine what ‘truths’ are produced and how these ‘truths’ are produced, sustained, legitimized, authorized, and challenged (Hacking 2000; Atkinson and Gregory, 2008).

Discourses are formed and situated within social arrangements of power. Power relations influence which discourses have authority and presence in our social world, and which discourses have little authority and presence. Power also affects who can speak and when, what they can speak about, and their level of authority (Cheek 2004). Discourse is thus a site of power and is powerful (Burr, 1995) because it shapes, produces, and limits possibilities for acting, being, and experiencing. Discourse arranges how phenomena – including hockey injuries – can be thought about, spoken about, and experienced (Rose, 2001).

Discourses are productive and they produce relations, places, subjects and knowledge (Rose, 2001; Wooffitt, 2005). Texts construct and maintain the very reality and context they reflect. In other words, texts are both producers of social reality and the product of particular understandings of that reality (Cheek, 2003). Texts contribute to shaping, producing, and reflecting our norms and ideologies (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). Thus, examining everyday discourse is necessary to understand the meanings of discourse, to interrogate the ‘naturalness’ of discourse, and to uncover assumptions that are reinforced by discursive constructions (Cheek, 2004).

In my analysis, I pay particular attention to gender ideals and performances, and constructions of masculinities in media narratives. I identify what versions of reality are produced and which are silenced regarding gender and health (Wodak, 2008). In terms of sport specifically, studying discourse allows me to show how particular sporting experiences are limited or facilitated, and how gender and health inequalities are constructed and reproduced through media constructions of sport.

4.2 Discursive Site – Popular Newspapers

With a focus on media narratives, I focus on Canadian daily newspapers because they are a highly read source of information regarding sports (Coakley and Donnelly, 2009). Most articles on sport are published in the sports section which is the most read section in major newspapers (Coakley and Donnelly, 2009; Wanta, 2006). Sport newspaper sections are important because many daily and weekly newspapers devote exclusive sections to sports; on average, about 25% of the content in major daily newspapers is devoted to sports (Coakley and Donnelly, 2009). Major daily newspapers give more daily coverage to sports than any other topic of interest, including politics, lifestyle, and business (Coakley and Donnelly, 2009; Wanta, 2006).

The sports section and sports articles are an important source of revenue for major daily newspapers. Sports sections account for about one-third of newspaper total circulation and provide a significant amount of advertisement revenue (Coakley and Donnelly, 2009). Sports sections also attract companies and advertisers aiming to reach young to middle-aged men. Sports sections include ads specifically for men – ads for tires, new cars, alcoholic beverages, power tools, sporting goods, Viagra, hair growth products, and escort services. There are also ads for local bars, for clubs and entertainment establishments with female dancers, and gambling opportunities (Coakley and Donnelly, 2009).

The content of newspaper articles constructs, reflects, and produces gendered social relations. Sports articles have been called the male version of women's 'gossip magazines'; they are viewed as an important source of legitimate and significant information ("gossip") (Sabo and Curry Jansen, 1998). Filled with 'gossip,' or insider information about players, coaches, and strategies, sports news is dominated by articles typically written by men, for men, and about men. In general, newspapers mostly cover men's sports, with 90% of articles focusing on male athletes. Only 5% of articles focus on female athletes, and 3% of articles focus on horses and dogs (Wanta, 2006). While many individuals participate in sports, information about sport is mostly consumed and

accessed through sport media (Bellamy 2006; Dworkin and Wachs, 2000). The NHL as a professional hockey league was chosen because it is an exemplar of sport in Canada, and as such, is popularly consumed through sport media. My focus on the NHL – a league with only male athletes – will reveal the ways in which sport, male athletes, and health are discussed and portrayed.

I focused on articles published in five popular English Canadian daily newspapers during the 2016-2017 NHL season (12 October 2016 – 11 June 2017). Vividata (2017) – a Canadian report on newspaper circulation – was used to determine the following five popular English Canadian daily newspapers: *Calgary Herald* (CH), *National Post* (NP), *The Globe and Mail* (GM), *Toronto Star* (TS), and *Vancouver Sun* (VS). They were chosen because of their high circulation (see Table 4.1). Table 4.1 details the weekly circulation and some audience characteristics of the five newspapers.

Table 4.1: Circulation and Select Audience Characteristics

Newspaper	Weekly Circulation*	Average Age of Reader	Household Income
<i>Calgary Herald</i>	600,000	---	---
<i>National Post</i>	4.8 million	44	\$70, 548 (median)
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	4.9 million	Under 34	62% under \$100k
<i>Toronto Star</i>	3.6 million	24-54	22% \$125K+
<i>Vancouver Sun</i>	970,000	---	---

Note: Information is gathered from each newspapers' Media Kit. Some newspapers provide more information on their readers than others; *Total adults, 18+

The five newspapers are subscription-based, and each publish a daily sports section. Of these five newspapers, *The Globe and Mail* has the highest weekly circulation (4.9 million) and *Calgary Herald* has the lowest (600,000) (see Table 4.1). As national newspapers, *The National Post* and *The Globe and Mail* are circulated throughout Canada. As local newspapers, *Calgary Herald*, *Toronto Star*, and *Vancouver Sun* are read mostly in and around their respective regions. Both the *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail* report on various teams but have a high readership in Toronto and the Greater

Toronto Area (GTA) (Vividata, 2017); the Toronto Maple Leafs fall geographically within their scope. The localized newspapers feature news about the NHL generally but focus mostly on their local team – *Calgary Herald*, Calgary Flames; *Toronto Star*, the Toronto Maple Leafs; and *Vancouver Sun*, Vancouver Canucks.

It should be noted that these newspapers do not cover all seven Canadian NHL teams (Calgary Flames, Edmonton Oilers, Montreal Canadiens, Ottawa Senators, Toronto Maple Leafs, Vancouver Canucks, and Winnipeg Jets) equally. Given the national and local audiences of the newspapers, the articles under examination focus more on the NHL teams of interest to their audience. This means that the articles are written with a particular hockey fan in mind, and certain events and happenings not deemed ‘relevant’ to this hockey fan may not be reported. It is within this context that my research sheds light on dominant discourse surrounding men’s hockey, masculinity, and health. It is not my goal to analyze or compare such constructions in relation to a given NHL hockey team. Rather, this research is about how ideas about masculinity, health, and the body are constructed through newspaper reporting.

4.3 Data Collection

The following criteria were used to guide the data gathering process and to ensure that the articles under examination are appropriate for the research questions. First, articles were restricted to those published during the 2016-2017 NHL season; 12 October 2016 – 11 June 2017. I chose this season because at the time of the research project, it was the most recent full season of the NHL with no breaks from a lockout (player strike) or the Winter Olympics. Second, the sample was restricted to articles that discussed NHL athletes. Third, in order to be included in the data sample, articles needed to explicitly discuss injury (i.e., ‘injur*’ appeared in either the article title, the tagline of the article, the subject of the article, or the article summary). Articles were gathered using *Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies* which is a database that contains newspaper articles published in major Canadian newspapers between 1977 and present day.

‘Season’ for this research includes those published during the regular season and playoffs. Articles written during the pre-season were excluded because they refer to exhibition games which have no impact on the team in terms of rankings or points. I also excluded post-season pieces (articles that are written when the NHL is on break).

My focus was on articles where injury is identified as a significant topic of attention. I excluded articles where injuries are only mentioned in the main body of the article. In total, I conducted three searches using *Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies* to gather relevant articles. First, I identified the total number of articles published during the 2016-2017 NHL season across all five newspapers. In so doing, limited by publication and publication date, ‘National Hockey League’ and ‘NHL’ were searched in all aspects of the articles; this means that the terms could appear in the title, tagline, abstract, subject, or the body of the article. In total, 3,744 articles were identified (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Number of Articles with different search strategies using the *Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies* by newspaper.

Number of Articles with Different Search Strategies			
	Keywords in all aspects of the articles		Keywords in title, tagline, abstract
Newspaper	National Hockey League or NHL	National Hockey League or NHL, and injur*	National Hockey League or NHL, and injur*
<i>Calgary Herald</i>	920	235	50
<i>National Post</i>	681	189	27
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	587	206	26
<i>Toronto Star</i>	749	242	34
<i>Vancouver Sun</i>	807	216	62
Total	3,744	1,088	199

Note: published between 12 October 2016 –11 June 2017

The second search identified the number of articles that discussed both the NHL and injuries. To identify these articles, I searched ‘injur*,’ ‘NHL,’ and ‘National Hockey

League’ as keywords. This narrowed the results to 1,088 (see Table 4.2). Third, I identified articles where injury was a main subject. I used ‘injur*,’ ‘NHL,’ and ‘National Hockey League’ as keywords. In this search, ‘injur*’ was limited to the title, tagline, abstract, and subject, while ‘NHL’ and ‘National Hockey League’ were searched in all aspects of the newspaper articles. The initial result included articles that did not focus on the NHL and NHL injuries. These articles were excluded by examining the articles individually and using the database to exclude other sports and sports teams from the results (see Table 4.2). The results of these searches are outlined in Table 4.2 (see Appendix 2 for more detail about the database searches including exclusion terms).

4.4 Sample

In total, 199 articles had injury as a key topic (see Table 4.2). This data only included the text of the articles (the articles main body, title, and tagline) and did not include images. Unfortunately, the images that may have been published with the article were not accessible to me. Most of the identified articles were published in the sports section; nine were published in other sections; Table 4.3 details where they were published.

Table 4.3: Number of articles published by newspaper section during the 2016-2017 NHL season

Article Subject	Sports	Issues & Ideas	Books	Editorial	News	Front Page	Special Section	Total
<i>Injury</i>	190	1	1	1	1	4	1	199

Note: published between 12 October 2016 –11 June 2017

Several of the articles were published in more than one of the newspapers. Outlined in Table 4.4, 164 of the 199 articles were unique to one newspaper; 35 of the articles were published in multiple newspapers. Of the five newspapers, the *Toronto Star* and *Globe and Mail* were the only newspapers that did not have articles that were published in the other newspapers.

Table 4.4: Number of unique and similar articles per newspaper.

Newspaper	Number of Unique articles	Number of articles published in more than one newspaper	Total
<i>Calgary Herald</i>	36	14	50
<i>National Post</i>	21	6	27
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	26	0	26
<i>Toronto Star</i>	34	0	34
<i>Vancouver Sun</i>	47	15	61
Total	164	35	199

Note: published between 12 October 2016 – 11 June 2017

Table 4.5 details the number of similar articles published in the *Calgary Herald*, *National Post*, and *Vancouver Sun*. In total, eighteen articles were published in both the *Calgary Herald* and *Vancouver Sun*; two articles were published in the *National Post* and *Vancouver Sun*; and fifteen articles were published in *Calgary Herald*, *National Post*, and *Vancouver Sun* (see Table 4.5). While these articles were published in multiple newspapers and written by the same author, they were often modified; for example, some of the titles were different and several were shortened. These articles were kept in the sample because they were intended for and accessed by different hockey fan bases. They were published independently of each other and published for different demographics and audiences. Given this I treated them as separate articles. While eliminating duplicate data is often done in social research, my primary concern is about injury discourse and the construction of injuries rather than how often messages may appear.

Table 4.5: Number of similar articles published in *Calgary Herald*, *National Post*, and *Vancouver Sun*

Newspapers	Number of articles published in more than one newspaper
<i>Calgary Herald and National Post</i>	0
<i>Calgary Herald and Vancouver Sun</i>	18
<i>National Post and Vancouver Sun</i>	2
<i>Calgary Herald, National Post, Vancouver Sun</i>	15
Total	35

Note: published between 12 October 2016 – 11 June 2017

The 199 articles ranged from two hundred to two thousand words in length, with most being 1000 words. In keeping with my search terms, the articles had two foci – the NHL, and injury. A descriptive overview of how the NHL and injury were represented in this sample follows.

4.4.1 The National Hockey League (NHL)

The articles included in this research all focused on the events and happenings of the NHL, including NHL news, trades, team statistics, player statistics, and updates regarding player injuries. Several of them offered readers play-by-play reports of games, game highlights, and other aspects of particular hockey games. Some articles also discussed important NHL events – this included detailing the NHL draft, offering readers analysis of the playoffs, and discussing various player awards. Other articles focused on detailing general happenings in the league, offering opinions about who the best players are, and explaining why these players are important to their teams and to the NHL.

4.4.2 Men's Hockey Injuries

As I reviewed earlier, to be included in the sample, injuries must be a subjective focus of the articles. In their representations of injuries, many of these articles also focused on other aspects of the NHL. For instance, some of the articles profiled one or several male athletes, detailing their playing statistics and their past or current injuries. Others focused on particular games or teams, providing readers with news and information about players, those who were injured, and those who returned or were returning from injury.

In total, the articles mentioned 288 distinct injuries (see Table 4.6). Some articles described one athlete and his injury, while others discussed several players and their injuries. Some of the injuries were specific – for instance, torn anterior cruciate ligament (ACL), ankle injury, or a concussion. Others were less specific; for example, identifying the general area of the body that was injured including “upper” and “lower” body injuries. This style of reporting is common because NHL team managers and coaches

decide how to classify player injuries and are responsible for releasing information regarding injuries to sport media. The releasing of information on injuries is often strategic for NHL teams; for instance, it can allow them to hide team injury issues from other teams as well as the media. Table 4.6 details the types of injuries discussed in the newspaper articles; it is organized by ‘specific injuries reported,’ ‘general injuries reported’ (lower and upper injuries), and ‘injury reported generally.’ In the sample articles, 159 instances of specific injuries were reported; 45 general injuries were reported; and 84 hockey-related injuries were generally discussed, with no reference to a specific injury (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6: Type of injuries discussed in the sample newspaper articles

Type of Injury	Total**
Specific Injury Reported	Total: 159
Achilles	2
Ankle Injury	11
Arm Injury	2
Back Injury	4
Broken Fibula	2
Collarbone	1
Concussion/Head Injury	38
Elbow Injury	1
Finger Injury	10
Foot Injury	6
Groin Injury	14
Hand/Wrist Injury	19
Jaw Injury	1
Knee Injury	15
Leg Injury	5
Muscle Injury	1
Mysterious/ Undisclosed Injuries	4
Neck Injury	1
Rib Injury	1
Shoulder Injury	18
Torn ACL	1
Torn meniscus	2
General Injury Reported	Total: 45
Lower-body Injury	23
Major/Serious Injury	1

Upper-body Injury	21
Injury Reported Generally	Total: 84
Injury Not Identified*	84
Total Injuries Reported	288

*Note: While discussing injuries, articles discussed team injuries in general or a specific player's injury but did not state the type of injury sustained.

**Note: Total instances of injury in all articles.

4.5 Analytic Approach

The discourse analysis included two analytic processes that analyzed the language of the articles. The initial analysis was modelled after Clarke's procedural method (1992, 1999, 2004, 2010; Clarke and Everest, 2006). Drawing on Clarke (1992, 1999, 2004, 2010) the analysis involved a number of non-linear stages. This process is flexible, allowing the texts to guide my investigation (Rose, 2001). The flexibility allowed me to move between stages as appropriate when new ideas and questions emerged from my analysis.

The first stage included a first read through of the articles to become familiar with them, with their styles of reporting and language. This first read-through was also the beginning stage of developing connections between theoretical perspectives and discussions of injury. For example, it was during this stage that I started to recognize connections between the construction of injuries as normal and the construction of masculinity. In the second stage, I focused on the metaphors and language that were used to reinforce and reproduce social norms – for instance, the use of phrases like 'it's part of the game,' or the 'mysterious injury.' This reading was more focused on identifying the existence of power relations and documenting how they are reproduced and reinforced. I was also able to make links between the dominant ideological frameworks about masculinity and health and information in the articles. I asked myself: what stereotypes about men's hockey, masculinity, and the body are perpetuated in these texts? What sport and men's hockey norms and values are privileged in the articles? What ideas, values and beliefs are present regarding injury and men's hockey (Lupton 1994)?

The third stage of analysis focused on what was left out of the articles. In this stage of analysis, special attention was given to what was silenced and what was absent. This included themes that were given little or no attention (Lupton, 1994). For example, during this stage, I recognized that particular voices, views, and experiences were much less prominent or left out altogether. This included both the lived experiences of male hockey players who have been injured and a discourse that humanized and individualized male hockey player's injury experience.

Once this initial analysis was complete, a more in-depth analysis was conducted. I developed a theoretically informed analysis sheet (Appendix 1). Analysis sheets function to guide readings of the text that are informed by theory and that push the analysis beyond surface-level interrogation to understand how the text produces meaning (see Jäger, 2001). My analysis sheet included a number of questions that I could pose to the texts in order to derive further meaning about how injury reporting constructs and reproduces ideas about masculinity and health. These questions were informed by my research questions and theoretical framework and aimed at identifying the specific linguistic tools and rhetorical devices used within the articles.

Guided by my analysis sheet, I engaged with the texts in multiple close readings over several months. As I read, my theoretical framework and research questions were at the forefront of my analysis, but I was also flexible in order to consider findings that challenged hegemonic masculinity. By reading each article several times, I was able to immerse myself in the data and to focus on the content, rhetorical devices, and linguistic uses within the text. I recorded broad and specific observations. As I was doing this, I kept note of common threads, meanings, and themes among the articles. I recorded variation and contradictions between the texts. Overall, this in-depth analysis focused on understanding how sport injuries are portrayed, what language, literary devices, metaphors, and rhetorical devices are used. Ultimately, I was concerned with how constructions of injury inform and are informed by discursive constructions of hegemonic masculinity.

4.6 Quality Criteria

Qualitative methodologies incorporate concepts and criteria to assess the quality of its methods, approach, and findings. While there is no consensus regarding quality criteria within the methodological approach of critical discourse analysis (Wodak and Meyer, 2009), there are agreed upon criteria that ensure trustworthiness, and they are crucial to the integrity and usefulness of qualitative research. Trustworthiness refers to the rigor of a study that produces confidence in the data, methods, interpretation (Polit and Beck, 2014). I ensured that the following criteria were met.

Quality research is marked by rigor whereby the researcher outlines and richly describes her methodology. This includes descriptions of theoretical concepts, data and samples, and descriptions about the data collection and analysis processes (Tracy, 2016). In Chapter 2 of my dissertation, I outlined the theoretical underpinnings of this research and I defined important concepts including hegemonic masculinity. In this current chapter, I described, in great detail, the data, sample, data collection, and analysis. My research questions are clear, and I have justified my methods.

Credibility, the most important criteria, refers to the confidence in the findings of the study (Polit and Beck, 2014). Credibility is achieved through several techniques including multiple and prolonged engagement with the data and persistent observation (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). As I outlined earlier in this chapter, I critically engaged with the newspaper articles over several months, reading each of the articles several times, immersing myself in the data, and returning to the data when new questions or ideas arose. The credibility of my dissertation was also established by employing critical discourse analysis methods that align with the tenets and procedures of critical discourse analysis as a methodology. This means that this research is conducted similarly to other critical discourse analysis research (Polit and Beck, 2014).

Peer debriefing was also essential to the success, credibility, and confirmability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Polit and Beck, 2014) of this research project. As a type of triangulation

(Tracy, 2016), my methods, theory, and findings have been reviewed by my committee members. Meetings and communication with my committee occurred at all stages of my research and focused on ensuring my decisions, interpretations, and conclusions were methodologically consistent and theoretically sound, comprehensive and well-developed.

Dependability creates trustworthiness. In qualitative research, dependability is produced when the findings, interpretations, and conclusions are supported by the data (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Amankwaa, 2016). For qualitative research and critical discourse analysis in particular, dependability comes from the way in which claims are demonstrated. I ensured that my results were dependable by providing examples from the data to support my findings.

Dependability is also concerned with consistency within the research process and the reporting of findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Amankwaa, 2016). To ensure dependability, I analyzed each article the same way, following the same stages and used my analysis sheet as a guide (see Appendix 1). I paid particular attention to understandings of gender and health and sport.

Qualitative research aims to support transferability (Amankwaa, 2016). Transferability occurs when readers read research and the results resonate with them personally; they see connections between research findings and other areas in society, and/or they make connections to other social research (Tracy, 2016). As a critical discourse analysis, I invite transferability by providing rich and detailed descriptions of the sport and injury context and by providing rich examples directly from the newspaper articles. The vivid picture that I painted allows readers to engage with the findings and the research project. This adds to the quality and trustworthiness of this research project.

4.6.1 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is central to feminist approaches to research; it acknowledges the complex power relations between researchers and their research (Bondi, 2009). Reflexivity – the examination of how our personal experiences and subjectivities impact our research

questions, the research process, data collection, analysis, and interpretation – reveals how we are connected to and involved in the construction of empirical knowledge (Ristock and Pennell, 1996; Aranda, 2018). Issues of power also must be recognized in research; a researcher's power influences all aspects of the research process: the topic of study and theoretical approach; the analysis and reporting of findings; and the decision to end research (Ristock and Pennell, 1996). We must therefore recognize how we are connected to and involved in the construction of empirical knowledge and we must make our relationship to the research explicit (Harding, 1992; Aranda, 2018). As such, we should be reflexive and should take ourselves as the object with a critical gaze (Green and Thorogood, 2014; Aranda, 2018). This enriches the research process and maximizes the trustworthiness and rigor of the findings.

My analysis, in part, is a reflection of my social knowledge and location. I am a white female sociological researcher with particular interest in gender and health. I do not identify as male, nor do I experience the social world as male. As a sociological researcher, I have conducted previous studies on media portrayals of gendered illness, male sexuality, and masculinities. With my subjectivities, it is my intention to be especially sensitive to ideals and performances of masculinities.

As part of my reflective process, it is necessary that I locate myself in relation to hockey and injury. My interest in the project has been fueled by my childhood and youth experiences in the male dominated hockey world. Growing up outside of Toronto, Ontario, my second home during my childhood was the hockey arena. While I never played hockey myself (I never had an interest and for many years, I did not like going to the arena), both my older and younger brothers played hockey for all of their youth. Being from a single parent home with two of three children playing hockey, we were at the hockey arena four to five times a week from about the time I was around two years old well into my early 20s. Weekends were filled with travelling to out of town hockey games and tournaments, and I spent a great deal of time at early morning hockey practices, hockey camps, and hockey games throughout arenas in southern Ontario. Our

family life revolved around hockey. It took several years, but I eventually began to enjoy watching my brothers play and going to their games. Some of my fondest childhood memories were at hockey tournaments and arenas and their hockey teams were more than a sports team; the players as well as their parents, siblings, and coaches came to be like a family. When I was in high school and throughout my undergraduate and master's studies, I was a timekeeper (or scorekeeper), working a few nights a week at the rink. I have a certain level of comfort within the social world of hockey, and I have a substantial level of knowledge about the setting.

Growing up within a family where hockey was a priority meant that I became aware of the dominant values regarding masculinity and injury. The “no pain, no gain” philosophy, and the pride that came with sacrifice was something I saw commonly. I remember that these beliefs and feelings made me feel uncomfortable and sometimes confused. I have memories of parents cheering on, celebrating, and rewarding young hockey players who continued to play while hurt. I remember how NHL players with bloodied faces were revered and celebrated for their sacrifices.

I remember learning about the expectation that unless you had a broken bone, you can and should play. I saw how complaining about injury was seen as weak and how emotional responses like crying were looked down upon, even for very young boys. I saw parents get angry with their children for laying on the ice hurt because, in their view, their injury was not serious enough to warrant such behaviour (e.g. No broken bones!). I heard parents, coaches, and my brothers' teammates talk about how certain players who left games because of injuries were ‘girls’ (or ‘pussies’) and needed to toughen up. I also remember how players who got injured too often were treated – they were a problem and parents often complained that these players were weak. I also watched parents accuse players on the other team of faking their injuries. This often resulted in parents yelling at the referees as well as the injured player about how the injury was not real, accusing them of laying on the ice for strategic reasons.

I saw the regularity of pain as I knew many players who had to ice various body parts after they played. Others took painkillers to play, and some relied on wraps and braces. I saw players who were in pain and continued to play and, in some cases, witnessed how playing caused further pain and injury. I also saw the shame, sadness, and ostracism that came with injury and the immense guilt that hockey players felt because they were injured. I saw this with my younger brother, a goalie, who began to have knee issues when he was 13 or 14 after dislocating both knees on several occasions during hockey games. On more than one occasion, his injury (which has had long term health effects) meant that he had to miss several weeks of play. I remember his immense sadness, and his guilt for getting hurt; he experienced his injury as a burden for the team, and he worried about his team losing without him.

Thus, I am deeply connected to the topic and my inquiry is greatly shaped by my experiences with hockey. What has brought me to this research is a desire to understand and make sense of sport norms and men's hockey discourses beyond my own experiences. I am interested in better understanding the injury discourse and the barriers and opportunities that exist for creating social change that recognizes male hockey players as people, not just athletes. By engaging with the texts, I am examining and questioning the dominant sport values that I first witnessed during my childhood and youth.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined my methodological approach to the study of the injury discourse in popular newspapers. In this chapter, I outlined my methodological approach, the sample, data collection, and analytic approach. I concluded with a discussion of some important methodological concerns in qualitative and feminist research. In the next chapter, I report the results of the critical discourse analysis of the popular newspaper articles. This chapter includes the presentation of the discursive constructions regarding hockey-related injuries, the body, and injured hockey players that I identified through this analytic process.

Chapter 5

5 Findings

I am interested in understanding how NHL injuries are constructed in popular Canadian newspapers. The results of the critical discourse analysis of the media narratives are presented in three sections. First, I outline how NHL injuries are constructed in the sample articles. I then examine how the newspaper articles privilege particular constructions of the male body. In the final section of this chapter, I explore the constructions of the injured male hockey player. In this section, I outline the expectations of the injured male hockey player that is produced through the injury discourse.

5.1 Constructions of Injuries

My analysis finds that injuries are constructed in several ways and through different discursive strategies. Through talk of NHL associated injuries, the sample articles define injuries, inform readers about what injuries mean for male hockey players, and recreate and produce particular understandings of injuries. Below I describe my findings under three key constructions: normalizing injuries; injuries are a threat to player success; and the humanized injury. *Normalizing injuries* – first and foremost, is the construction of injuries as normal whereby injuries are presented as simply part of the game. *Injuries are a threat to player success* – in this construction, injuries are represented as a threat to the success of male hockey players because injuries threaten player's careers and their ability to play hockey. And thirdly, *the humanized injury* – injuries are constructed as humanized through player testimonials. With these testimonials, injured players are humanized and presented as persons with thoughts, feelings, and emotions regarding their injuries. The humanized injury is further produced through the detailing of scientific and medical research which is used to show how the NHL is not concerned about the wellbeing of male hockey players.

5.1.1 Normalizing Injuries: It's "Part of the Game"

A dominant construction that emerged from the data is the normalization of male hockey injuries. I found that injuries are consistently constructed as normal and as common, ordinary aspects of hockey that are simply part of the game and therefore an expected outcome of playing professional hockey. The normalization of injuries is produced through five ways: with the use of explicit language; through the visibility of the injury status of a team; with the use of imagery and metaphorical language; by presenting injuries as frequent; and by using dramatic storytelling.

Many articles explicitly inform readers that injuries are simply part of the game of men's hockey. For example, in discussing the injuries his team faced during the regular season, Montreal Canadiens player Alexander Radulov is quoted as saying: "We're missing some guys but it's normal, it's part of hockey" (*The Globe and Mail (GM)*, 24 January 2017). A *National Post (NP)* article informed its readers about the inevitability and certainty of injuries in the NHL: "injuries are inevitable in an 82-game regular season" (18 November 2016). Another article explicitly constructed injuries as normal in its presentation of injuries as a common rite of passage for young Edmonton Oilers hockey players. As a common rite of passage for Oiler players, injuries are presented as marking a young player's initiation to the team. The article explained: "On a team where young players suffering long-term injuries seems like a rite of passage, Darnell Nurse has unfortunately earned his stripes" (*Calgary Herald (CH)*, 13 December 2016). Here, the use of the military metaphor – "earned his stripes" – equates injuries with being promoted to a higher-ranking position.

Similarly, readers are explicitly informed that injuries are normal and part of NHL playoff hockey. For example, an article published in *GM* stated: Pittsburgh Penguins' "Team captain Sydney Crosby said everybody's banged up this time of year on both teams" (*GM*, 3 June 2017). A *TS* article focused on the Pittsburgh Penguins' and stated: "Look, every team faces injuries. It's hockey." The article continued: "Every team has injuries at this point of the playoffs. The Penguins [who have several injuries] are

just...[article's ellipses] playing through it. It's just normal." The article then quoted Penguins' head coach, Mike Sullivan: "I think it's a challenge this league presents...Every team goes through it. We've had our fair share of it" (*Toronto Star (TS)*, 18 May 2017). This explicit presentation of injuries as expected and as something all NHL teams and players experience during the playoffs normalizes injuries.

The normalization of injuries was produced in the articles written about the injury status of teams during the playoffs. While injuries are experienced by individual players, these articles reference injuries in relation to the team and groups of players on a team (e.g. the defencemen, the forwards). Teams are described as 'banged up;' the use of this description normalizes injuries through the visibility of the injury status of the team. For instance, an article described the Pittsburgh Penguins' defence as "banged up and bruised" (*CH*, 27 May 2017; *VS*, 27 May 2017). Another article stated that the Anaheim Ducks have a "banged-up blue-line" which affected the strength of their team (*Vancouver Sun (VS)*, 5 June 2017).

Normalization is produced in the sample through metaphorical language and imagery that compares injury with common ailments that typically affect many people. A few articles talk of the 'injury bug' as a normal aspect of men's hockey. By referring to the 'injury bug,' injuries are portrayed as something you catch, something that is unavoidable, and something that is common like the common cold. For instance, in an article published in *GM*, readers are informed that "There really is no such thing as a charmed life in the NHL." The article continued: "Sooner or later, in a violent game played at speed, the injury bug will get you" (*GM*, 27 March 2017). Similarly, a *NP* article informed its readers that "injuries are inevitable" in the regular season. The article continued: "if and when the bug hits, there should be worthy reinforcements available" to replace injured players (*NP*, 18 November 2016). As a bug then, no hockey player or hockey team is safe from injuries; they are understood to be a normal aspect of hockey, and as such, an inevitable risk of professional men's hockey.

Injuries are additionally portrayed as normal by referencing the frequency of hockey injuries. This construction first occurs through hyperbolic references to frequency. For instance, Leafs' Connor Carrick is quoted in an article: "You get a million injuries throughout the year where it hurts like hell" (*TS*, 20 March 2017). The normalization of injuries is produced through the detailing of the number of injuries athletes have experienced throughout their hockey and NHL careers. In these examples, the frequency of injuries in a hockey player's career produces injuries as an ordinary and regular part of hockey:

Like Crosby, [Evgeni Malkin of the Pittsburgh Penguins] has had his share of injuries, which is why he had only 644 games on his NHL résumé going into the season (even though he produced an eye-popping 760 points over that span) (*GM*, 16 March 2017).

A couple of years back, when Marner was a draft-eligible 17-year-old racking up a nightly average of two points a game for the OHL's London Knights, scouts flocked to see him play against the hard-hitting Oshawa Generals... Marner suffered a fracture in his elbow that night... There was a dirty slash that broke Mitch's arm around age 10. There was a hip flexor issue that kept him out a few weeks when he was about 15. And then there was a case of whiplash suffered as a Knight in 2015, this after Erie's Mason Marchment cuffed Marner with a stick to the jaw (*TS*, 1 March 2017).

Marner's career trajectory is benchmarked and narrated through references to his multiple injuries. By referencing and presenting the many injuries these hockey players have experienced, the articles construct injuries as a normal part of men's hockey.

Hockey injuries are further normalized through the injury spectacle whereby injuries are constructed as objects of entertainment. Dramatic storytelling, imagery, and vivid language details the moment of injury. Dramatization creates injuries as objects of entertainment and makes the injury visible to readers. Different from the explicit constructions of injuries as normal, here, the regularity of the injury spectacle serves to normalize injury and constructs injuries as simply part of the game.

The normalization of injuries occurs through dramatic storytelling that dramatizes and creates the injury spectacle. A *TS* article for instance dramatically detailed one player's

sacrifice, including his pain. The article opened with a dramatic religious hook to draw in readers – “It was hockey’s version of a sacrifice at the playoff altar” (*TS*, 15 April 2017). In this passage, readers are informed that a physical sacrifice was necessary in order to win during the playoffs. Then, readers are given a play-by-play of the injury moment which captured the injury in what seems like slow motion:

Alex Ovechkin pulled back his stick in an exaggerated windup. Matt Hunwick, anchoring a first-period penalty kill for the Maple Leafs, laid down in the puck’s expected path. And as Ovechkin pulled the trigger on his famed slapshot, one of Hunwick’s trusty shin pads, took the blunt force trauma and removed the imminent Russian threat (emphasis added; *TS*, 15 April 2017).

This passage informed readers that Hunwick put himself in danger, sacrificed his body and survived the “Russian threat,” referring to Ovechkin’s nationality and inciting war-like and Cold War language. The “blunt force trauma” Hunwick “took” resulted in him “hobbling around after the play and still after the game.” His injury was framed as inconsequential and positive – Hunwick “shrugged” when asked about the shot block and was quoted as saying: “It hurt...at this time of year, it feels good to have a couple of ice bags on after the game” (*TS*, 15 April 2017). Here, the player’s injury as well as his sacrifice becomes the spectacle and is entertainment for readers. This dramatization of the moment of injury normalizes injuries as simply part of the game.

Another example of how injuries are normalized through dramatic story telling is found in a *TS* article that describes goaltender Frederik Andersen’s injurious moment. This passage, presented and written like a poem, dramatically detailed the moment of injury, informing readers that the injury immediately impacted the team:

The Dane in whiplash crunch, head almost knocked off his shoulders.
Prone in his crease, eerily still on the ice.
Skating slowly and gingerly off the ice, disappearing down the tunnel into
concussion protocol limbo.
And there too the fate of the Maple Leafs seemed to hang, in the penultimate
game of the season: limbo.
With a perfect storm of woe brewing (*TS*, 9 April 2017).

The article then described the audience's reaction when Frederik Andersen experienced what was thought to be a head injury. Again, dramatic language is used to emphasize what it was like to experience the moment of injury as the audience: there was a "sudden hush [in] the Air Canada Centre" during "those *long seconds* before Andersen stirred out of what appeared to be unconsciousness, struggled to his knees, finally staggered to his feet" (emphasis added; *TS*, 9 April 2017). In this example, the player's injury is presented and described using vivid language and imagery. By focusing on the moment of injury and the audience's experience of watching an injury occur, the moment of injury is made visible. This dramatization serves to normalize injuries and it adds to the injury spectacle.

The detailing of the moment of injury is another way that the normalization of injury was produced. Here, the drama is minimal, but the moment of injury is highly visible for readers. For example, in an article published in both the *CH* and *VS* readers are told about the Washington Capitals' game 3 win over the Pittsburgh Penguins in the Eastern conference semifinals. The article described the overtime game winning goal, the chanting of the Capitals' goaltenders name, and the important moments that led to the Capitals' win. Included in the exciting summary of the game was Sydney Crosby's injury which is described in detail – he "drove the net on a two-on-one and Holtby was able to stop his scoring chance with a poke check. But in trying to stop Crosby, Alex Ovechkin *made contact with the top Crosby's head* with his stick, and Capitals defenceman Matt Niskanen then *cross-checked Crosby high*" (emphasis added; *CH*, 2 May 2017; *VS*, 2 May 2017a). Here, the moment of injury is visible for readers, normalizing injuries as simply part of the game of hockey.

Likewise, other articles detail the moment of injury, making it highly visible. In these examples, the moment of injury and the violence that caused them is emphasized:

Pittsburgh's Chad Ruhwedel, a 27-year-old playing his 73rd NHL game essentially as Pittsburgh's fifth defenceman, was reaching for a puck *after being high-sticked* (sic) and Bobby Ryan *finished his hit, elbow to face*... Ottawa's Erik Karlsson was *slashed repeatedly* and *looked like he felt it* (emphasis added; *TS*, 20 May 2017b).

The injury was sustained when Marner was *tripped up* by rugged Jackets forward Boone Jenner that sent the Leafs forward *crashing hard into the boards*... After two shifts, Marner was shaking his head in obvious pain and frustration while favouring his right arm and soon after was shut down for the night (emphasis added; *NP*, 17 February 2017).

There were two hits on [Frederik] Andersen by the [Buffalo] Sabres. The first was a *sharp banging of helmets* between the goaltender and Carrier two minutes and 30 seconds into the game... Later in the first period, Evander Kane *fell on Anderson*, the impact apparently involving his upper back and shoulder... [Carrier's hit] did the damage" (emphasis added; *GM*, 28 March 2017).

In these passages, the moment of injury is made visible for readers, adding to the injury spectacle and the entertaining aspect of the injuries. As such, injuries are constructed as normal through the regularity of the injury spectacle among the sample newspaper articles. By telling and dramatizing the moment of injury, injuries are normalized and become simply part of the game.

5.1.2 Injuries are a Threat to Male Hockey Player Success

Somewhat paradoxically, injuries are constructed both as a normal part of playing professional men's hockey, and simultaneously, as a threat to NHL player success. This discourse individualizes male hockey injuries because injured male hockey players cannot play hockey and therefore, they cannot be successful or help their team win games. Because the success of a male hockey player is tied to the success of their hockey team, injuries threaten a male hockey player's status and position on the team, and as such, their career as a male hockey player is compromised. This construction underscores the competition that occurs between players on a hockey team; although they must come together to compete against other teams, they are also constantly in competition with each other for ice time, respect, and athletic status. And while the team and its ability to win is part of the injury discourse, so too are injuries constructed as an individualized problem. This means that while players sacrifice their bodies for the team, when it results in injury, it is presented as a personal problem. This construction is achieved through the use of cautionary tales whereby readers are warned about the potential or real repercussions of

sustaining an injury through stories about the players whose hockey seasons and careers ended because of injury.

Through cautionary tales, several articles constructed injuries as a threat to player success by highlighting the critical timing of a player's injury. Here, injuries are a threat because they interfere with a significant season or time in a player's hockey career. According to one article, Darnell Nurse's season was interrupted by an injury in December of the regular season. The article explained that Nurse finally had a spot on the Edmonton Oilers and was achieving some success in the NHL: "After failing to crack the Oilers lineup in two tries after being selected seventh overall in 2013, he was finally settling in." Referencing the team and Nurse as an investment for the Oilers, Nurse was an important player for the team but was injured: Nurse "had 96 games under his belt and was improving by the week, becoming the reliable, physical, mobile defenceman they were hoping for when they picked him. Now this." The 'this' the article referred to is his surgery and his inability to continue playing: Nurse needed "surgery to repair ligament and bone damage in his right ankle and will be out for 12 weeks." Readers are informed that his injury threatens his success because he is on the 'shelf,' which means that he is unproductive and unable to play in a significant year in his development as a NHL player: "Nurse will be forced to spend a big chunk of his formative year on the shelf" (*CH*, 13 December 2016). This cautionary tale constructs injury as a threat to success because Nurse is not able to play hockey, especially during an important year in his hockey career.

Cautionary tales inform readers that injuries mean that male hockey players are unable to play during an important time in their hockey careers and this threatens their success:

As far as timing goes, [the injury] was a nightmare, the kind of why-me scenario that makes people curse the hockey gods and wonder what they possibly could have done to deserve it. In the most important year of his hockey career, Nolan Patrick was out of the lineup for three months (*CH*, 20 January 2017).

Poor Joseph Cramarossa. He was picked up off waivers at the start of the month. Ahead of him, he had the best opportunity to play in his career. Three weeks later, he's hurt and out (*VS*, 24 March 2017).

In these examples, injuries are presented as a threat to NHL hockey player's success because injuries prevent them from playing and injuries interfere with significant career opportunities.

Injuries are further produced as a threat to player success through cautionary tales that detail how injured players miss important games with particular significance. For example, readers are informed that an injury meant that one player was absent from a game where his team met with a rival young player. The title of the *NP* article stated that Mitch Marner missed an important game: "Marner misses out on rookie showdown." Marner missed the "much-anticipated meeting between Auston Matthews and Patrik Laine." It was explained that with his absence due to injury, Mitch Marner of the Toronto Maple Leafs was almost an afterthought: "Poor Mitch Marner, the exciting-to-watch (sic) Toronto Maple Leafs rookie, was almost an afterthought in all the buzz" (*NP*, 22 February 2017). Another article detailed how an injury prevented a player from playing in an important playoff game. According to the *VS* article, Alex Burrows of the Ottawa Senators "helplessly" watched his team lose to the Pittsburgh Penguins: "The injured Ottawa Senators winger watched helplessly Sunday as his club absorbed a 7-0 pummelling (sic) in Pittsburgh" (*VS*, 23 May 2017). In these examples, injuries are constructed as a threat to player success because the consequence includes not being able to play in important hockey games.

The articles construct injuries as a threat to player success by often making reference to the player's successes before the injury occurred. These cautionary tales highlight injured player's pre-injury statistics which serve to emphasize that injuries have interfered with an otherwise successful player. Injuries, as such, threaten player success and hockey statistics. This type of cautionary tale appears regularly among the sample articles:

After suffering a hand injury in Calgary's final contest before the Christmas break, Flames RW Troy Brouwer didn't travel to Denver. That spells the end of a 309-game iron man streak for the 31-year-old alternate captain (*CH*, 28 December 2016).

Montreal Canadiens forward Alex Galchenyuk is out indefinitely with a lower-body injury. The team said Galchenyuk suffered the injury in Montreal's 5-4 shootout win at Los Angeles Sunday...Galchenyuk leads the Canadiens with 23 points (nine goals, 14 assists) in 25 games, helping the team to a NHL-best 17-6-2 record (*GM*, 6 December 2016).

Faulk was hurt in the Hurricanes' loss to New Jersey on Sunday, and his spot on the injured list is retroactive to Nov. 7. The two-time all-star has three goals and three assists in 11 games (*TS*, 12 November 2016).

Another article cautioned readers that being injured is like being in jail and is thus a punishment for hockey players – the article quoted Toronto's coach stating that the team's medical trainers were “going to let [Tyler Bozak] out of jail pretty soon,” comparing being injured to being imprisoned (*GM*, 27 February 2017). In this instance, readers are cautioned that sustaining injuries are both a punishment and are punishable, resulting in a player being stripped of his ability to play hockey.

Injuries are produced as a threat to player success through a cautionary tale that details how injuries shortened a particular player's career. In a *TS* article, readers are informed that Eric Lindros retired because of fears about his health which ultimately shortened his career: “Fears for his neurological and cognitive health” which “shortened his NHL shelf life.” The phrase ‘shelf life’ is interesting because it invokes the notion that hockey players, like a product, have a limited time to be used and to play because they expire. In this sense, hockey players have an expiration date and injuries threaten to shorten their playing time. The article then informed readers that Lindros' concussions affected his success because they changed the way he played hockey: Lindros is quoted: “it affected my game a great deal. I was afraid to cut through the middle after” (*TS*, 13 November 2016). In this example, injuries are constructed as a threat to player success because the player's career was shortened and undermined a player's performance. This means that

injuries are a threat to player success because injured players cannot play hockey, be as successful as they once were, and ultimately, they cannot help their team win games.

5.1.3 The Humanized Injury

While injuries are commonly constructed as normal and a threat to male hockey player's success, a minor construction pertains to the human side of injuries. Close examination of the articles revealed the presence of a less common portrayal of the injured male hockey player as a person whose health is impacted by injuries, and who has thoughts, feelings, emotions. I label this construction of injuries 'the humanized injury' because it depicts male hockey players as people in addition to being athletes and hockey players. In these instances, male athletes are often quoted in first person and the quotes describe their feelings and the difficulties they have faced while injured. Discussions of concussions and head injuries predominate in the construction of the humanized injury. Here, in particular, science and medical research are used to legitimize the human effects of concussions and to critique the NHL's treatment of players and their wellbeing.

The humanized injury is constructed through injured players' testimonials that highlight their feelings and reactions to their injuries. In doing so, these hockey players are presented as vulnerable individuals. In the following testimonials, hockey players talk about their experiences and emotions regarding their injuries; this talk produces the humanized injury:

On Monday, Andersen said he felt that it was wise he was removed from Saturday's game. After suffering the injury, he said he "didn't feel right" for the rest of the opening period. "We don't want to take any unnecessary risks," Andersen said. "You've got to do the right thing. ... It's tough to predict. We're taking it slow. Felt pretty good today, but we'll take it one day at a time" (*TS*, 28 March 2017).

According to Gaudreau Friday, that was when he noticed things were really bad with his right hand. "I forget who slashed me, but it was the last slash I took in the game," he explained. "I went back to the bench and I knew something was wrong right away. I went back to the trainer's room and took X-rays. "Right after that, I knew it was fractured. I was pretty upset about that, but there's nothing you can do." "It's difficult. It's the first time I've really been injured. It's tough to come to

the rink and not be able to get on the ice. But just being around the guys helps me try to rehab as quick as possible" (*Calgary Herald*, 19 November 2016).

"I definitely appreciate the times when you're healthy and you're feeling good," Little said after Winnipeg's practice Monday before the Jets headed to play the St. Louis Blues on Tuesday. "I've been pretty lucky most of my career, other than a few bumps and bruises, not to have many major injuries. "I was unfortunate to have two pretty bad ones back to back. The hardest thing was just staying positive and not getting frustrated or down" (*The Globe and Mail*, 31 January 2017).

The reference to frequency in the last example invokes the normalization of injuries as simply part of hockey. Alas, in these passages, readers are informed about the emotions and feelings of hockey players, constructing the humanized injury.

Similarly, another example of the humanized injury is a *TS* article which informed readers about the physical difficulties of having an injury and the ways in which an injury impacts the daily lives of injured players. This article focused on Toronto Maple Leafs' player Connor Carrick who experienced a shoulder injury in February of the regular season and had missed 11 games at the time the article was written. The article highlighted his expectations regarding his injury: "His absence has lasted longer than he ever expected" and "it took him some time to realize he'd be facing a recovery period measured in weeks and not hours." The article then quoted Carrick describing different experiences, invoking the normalcy and frequency of injuries: "You get a million injuries throughout the year where it hurts like all hell, but you wake up and it's fine. Or it hurts, you get massaged for 10 minutes, and it's fine...And then there's things that go on with your body where it takes longer." The article then informed readers about some of the physical difficulties of being injured: "When you first get injured, the things that bother you? Putting on socks. Deodorant. It's the little things." This article documented the recovery process, demonstrating the public investment in the players: "One day wrists are OK, clappers are no good. Next day, clappers are OK, one-timers are no good. Next day, one-timers are OK, high flips are no good. It really does come to you inch by inch" (*TS*, 20 March 2017). Here, the highlighting of Carrick's injury experiences is injuries constructs the humanized injury because his thoughts, feelings, concerns, and experiences

are made visible for readers. While I found only a few examples in the sample articles, this discourse is significant because it defines a player's emotion as public discourse; this creates a player who is depicted as human, in the sense that he is someone with thoughts, feelings, and vulnerabilities as opposed to an invulnerable male hockey player who is invincible, and whose only purposes are to entertain fans, score goals, and bring financial success to team owners.

In addition to these examples, talk of concussions also constructs the humanized injury. Compared to other injuries discussed in the articles, head injuries are treated much more seriously and provide readers with some insight into players' experiences with concussions. In a *VS* article, Sven Baertschi's experience with a concussion was detailed. The article first outlined when the injury occurred: "Baertschi went directly to the bench, kept shaking his head and wanted to keep playing." This passage shows how Baertschi initially felt about his injury:

"I kind of knew something wasn't right and I didn't want to believe it...I thought I would try a shift because I was feeling a little bit better, but things were moving too fast and I didn't want to get hurt even worse. We pulled the plug and they brought me back to the room and looked at it" (*VS*, 4 March 2017).

The article then highlighted his physical experiences and quoted Baertschi: "I was having some foggy vision and was just dizzy and had balance problems." He continued: "I had the full thing, but the main problem was my neck. That just needed some work because it (pain) started there and went right up to the head." Readers are informed that concussions are serious because they mean the end of a hockey career, invoking injuries as a threat to player success: "And if you think players can forget about a concussion - or the possibility of multiple concussions affecting or ending careers - think again" (*VS*, 4 March 2017). In this example, there is a glimpse into the injury experience of the hockey player but the framing of injuries as a threat to player success continues to dominate.

The construction of the humanized injury is apparent in an article that conveys to the reader that head injuries have lasting effects. A *TS* article examined the experiences of a

few athletes, including former NHL player Scott Thornton who had many concussions during his 17 seasons. Readers are informed that concussions have affected different aspects of his life: he “struggles at times to recall words, conversations or the names of past teammates.” Thornton himself explains that he struggles with memory loss: “There are times when you have conversations with your wife and kids that you don’t even recall. You sit there and swear that you’ve never heard that conversation before... ‘There goes Dad again, doesn’t remember talking about that.’” The article also informs readers about the concussion experiences of Bryan Muir who played for 15 years in the NHL and the minors. Muir described his symptoms: he experienced “mood swings and [remembers] throwing up between shifts on the ice after concussions” (*TS*, 23 April 2017). These examples highlight multiple hockey players’ experiences with concussion after retirement, and in doing so, makes this part of the public discourse. This not only undermines the injury discourse I outline earlier; it directly challenges hegemonic masculinity because it portrays male hockey players as vulnerable and redefines the meaning of strength.

Other articles constructed the humanized injury through reflections on the need to prioritize health over hockey. Not only do these examples humanize the male athletes, they challenge dominant sport values that privilege winning over player health. Discussing concussion protocol, an article published by the *NP* stated that Crosby should consider his future outside of hockey: “The impact [of the concussion] might not have been on Monday’s game. The impact could be on Crosby’s future – and not on the ice” (*NP*, 10 May 2017). Published a few days earlier in *GM*, another article focused on Crosby’s head injury. The article informed readers that “Crosby suffered what is believed to be the fourth concussion of his career.” Readers are then informed that Crosby’s concern should be his long-term health needs: “The time may be approaching, doctors suggested...for Crosby to take a hard look at not when – but if – he should return to the game.” Citing a concussion researcher, the article explained that “long-term effects need to be considered” and players need to “listen to [their] body and consider long-term health” (*GM*, 4 May 2017). By referring to long-term health concerns, these articles bring

into light a more health focused and humanized view of injuries and concussions specifically. Humanizing injuries serves to humanize players who are otherwise subjected to being portrayed as useless to their team specifically, and to the sport of men's hockey more broadly.

Another way that the humanized injury is produced is by the incorporation of medical research findings about the consequences of head injuries. In some of the articles that include this information, the humanizing occurs with the highlighting of the profit driven NHL, which is presented as being at the expense of male hockey players' well-being. Such discursive strategies challenge the injury discourse by questioning the organization of sport, the NHL, both of which rest on the normalization of men's hockey injuries. An article titled "Stop the concussions" published by *TS*, focused on the results of research on the health effects of concussions, using a sample of former NHL players. Despite inconclusive research findings, readers are cautioned that head injuries need to be a concern for NHL:

On objective tests of cognitive functions such as memory, attention and processing information, the NHL alumni do about as well as the study's comparison group, no matter how many concussions they had during their careers or whether they have the gene associated with increased dementia. Amid increased concern about the potentially devastating effects of the sorts of head injuries that hockey and football players all too often incur, this finding represents a positive glimmer. It should in no way, however, discourage the NHL and junior hockey leagues' important but nascent efforts to prevent brain injuries and treat them immediately when they occur. The good news is outweighed by reasons for caution and concern (*TS*, 26 April 2017).

In a different article, the humanized injury is also produced by highlighting scientific and medical research. In this article, readers are informed that NHL commissioner Gary Bettman has denied and overlooked the connections between concussions and chronic head trauma, invoking a sense that the NHL is not interested in the wellbeing of hockey players: he "has insisted that the connection between contact sports and CTE [chronic traumatic encephalopathy] [for example] has not been proven." The article then posits that the commissioner uses science to ignore the health of players: "dealing with lawsuits

from former players that essentially allege concussion negligence, can therefore retreat into the science-isn't-settled defence and get away with it." Discussing both the NFL and NHL, the article concluded by questioning how much the leagues care about their players and head injuries. This passage draws attention to the broader economic context of the NHL and uses science to challenge and question the NHL's treatment of professional hockey players:

Even as former football and hockey players have suffered mental illness after their playing days, taken their lives as a result, and were then discovered to have had CTE, there has always been an uncertainty about risk that has allowed the billiondollar (sic) leagues to push forward. Science may soon determine just how much of a risk there is for those who play football or hockey. And what will the sports leagues say then? (*NP*, 7 December 2016).

This passage suggests that economic profit is more important to professional leagues than the wellbeing of male hockey players. In doing so, the article constructs the humanized injury because there is concern for male hockey players and their wellbeing.

Adding to this discourse, the humanized injury is produced through criticism of NHL protocols that have been put in place over the last few years to identify concussions when they occur. Readers are informed in a *CH* article that NHL concussion protocol is neither clear enough nor good enough and ultimately this negatively affects the wellbeing of hockey players:

...in what way will the National Hockey League's concussion protocols be shown to be an utter farce this time? This isn't just a Sidney Crosby thing, although the incident with the Penguins captain in Game 6 of their series win over Washington was the best example of how the NHL's concussion rules are a Potemkin village of protocols: tidy on the surface, but a flimsy mess underneath (*CH*, 12 May 2017).

Readers are then given the example of Sydney Crosby who was not removed from the game despite fitting several symptoms outlined in the NHL's concussion protocol. In this passage, readers are informed that the NHL is not taking care of the players' wellbeing:

The Crosby incident a round later would show just how hockey's culture, all these years after the dangers of brain injury have become more fully realized, still errs on the side of the bare minimum that the specific rules require, to the point of ridiculousness...But in Game 6, he crashed into the boards in a collision that would at the very least have rattled his head, and then got up slowly. There was general bafflement that Crosby was not removed from the game for any length of time by either the in-arena concussion spotter or the one watching the game from the league offices. How could this possibly not fall under the requirements for an "acute evaluation" under the league's concussion guidelines? (CH, 12 May 2017).

Criticizing NHL protocols, readers are informed that “while the NHL touts its independent concussion spotters as an important advancement in player safety, it also prevents them from taking action unless in certain circumstance. Zero tolerance it is not” (CH, 12 May 2017). This article draws attention to the NHL as an organization and critiques the rules that govern play and safety. The critique of the NHL that occurs in this example constructed the humanized injury as there is a concern for the wellbeing of male hockey players. In doing so, the humanized injury is again constructed. In summary, the inclusion of results from scientific research humanizes male hockey players by providing evidence that shows the importance of considering male hockey players as people rather than players and highlighting the need for the NHL to care for and be concerned about the players.

5.2 Constructions of the Body

Across the sample articles, I find six constructions of the body exist through vivid language and imagery, metaphors, framing, and cautionary tales. First, *bodies are for the team*. Here, the body is presented as existing for the NHL team and the team's hockey success. Second, the body is constructed as an *assemblage of parts* and in a machine-like manner. Thirdly, the *commodified body* is constructed. In these articles, there is an emphasis on financial language and discussions of trades. Fourth, the injured body is presented as *durable* because it can withstand numerous injuries. Fifth, *the aged injured body* is constructed whereby age is a marker of expiration and of worth. And finally, *injured male athletes are replaceable*.

5.2.1 Bodies are for the Team

Bodies are constructed for the team through several discursive strategies that include language, imagery, and cautionary tales that reference missed time and describe the impact that injuries have on a team. With such a representation of injured male hockey players, the success of a team is presented as not only heavily impacted by injuries, but most important. This construction compliments the construction of injuries as a threat to player success because the individual player and the team are both significant in the injury discourse.

Bodies are first constructed for the team through mechanical language and imagery. The mechanical language in these examples informs readers that male hockey players function as a cog in a machine, in other words, as a component of the team. As a ‘cog,’ hockey player’s bodies are compared to a mechanical part, and as such, exist as part of the team machine:

The Avalanche were missing a couple of *key cogs* for their clash with the Flames, with D Erik Johnson (broken fibula) and G Semyon Varlamov (groin) both in the infirmary (emphasis added; *CH*, 28 December 2016).

The playoffs begin Thursday night for the Leafs in Washington and the euphoria of Saturday night has already been lost in time, trampled on by the reality of Sunday's defeat to Columbus and the injury suffered by stalwart rookie defenceman Nikita Zaitsev. In a matter of a few days, the possibility of playing an equal in the Ottawa Senators disappeared, and in the Sunday loss to the Blue Jackets, so has Zaitsev, who is such an important *component* on a team already thin on defence (emphasis added; *NP*, 13 April 2017).

By referring to players as ‘cogs’ and ‘components,’ hockey players are portrayed inhumanly, as mechanical parts of a machine. This serves to construct bodies of players as inanimate objects that exist and function for the team and for the team’s achievements.

Bodies are further constructed for the team through explicit language that presents players as serving the interests of their team. For instance, a *VS* article discussed Nashville Predators’ Ryan Johansen’s injury which occurred during the playoffs. Johansen’s injury is described as affecting the team: “If the Nashville Predators are going

to advance to the Stanley Cup final, they will have to do so without their leading scorer.” The article again tells readers that his injury will impact the team: Johansen “suffered a left thigh injury...[it] is obviously a huge blow to the Predators.” The impact is framed in relation to Johansen’s contribution to the team: “Johansen was not only the team’s leading scorer, with three goals and 13 points in 14 post season games, but arguably Nashville’s best player.” Johansen was described as “the best centreman in the game right now” and “He competes every shift and he’s a big part of our team and a leader up front.” Johansen was described as “valuable” and one who “brings leadership.” Readers are then informed that being without Johansen’s services would impact the team: “the Predators will be challenged without Johansen’s services” (VS, 20 May 2017). The reference to military language here portrays male hockey players as solely functioning to score goals and to serve their team, helping to bring their team to victory. Johansen as a hockey player is thus presented as existing for the team and his injury impacts his service to the team; in other words, his injury is constructed as impacting his ability to complete his duties for the team.

Bodies are produced for the team through cautionary tales that reference time in relation to hockey injuries. References to time are common and include a focus on missed time and missed games. With this representation of injury, these cautionary tales caution against injuries because time is ‘missed’, time that would otherwise be used to score goals and be productive. Bodies are thus constructed for the team because when they are injured, it becomes an issue of missed time and time away from the game. Healing and recovering are not validated; instead they are presented as unproductive (injured players cannot score or help their team win). In this sense, injuries cause the injured player to miss hockey and lose time to compete, play, and win for their team. In these passages, readers are informed that injured players will miss time to be productive for their hockey teams:

...general managers are frustrated at the depletion of potential blue-line help on the trade market due in part to the long-term shoulder labrum injuries of Ducks

defencemen Hampus Lindholm and Sami Vatanen, who both will be out a minimum five months (*VS*, 5 June 2017).

Thomas Vanek [of the Chicago Blackhawks], whose lower-body injury has gone from "more of a week-to-week injury than a day-to-day," according to Detroit coach Jeff Blashil, has been placed on long-term injured reserve ... Columbus defenceman Seth Jones is expected to miss three weeks with a hairline fracture in his foot" (*TS*, 8 November 2016).

The one [hit] that broke a finger in [Johnny] Gaudreau's right hand late in Tuesday's 1-0 win in Minnesota was delivered by Eric Staal and required surgery in Vancouver Wednesday. "Speaking to the doctors, they're happy with how it went," said Treliving, who then addressed the time Gaudreau is expected to miss. "We don't know, but we're sort of working around a six-week time frame. Hopefully it's shorter" (*CH*, 18 November 2016b).

Here, these tales of caution inform readers that injuries, while constructed as part of the game and normalized in the injury discourse, are unproductive time. Injured players are constructed as not owning their bodies; instead, their body serves the team and the team's goal of winning.

Similarly, cautionary tales construct bodies for the team in tales that highlight male athletes who are returning from an injury. These examples emphasize time missed, including the number of games missed due to injury. Here, again, productivity is emphasized – time away is unproductive because injured players are not productive for their team. For instance, in several articles, readers are informed about players who have missed games because of an injury and are ready to return to play:

The Ondrej Pavelec era appears to have come to an end in Winnipeg. The veteran goaltender had arthroscopic knee surgery Monday morning and is expected to be out of the lineup for close to a month. He missed eight games with the knee injury and appeared to be ready to get back in the lineup on the weekend (*NP*, 7 March 2017).

Centre Alex Galchenyuk, who has missed 15 games with a knee injury, and defenceman Andrei Markov, who has been out of the lineup for nine games with a groin injury, have resumed practising (*CH*, 9 January 2017; *VS*, 9 January 2017b).

[Drew] Stafford [of the Winnipeg Jets], who missed six games with a lower-body injury, skated at morning practice and was expected to be in the lineup for Tuesday's home game against the Minnesota Wild (*TS*, 8 February 2017).

By referencing the amount of time players missed because of injury, bodies are constructed for the team. This is because time away for recovery and healing is constructed as unproductive and unhelpful to the team; time away does not improve the team's chances of winning and does not add to the team's overall achievements.

Bodies are additionally constructed for the team through the use of cautionary tales that reference the immediate impact of injuries on NHL teams. In these cautionary tales, readers are cautioned about the impact that injuries have on NHL teams and the repercussions of getting injured. The following passages are examples of these cautionary tales about how injuries contribute to losing games:

It was only six-and-a-half minutes - not 37 games like last season - but the effect was pretty much the same. When a concussion spotter pulled Connor McDavid from the game after drawing a tripping penalty against the Minnesota Wild on Sunday, the Edmonton Oilers were not the same team. With the NHL's leading scorer sitting in the quiet room, Edmonton failed to convert on a glorious man-advantage opportunity - they didn't even get a shot on net for the rest of the second period - and eventually lost 2-1 in overtime (*NP*, 6 December 2016).

On the way to their eighth win in their last 10 outings, Toronto got a huge scare in the first period when top-pair defenceman Morgan Rielly left the game with a leg injury. The team leader in ice time absorbed a big hit from [Williams] Carrier and hobbled to the bench in pain before heading to the dressing room. Buffalo scored its first of two first-period goals shortly after (*TS*, 18 January 2017).

The Canucks started the day as healthy as they've been all season, not missing any forward who is expected to regularly score goals... But when the game ended, the Canucks had lost their fourth straight, this time 4-2, and were looking at the possibility of playing the rest of this trip without one of their top scorers. (*VS*, 8 February 2017).

Here, the references to the immediate impact that injuries have on a team constructs male hockey players as existing for the team. By focusing on this impact, this construction of injured bodies links the role as a male hockey player directly to their team's success and achievements.

Along with the immediate impact on a team, bodies are constructed as existing for the team through cautionary tales about other significant impacts of injuries. This includes tales that inform readers about the team's ability to win upcoming games. For example, an article described a player's injury as 'disastrous' for the team's chances of making the playoffs. The *NP* article detailed the injury of Toronto Maple Leafs' Mitch Marner in February of the regular season. The article stated that Marner's injury caused a 'panic': "There was plenty of panic after the NHL's leading rookie point getter left the Leafs bench three times on Wednesday before finally shutting it down for good in the third." Marner's injury 'shut down' the hockey player: "An injury to the upper arm/shoulder area in the second period essentially shut down the talented Leafs freshman and the team's leading scorer, leaving him in serious discomfort." Marner, who is referred to as simply a 'body' in the following passage, functions as a hockey player for the team as his absence is framed as disastrous and affecting the Leafs' chances of making the playoffs:

Back to Marner again. An absence of the team's leading scorer and the most creative offensive *body* in the lineup for more than a handful of games could be disastrous for the team. And if some of the veterans don't pick up the slack in a hurry, the playoff picture will reflect it (emphasis added; *NP*, 17 February 2017).

The reference to the impact of Marner's injury on the team, constructs Marner as existing for the team, the team's ability to win, and the team's overall success. This means that the team, rather than the player, is emphasized when an injury occurs.

In several articles, bodies are constructed as existing for the team through cautionary tales that detail the impact of an injury on a team's overall season. In these examples, readers are cautioned about the consequences of injuries in relation to a team's overall hockey season. For example, *GM* published an article discussing the Montreal Canadiens and goaltender Cary Price's injury from the previous season. According to the article, the injury impacted their season: when they "lost star goalie Carey Price" their "season went into a tailspin." The impact is further emphasized through an account of the success of the team prior to the injury: "The Canadiens led the NHL with a 19-4-3 record." This passage explained that Price suffered a season-ending knee injury and thus the team

could no longer win: “They won only 19 games the rest of the campaign as the overall standings leaders eventually fell out of the playoff picture” (*GM*, 9 December 2016). In this example, bodies are constructed as existing for the team through the connection between the goalie’s injury and the team’s unsuccessful season once the injury occurred. This means that the goalie in this example functioned and existed for his team and his team’s achievements.

Other articles constructed bodies as for the team through cautionary tales that highlight team changes due to injury that led to losing. For example, readers are explicitly told that injuries impacted the success of the Vancouver Canucks in the regular season: “There is the trickle-down effect of the injured Chris Tanev missing 10 of the last 11 games, rookie Troy Stecher being forced into a top pairing with Alex Edler ...and extra minutes and expectation.” Tanev’s injury led to the team losing: “The Canucks have allowed 36 goals in their last nine games and ranked 26th in goals against” (*VS*, 17 November 2016). In another article published later in the season, one specific injury caused the Toronto Maple Leafs to lose because the composition and chemistry of the players was affected: “Thanks to a cut on Tyler Bozak’s hand that became infected, the Leafs had to play against the best goaltender in the world when two of their centres were [struggling players] Ben Smith and Frederik Gauthier.” The injury is presented as causing other issues for the team: Connor Brown “was playing out of his regular slot thanks to Mitch Marner’s should injury and the line was still trying to gel.” The injuries heavily impacted the Leafs and they struggled moving forward: “the Leafs had to try to beat [the Montreal] Canadiens goaltender Carey Price with one hand tied behind their backs” (*GM*, 27 February 2017). These representations frame injuries as impacting the team because the injury causes the team to lose. As such, by referring to the impacts of the injuries on the team, bodies are constructed as existing as well as functioning for the hockey club.

Bodies are further produced for the team through cautionary tales that explicitly inform readers of the impact of the injury on the team. In these tales, injured players statistics and contributions to the team are highlighted. This portrayal constructs bodies for the

team because they present the injury as a loss for the team and a loss of a productive, statistically significant hockey player. The following passages focused on the injury of a player and explicitly reference how the injury ‘affects’ and ‘hurts’ the team:

Stamkos was hurt in the first period of a 4-3 win at Detroit on Tuesday... Stamkos led the team with nine goals and was tied for third in the NHL with 20 points... Yes, we are going to miss him dearly...you lose a guy like that and it's going to affect you (*GM*, 18 November 2016).

The Christmas news is worse than Tyler Pitlick expected, which is saying something, given how rotten Pitlick's luck usually is. The leg injury that felled him in St. Louis and got him sent home from the Edmonton Oilers road trip is a torn ACL that has ended his season. This hurts not only the 25-yearold winger who was having a breakthrough season after enduring a rash of injuries earlier in his career, but an Oilers team that's better when he's in the lineup. “It's a huge blow. We lost a key player,” said head coach Todd McLellan. “When we're using the word ‘key’ at Christmas with Tyler, that means he's done something extremely well” (*CH*, 24 December 2016).

In the second example, interestingly there is a reference to both the individualized injury as outlined earlier in this chapter and the impact on the team. This quote references the duality of injuries threatening player success while at the same time, players are constructed as existing for the team. Alas, these representations construct injuries as a significant loss for the team because the injured players were once productive and important players to the team's successes.

5.2.2 The injured body as an Assemblage of Parts

In many articles in the sample, the injured body is constructed as machine-like and an assemblage of broken parts. In these instances, the injured or ‘broken’ parts are highlighted for the reader and this serves to make the injured part of the body visible. This is produced when injuries are presented either in parentheses, or as lists at the end of an article. References to mysterious injuries adds to this construction and leads to speculation about the injury location. The visibility and emphasis on the damaged part(s) of the injured male hockey player constructs the injured body as machine-like and an assemblage of parts. What is visible then is the part of the body that is broken and the

part of the body that is preventing the male hockey player from being able to function (play hockey) to achieve their intended goal (to win hockey games).

The injured body is constructed as an assemblage of parts through the visibility of the injured body part. In many instances, the name of the injured male athlete is given, followed by the injury or area of injury in parentheses. The following passages are examples of how injuries are often presented in the sample articles:

The Canucks will make a decision on Gaunce today after the injuries to Horvat (foot) and Sutter (hand or wrist) are reassessed (*VS*, 16 February 2017).

They were without Tyler Bozak (hand) for the key divisional game - Toronto could have pulled within two points of Atlantic Division-leading Montreal - and were hurt for it (*GM*, 28 February 2017).

And now that Edler is out, joining first-pairing partner Chris Tanev (ankle) in the medical room (*VS*, 28 November 2016b).

Alex Galchenyuk (sprained knee) and Andrei Markov (groin) returned to practice Friday with no-contact jerseys (*CH*, 7 January 2017; *VS*, 7 January 2017).

This representation of the injured body makes the injured part or the ‘broken’ part of the hockey player visible and known to readers. This visibility constructs the body as an assemblage of parts because the part of the body that is stopping the male hockey player from playing is made known.

The injured body is additionally constructed as an assemblage of parts through the listing of injuries. In several *CH* articles, readers are given an injury report where the injured male hockey player and their injury are simply listed under the heading ‘Injuries.’ In many of these articles, this injury report is found at the end of the article after either a discussion of a previous game or of upcoming games. The following examples demonstrate how injuries are simply listed in some of the articles:

RW Troy Brouwer (hand) Ducks: D Sami Vatanen (illness), C Nate Thompson (Achilles), D Simon Despres (suspected concussion), D Clayton Stoner (lower body) (*CH*, 29 December 2016).

Flames: None. Canadiens: C Tomas Plekanec (upper body), RW Alexander Radulov (lower body), C Brian Flynn (upper body) (*CH*, 9 March 2017).

Flames: D Michael Stone (upper body). Penguins: LW Carl Hagelin (lower body), RW Patric Hornqvist (concussion), C Matt Cullen (lower body), D Kris Letang (upper body), RW Bryan Rust (upper body), D Olli Maatta (hand), D Trevor Daley (knee) (*CH*, 13 March 2017).

Here, readers are presented with machine-like lists – the list consist of the ‘who’ and the ‘(broken part),’ as if the articles are describing what part of the body (machine) is damaged, as well as what part of the body (machine) needs fixing. This presentation of injuries brings attention to the damaged part of the male hockey player.

Talk of mysterious injuries further constructs the body as an assemblage of parts. In a few articles, readers are informed that a hockey player experienced an injury but the type of injury and the body part that is injured is unknown. For example, an article referred to a Pittsburgh Penguins’ Kris Letang’s injury as mysterious: “Kris Letang hasn’t played since Feb. 21. He hasn’t been seen at practice since Feb. 23. He has a mysterious “upper-body injury”” (*VS*, 8 March 2017). In another article, the author was not entirely satisfied with the description of an injured hockey players injury. It was explained that Toronto’s coach Mike Babcock “kept his answers short – he usually does when talking about injuries. “Upper body injury” was the extent of his description of Zaitsev’s injury” (*TS*, 10 April 2017).

Related to the mysterious injury, a few of the articles in the sample try to solve the mystery for readers and identify the damaged body part. The focus on deciphering the exact injury and the need to locate the injury constructs the body as an assemblage of parts, parts that are functioning and broken, similar to a machine. In these passages, there are reference to mysterious injuries as well as to the secrecy in the NHL regarding injuries:

In these overprotective, secretive days in the NHL, teams are loath to let their players and coaches honestly discuss injuries so Rielly's presence indicated he really is day-to-day with, as the script calls it, a "lower-body injury." The other way is Rielly's demeanour. Plus the fact he came out with no apparent wraps or

bandages anywhere on his right leg... The exact injury is still a closely guarded secret (*GM*, 19 January 2017).

A few minutes into the third, Michael Stone grimaced his way to the locker-room with what looked like a shoulder issue. It's the time of year that a coach would sooner share the PIN number for his chequing account than dish on the details of an injury, so it's no surprise Glen Gulutzan was non-committal about their status for Saturday's road matchup against the Winnipeg Jets in Manitoba (*CH*, 11 March 2017).

What is 'mysterious,' 'unknown,' and a 'secret' is the location of the injury and the part of the body that is injured and thus preventing the male hockey player from playing hockey. This focus on the location of a player's injury draws attention to the injury and constructs the injured body as an assemblage of functioning and broken parts much like a damaged machine.

5.2.3 The Commodified Body

Not only are bodies constructed mechanically, bodies are also commodified. This occurs by injured hockey players being portrayed as financial investments and products to be bought and sold. Many articles discuss players' salaries and use economic language and monetary references when discussing male hockey players and their injuries. This representation of injured male hockey players points to the economic and capitalist aspect of the NHL and reduces male athletes to financial investments with monetary value, and economic worth.

The commodified body is commonly constructed through talk of salaries and NHL contracts. The visibility of an injured male hockey player's salary portrays the injured male hockey player as simply a monetary value and informs readers of the financial investment teams have made in that player. In these passages, readers are informed about the salaries of injured and returning hockey players:

After missing five games to injury, the winger's one-year, one-way contract extension for US\$625,000 with the Vancouver Canucks was announced before puck drop (*VS*, 3 April 2017).

Hedman spoke before the Lightning played at Buffalo, and a day after the team announced Stamkos was out indefinitely with a torn ligament in his right knee... The injury is the latest setback for the 2008 No. 1 draft pick who signed an eight-year, \$68-million (U.S.) contract last June” (*GM*, 18 November 2016).

Burrows is obviously buoyed by getting a two-year, US\$5-million contract extension from the Senators, who had to part with prime prospect Jonathan Dahlen to complete the swap (*VS*, 23 May 2017).

By including injured male athletes’ salaries, these articles inform readers about the financial investments teams have made in their players. This representation of the injured male hockey player constructs the male athletes as simply monetary investments and, in this discussion, the commodified body is produced.

The commodified body is produced in discussions of NHL trades through economic language. In these instances, sample articles discussed the trade value of the injured players. Players, as financial investments, are framed as bought and sold based on their value both in relation to hockey and their financial worth. In these examples, financial language is used to discuss trading once injured players:

Alex Burrows and Hansen would *command considerable interest* from Stanley Cup contenders because of their *versatility, experience and low financial risk*, as an unrestricted free agent rental and attractive 2017-18 contract addition, respectively (emphasis added; *VS*, 13 December 2016).

And Hansen, who was the leading trade candidate when this season began, looks more *valuable* to the Canucks now that we see where the rebuilding team is going and what it still needs upfront - speed, tenacity, skill and versatility (emphasis added; *VS*, 1 February 2017).

Another article informed readers about the importance of trading Chris Tanev of the Vancouver Canucks. The article reported that there are many members of the media and the many fans who are “cardcarrying (sic) members of the ‘Trade Tanev Club.’” Using stock market trading language, readers are informed that Tanev is financially valuable: he “represents the *biggest potential trade chip*” (emphasis added) for the Vancouver Canucks. Readers are then informed that his value is affected by injuries because he is showing signs of ‘wear,’ invoking the normalcy of injuries and how bodies need to be

able to withstand multiple injuries: “In the past four seasons, he’s had an assortment of injuries” and he is “already showing signs of wear” (VS, 3 May 2017). By referencing the value of hockey players, these articles construct the commodified body whereby the body is understood in relation to its economic value. Trades then are financial transactions and male hockey players are products that carry financial value.

The commodified body is produced through the use of economic language to describe the loss of an injured player. In these examples, readers are informed that the loss of a player is not just about winning – it is related to finances because hockey players are financial investments and carry financial value:

The Leafs cannot *afford* to lose Marner, their most creative player and points leader, for an extended period. Heading into Saturday's game against the Senators, an important one since the Leafs are three points behind them in the fight for second place (emphasis added; GM, 18 February 2017).

To dismiss him as done and *throw him on the scrap heap* could be a *costly* mistake. Pouliot is one of the few players in the Edmonton lineup who has been deep in the playoffs (emphasis added; CH, 10 March 2017).

The second example here is rather interesting as it constructs the body as a machine-like (‘scrap’) but portrays how bodies can be thrown away like broken products. In both examples, the use of economic language (afford, costly) constructs injuries in financial terms. This means that male hockey players have monetary value and economic worth. As a capitalist professional league, the construction of the commodified body produces injuries as a financial concern for the NHL and NHL teams.

5.2.4 The Durable Body

Bodies are constructed as durable in a few of the sample articles. This construction is related to the construction of injuries as normal. The sample articles portray the durable body – male hockey players must endure wear and tear, damage, and numerous injuries throughout their careers. Durability is a noteworthy characteristic, and there are concerns about players who are not durable. The durable body is produced through explicit talk of

durability, through inspirational tales about male hockey players who are durable, and cautionary tales about male athletes who are not durable.

The durable body is produced through explicit talk of durability. Durability in these examples is presented as a noteworthy characteristic because these male athletes have endured several injuries. In these passages, durability is a celebrated trait of these hockey players:

Forget about Tanev revealing three injuries and those he played through that limited the normally *durable* blue-liner to 53 games this National Hockey League season. He had more than a lingering high ankle sprain that affected strength and mobility, but Tanev wouldn't confirm the troika of trouble included back and shoulder injuries (emphasis added; *VS*, 13 April 2017a).

A torn ACL in his right knee cost Rielly most of the 2011-12 season when he was in junior hockey, although he has been *durable* as an NHLer, playing 278 of a possible 288 games since 2013 (emphasis added; *GM*, 19 January 2017).

Another article detailed the 'durable' Mitch Marner of the Toronto Maple Leafs and the many injuries he experienced while playing hockey: when he was 10 years old, "There was a dirty slash that broke Mitch's arm." When he was 15, there was "the hip flexor issue that kept him out a few;" at 17, he "suffered a fracture in his elbow" and a "case of whiplash" after receiving a stick to the jaw. More recently nearing the end of the regular season, Marner experienced a shoulder injury from "crashing awkwardly into the boards." Along with showing that Marner is durable because he withstood so many injuries, the article described Marner as "pretty durable" (*TS*, 1 March 2017). In these examples, durability is explicitly linked to the amount of injuries athletes endure throughout their time playing hockey. This link means that male hockey players need to withstand multiple injuries and be durable.

The durable body is produced through inspirational tales that tell stories about hockey players who have had many injuries in their careers. While these articles do not explicitly discuss durability, they construct the durable body through the visibility of the numerous injuries experienced in one's hockey career. This portrayal of bodies constructs injuries

as part of the game because injuries are presented as a frequent and therefore normal occurrence. Readers are informed of the many injuries hockey players have experienced in their careers, celebrating how durable the players are for withstanding several injuries:

Baertschi had a concussion with the AHL Abbotsford Heat in December 2012 when he was sent crashing into the boards. And he had another nearly a year earlier in the world junior championship... After missing nine National Hockey League games and 22 days with a concussion...he [returned] fresh (*VS*, 4 March 2017).

Gallagher is trying to play the exact same style of game, but having his left hand shattered twice in the last two seasons by slapshots has made it more difficult. Gallagher missed 17 games last season after being hit by a blast from the New York Islanders' Johnny Boychuk and missed 18 games this season after being hit by teammate Shea Weber...Work ethic is something that can never be questioned about Gallagher. His left hand will never be what it was, but thankfully for him as a right-hand shot it's the top hand on his stick (*NP*, 9 March 2017).

By presenting the number of injuries male hockey players have experienced, the durable body is constructed. This occurs as the body is shown to have to endure many injuries and this endurance is notable.

The durable body is further constructed through cautionary tales where the durability of male hockey players is questioned. These tales caution readers by emphasizing the real and imagined repercussions of a body not being durable and of not enduring injuries. For example, in these passages, readers are informed that there is concern when male athletes are not durable:

Those clubs have designated starters in John Gibson, Jonathan Quick and Martin Jones respectively, but some uncertainty with durability, backup options and the salary cap. The Ducks have US\$2.3 million in space and because Gibson, 23, has had a run of soft-tissue setbacks and inconsistent play (*CH*, 26 May 2017; *VS*, 26 May 2017).

Then, as now, one of the chief topics was the durability of the starting goaltender. Present-day starter Frederik Andersen was injured in a pre-season Olympic qualifier that kept him out of training camp, but has been largely healthy ever since. But there remains concern about his season-long viability given that he's on

pace for to play a heavier schedule than he has ever experienced (*TS*, 4 February 2017).

The concern expressed in these articles portrays the need and importance of hockey players being durable and the possible failure of those who are not. By questioning the durability of injured male hockey players then, the durable body is constructed as durability and the enduring of injuries is presented as ideal.

5.2.5 The Aged Injured Body

Adding to the construction of the body as durable is the aged injured body. This construction occurs when the age of the injured male hockey player is discussed. The aged injured body is constructed through the visibility of an injured male athlete's age and explicit talk of either youthfulness or aging. The construction of the aged injured body labels injured male athletes and their bodies old or young by treating age as a marker of the body's abilities, decline, and worth. Given that age is related to performance, strength, and the ability to compete at the expected level, the labelling of injured male athletes as aged bodies constructs male hockey players' bodies in relation to their career expiration and eventual decline.

The aged injured body is first produced through the visibility of an injured male hockey player's age. This description of the player constructs the injured body in relation to age and the aging process in relation to ability. The following passages inform readers about the age of the injured player:

The [Edmonton Oilers] announced Monday the 21-year-old needed surgery to repair ligament and bone damage in his right ankle and will be out for 12 weeks (*CH*, 13 December 2016).

Players don't normally talk about injuries during the post-season, but the 32-year-old MacArthur, who missed the better part of two years with post-concussion syndrome, told reporters after the 45-minute skate on Broadway he had a pinched nerve in his neck (*VS*, 2 May 2017b).

The 29-year-old Czech made a short-lived comeback when the Jets ran into goaltending trouble and called him up from the AHL in the middle of January (*NP*, 7 March 2017).

The reference to age in these examples constructs the injured body in relation to age. This emphasis on age signifies to the reader the relative ability and worth of a player in relation to a chronological marker of expected abilities at a particular age.

The aged injured body is produced through discussions of the youthfulness of injured players. Being young and youthful is portrayed as ideal. Mitch Marner was described as youthful in two different articles. The Toronto Maple Leafs player was described as a “wunderkind” in a *GM* article that reported Marner’s shoulder injury in February of the regular season (*GM*, 18 February 2017). Referencing the same injury, Marner was described as “The nifty 19-year-old” who “was placed on the retroactive injured reserve list” (*NP*, 22 February 2017). Another article described a returned male athlete as playing like his younger self. The article informed readers about “the healthy and rejuvenated 35-year-old” Alex Burrows who was described as youthful and skilled, despite his age. Referencing the process of aging during one’s career, the article stated: “Burrows is free of hip issues and skating like he has *turned back the career clock*” (emphasis added; *VS*, 13 December 2016). In these examples, the youthfulness of the injured male athlete is emphasized. This portrays the injured male athlete as fit and vigorous, and age is an indicator of those characteristics.

The aged body is further constructed through discussions of aging hockey players who are not playing very well. In these examples, aging is not ideal and for readers, age contextualizes the injured players issues and failures. For instance, an article published in the *VS* informed readers about the Vancouver Canucks who were looking to build a younger team. According to the article, this meant the possible trade of Chris Tanev. The article first described Tanev: “He’s not physical, but he’s tough and reliable. His lack of obvious offensive skills are made up for, and then some, by his ability to move pucks.” The article then described his age: “He’s still *young-ish* and doesn’t turn 27 until the end of the year” (emphasis added). Despite being “young-ish,” the article informed readers

that “he’s had an assortment of injuries.” Readers are informed that age is a marker of his abilities and skill: if Tanev is not traded “Tanev would be in his 30s” and “he’s already showing signs of wear” (*VS*, 3 May 2017). In this example, there is reference to the durability of male hockey players with this discussion of ‘wear,’ informing readers that bodies get worn out overtime and this is a problematic. In terms of the aged injured body, aging is thus not ideal because a male hockey player’s abilities and durability are affected. Youthfulness here is emphasized, and aging means a possible decline for the injured player.

The aged injured body is produced in another example of an aging player who is not playing well. An article informed readers about 33-year-old James Wisniewski whose NHL career ended because of an injury and aging. The article informed readers that careers ending due to aging is a normal aspect of the NHL: “What happened next was a lesson in the harsh realities of the NHL.” In this passage, readers are informed that aging is not ideal, and an aging player is not an athlete teams want:

With Carolina more interested in developing Noah Hanifin, now 20, and Jaccob Slavin and Brett Pesce, both 22, *the team didn't have a need for Wisniewski*. He had a professional tryout with the Tampa Bay Lightning. But after missing pretty much the entire season, no one was willing to take a chance on an *aging player* who was coming off a serious knee injury (emphasis added; *NP*, 23 February 2017).

Here, the reference to aging constructs the aged injured body as problematic because aging could mean the end of a hockey career. This highlights the value of youth, and the costs of aging; aging means the injured player is no longer able to perform at the expected level. Age, as such, is a marker that indicates injured players’ abilities, their decline, and worth for a hockey team.

5.2.6 Injured Male Athletes are Replaceable

Injured male bodies are also constructed as simply replaceable. Related to the construction of bodies as existing for the team, bodies are replaced when injured because injured players cannot function for the team. This construction of injured male athletes as

replaceable occurs through cautionary tales where readers are cautioned about the real or imaged consequences of getting injured – the threat is that when NHL hockey players are injured, they are replaced. Injured male athletes are constructed as replaceable through tales that focus on injuries as opportunities for other players. Here the successful, hardworking, young replacement players are highlighted, compromising value of injured players. Other cautionary tales discuss permanent replacement and the end of NHL careers. With such tales being told, injured bodies are constructed as replaceable and expendable because another player will simply replace the injured player.

The replaceable body is constructed through cautionary tales that inform readers about injured players being replaced. In these passages, readers are informed that injured hockey players have been replaced by other players:

When Ryan Johansen suffered a playoff-ending injury in the conference final, [Filip] Forsberg stepped up, scoring in five of the six games and picking up five of his seven points in the third period (*VS*, 27 May 2017).

Reinforcements on the way: Brendan Gallagher is out at least eight weeks after surgery on his left hand and Paul Byron missed practice Friday with an upper-body injury. Nikita Scherbak is expected to make his NHL debut after being called up from the American Hockey League along with Sven Andrighetto (*CH*, 7 January 2017).

In these examples, injured hockey players are shown to get simply replaced by other players. Functionality and mechanical links are again invoked – the inoperative, broken bodies are replaced with one that can function. This produces the replaceable body because injured players are simply replaced by other players.

The replaceable body is produced through cautionary tales that frame injuries as opportunities for other male hockey players. By referring to injuries as opportunities, readers are cautioned that injuries lead to being replaced by other players. For instance, Toronto Maple Leafs' coach Mike Babcock, with several Leafs experiencing injuries in the middle of the regular season, is quoted: “next man up, right?” Readers are then informed that injuries are opportunities for others: “Someone else gets an opportunity.

We'll see who wants to play more right now" (*GM*, 19 January 2017). Not only does this example caution readers about the consequences of injuries, it constructs playing in relation to individual desire and not individual skill. This opportunity discourse occurs in other articles as well. In these examples, age is again emphasized as readers are informed that injuries give younger players opportunities:

...several [Vancouver Canucks] veterans were injured and the team became a land of opportunity for young, untried players as it plummeted from the playoff race (*VS*, 17 March 2017).

While the injuries will give some younger players a chance to show what they can do in offensive roles, more production will be needed from veterans who have been slow to get on track (*GM*, 9 December 2016).

Here, injuries are produced as opportunities for hockey players, especially younger players. Not only do these examples invoke the importance of youthfulness, they construct the injured body as easily replaced by fresher, younger, more youthful hockey players. There is also a somewhat mechanical sense here to injuries that demonstrates the expendability of the injured male hockey players; teams pick the next young, fresh model (player) after the old, worn out model (player) breaks (gets injured).

The replaceable body is further produced through cautionary tales that focus on the eager players who took the opportunity created by injuries. In these articles, there is a focus on the replacement player and their hopes of playing in the NHL. The references to the replacement players portrayed injured hockey players as expendable and positively replaced by eager, excited male athletes:

Rasmus Andersson has been waiting, hoping, dreaming of his first NHL call-up. "When someone does go down, it always gives that other guy a new opportunity and new excitement comes into your lineup." That new guy, in this case, is Andersson (*CH*, 11 March 2017).

Jon Gillies is waiting for word. And he's not alone. "Two or three of my best buddies that I grew up with at home that have kind of been there through everything, they are on standby. They're going to book plane tickets to come out and see, if it happens," said Gillies, summoned Wednesday from the Calgary Flames farm club and expected to log his NHL debut in one of two remaining

dates on the regular-season slate. The 23-year-old Gillies was slated to start Wednesday for the American Hockey League's Stockton Heat, but he was instead stuffing his carry-on after usual backup Chad Johnson suffered a lowerbody injury Tuesday... He's been waiting for this for a long time. It's never good when it happens due to injury, but that's when you have to take advantage of your opportunity sometimes. I know he's excited" (*CH*, 6 April 2017a).

In these examples, a general excitement is created around new players whose opportunity to play is due to another player's injuries. This focus on the replacement player and the excitement here cautions readers that not only do injured hockey players get replaced, their replacement is an exciting opportunity for others to compete.

The replaceable body is additionally constructed through cautionary tales that inform readers that injured players are no longer valuable and therefore are replaced by successful, hardworking, and young male hockey players. In terms of the successful and hardworking player, this constructs the injured body as replaceable because other players not only take an injured player's spot on the team, they successfully contribute to the team. In these passages, male hockey players are replaced by successful male hockey players:

The captain's shoulder injury thrust Engelland into a prominent role alongside T.J. Brodie few could have envisioned when the former tough guy was signed by the Flames that season. But he responded with the type of solid, gritty play that has made the versatile veteran one of the Flames' most respected teammates, not to mention fan favourites (*CH*, 13 April 2017).

Babcock rewarded Leivo with a promotion from the fourth line and almost 15 minutes on the ice in the Columbus game after Marner's injury. He finished with two assists to run his points total to five in two games (*GM*, 18 February 2017).

When Jonathan Quick went down with a serious groin injury in the first game of the season, it looked like the Kings' season was done. But Budaj, who spent last year in the minors, has stepped up in a way few could have imagined. He is ranked third in the NHL among players with at least 20 games with a 2.02 goals-against average and his 25 wins have Los Angeles sitting in a playoff spot (*CH*, 7 February 2017; *NP*, 7 February 2017; *VS*, 7 February 2017).

In these examples, the focus on the successful replacement players constructs injured bodies as easily replaceable by capable and successful hockey players. Here, replaced by

other players, the injured players are expendable and have no value for the team; instead, the replacement players are valuable because they are functioning and successfully helping the NHL team.

The replaceable body is also produced through cautionary tales that highlight a replacement player's youthfulness. In these articles, not only are players replaced, they are replaced by younger and therefore more youthful athletes. In the case of Loui Eriksson of the Vancouver Canucks, the replacements were younger – the title of the article referred to younger players as 'kids' and 'youth': "*Kids Get Quack At More Work; Youth Steps up for Canucks after Eriksson injury*" (emphasis added). Eriksson had experienced a leg injury which meant other players saw more ice time: "When Loui Eriksson was lost to a left-leg injury early in the first period after a heavy sideboards collision with Chris Wagner, the Vancouver Canucks were forced to double-shift wingers." Replaced by what the article calls the Canucks "younger core," readers are informed that the young players have been successfully helping the team. In this passage, the younger players are referred to as 'kids' who successfully replaced an injured player:

The kids actually lapped it up. Granlund found an extra step and gave the Canucks a two-goal cushion when he snapped a wrist shot from the slot between the pads of struggling backup goalie Jonathan Bernier in the second period for his career-high 17th goal (VS, 6 March 2017)

With this tale, not only are readers cautioned that injured players are replaced, they are replaced by younger male hockey players. Invoking the aged injured body, this portrayal of the injured body means that aging players are expendable.

Other cautionary tales construct the replaceable body by detailing tales of permanent replacements and the end of NHL careers. In these examples, readers are cautioned that injuries can lead to other male hockey players permanently taking one's spot on the team, possibly changing the status of the injured player, or ending their career entirely. For instance, an article detailed the career of Pittsburgh Penguins goaltender Marc-Andre Fleury who is described as having a successful career: Fleury "helped the Penguins to a Stanley Cup in 2009 and has been a franchise cornerstone for more than a decade."

Because of injury, Fleury was replaced by a rookie goaltender: “Fleury was replaced by rookie Matt Murray because of injuries last post-season.” Even though Fleury eventually returned, he became the backup goalie, a downgrade in a goaltender’s role on a team. Readers are informed that Fleury was replaced, and his replacement was successfully helping his team: “Murray ultimately led the team to another Stanley Cup victory as a healthy Fleury looked on from the bench” (*CH*, 29 April 2017b; *VS*, 29 April 2017a). Here, readers are cautioned about injuries – injured players are replaced, and their role and status can change even when they return after an injury.

Similarly, a *NP* article presented the cautionary tale of James Wisniewski who was replaced and no longer plays in the NHL after tearing his ACL. Readers are informed that the consequence of his injury happened suddenly:

James Wisniewski still doesn't know how he ended up in Russia [playing hockey]. A year ago, he was earning \$5.5 million as a power play specialist who had once ranked in the top 10 in scoring among defencemen. “And then – poof – I was gone,” he said (*NP*, 23 February 2017).

In this quote, the reference to a player’s statistics informs readers that not only are male hockey players replaceable, even successful and impactful players are replaced. Essentially, anyone who is injured can be replaced. Readers are then informed that his injury had consequences, referencing age again, his injury led to being replaced by younger players and his NHL career ending:

With Carolina more interested in developing Noah Hanifin, now 20, and Jaccob Slavin and Brett Pesce, both 22, the team didn't have a need for Wisniewski. He had a professional tryout with the Tampa Bay Lightning. But after missing pretty much the entire season, no one was willing to take a chance on an aging player who was coming off a serious knee injury (*NP*, 23 February 2017).

Playing in Russia was a consequence of his injury as well:

Out of options, Wisniewski signed a contract with Admiral Vladivostok in the KHL, primarily to keep his skills sharp and show GMs he wasn't just sitting around and doing nothing. He expected to be there about a month; he had an out

clause for when - not if - an NHL team came calling. One month turned into two, then three. No one called (*NP*, 23 February 2017).

Here, readers are cautioned that injured players are replaced, and NHL careers are jeopardized by injuries. This means that injured bodies are replaceable and expendable because younger, non-injured, eager male hockey players will replace the injured body. Injured bodies are thus replaceable, expendable, and no longer valuable as injured players, existing for the team and the team's achievements, are used until they are broken, and replaced by functioning bodies.

5.3 Constructions of the Injured Male Hockey Player

Among the sample articles, the injured male hockey player is constructed through two literary devices: inspirational tales and the visibility of injuries. These literary devices produce particular expectations of the injured male hockey player including how they should respond to their injury, their actions and activities when they miss games, and how they should return to the game. I found that *playing hurt is respectable* and players are celebrated for sacrificing their bodies. I also found that *health is the responsibility of players* – players are expected to improve their health so that they can return to the game. And finally, injured male hockey players are constructed in relation to the return to play. *The triumphant return* is constructed whereby the injury has been defeated, the player often returns better than ever, and is no longer affected by their injury or by the time away. The return is portrayed as the time for players to redeem themselves and makeup for time away.

5.3.1 Playing Hurt is Respectable

Related to the normalization of injuries as part of the game, playing hurt is constructed as respectable. Male hockey players who play hurt are praised, applauded, and celebrated. This is because those who play hurt sacrifice their bodies instead of succumbing to their injuries. To the respectable male hockey player, winning at all costs, playing hockey, and devotion to their team are most important. This construction occurs through inspirational

tales about those who play hurt, the visibility and descriptions of the bodily harm that injured hockey player endure, and the quick return of players who get hurt.

Playing hurt is constructed as respectable through inspirational tales about injured male hockey players who continued to play hurt. In these examples, readers are informed about the achievements of the hurt player and how their injury did not stop them from playing hockey or helping their team. For instance, Alexander Ovechkin's 'hidden' injury during the playoffs was discussed in a few newspapers. Readers are first informed about the injury and the seriousness, highlighting the sacrifice of the player: "Ovechkin finished the playoffs dealing with a lower-body injury that required pain-numbing injections." Then, there is talk of how the player handled his injury; in this case, the injury was respectably hidden: he "never let on that he was playing hurt." Here, the 'hidden' aspect of the injury implores not only sacrifice but the praising of not complaining about being injured. The article then informed readers of his achievements while playing hurt, invoking a sense of respectability because he sacrificed his body and still was successful: "He had five goals and three assists in 13 playoff games" (*CH*, 12 May 2017; *NP*, 12 May 2017; *VS*, 12 May 2017). This representation reveals that Ovechkin's injury was hidden throughout the playoffs, yet Ovechkin is admired for playing hurt because he did not succumb to his injuries nor did he make a fuss or complain about his pain. Rather, he is celebrated for his bodily sacrifice and continuing to play, and for helping his team.

Other inspirational tales construct playing hurt as respectable through descriptions of the bodily harm that players endured. These articles make visible the bodily sacrifice of the hockey player by describing the injury and informing readers that even though they were injured, they continued to play. In these passages, the labeling of the injury contextualizes the injury and constructs the player as respectable for their sacrifice:

"It wasn't how I anticipated this season," understated Tanev. "I had a few things, but a lot of guys play through injuries - Sudsy (Brandon Sutter) played with that wrist and could hardly close his hand - so I don't really want to get into it. If you're on the ice there are no excuses." That's commendable (*VS*, 13 April 2017a).

"I've got to give Bobby [Ryan] a lot of credit. People don't know how many injuries he's played through here and getting his hand frozen and playing with pain (*CH*, 3 December 2016; *VS*, 3 December 2016).

[Brandon Sutter and Alex Elder are] two regulars who have played lots actually, but they've played hurt for significant amounts of time...The Canucks have lost the most man-games and the most cumulative minutes of injured players, which will be around 5,000 minutes by the time this season ends. Thing is, the calculations don't factor in those who are playing hurt and there have been plenty of those on this team. Granlund tore wrist ligaments before the first week of the season was over and that's not all he endured. "It was difficult," head coach Willie Desjardins said. "He didn't have just that. He tweaked his knee a bit, too, at one stage and he was playing through that. You just knew every time he went out there, he was beat up" (*VS*, 24 March 2017).

In each of these examples, the reference to the frequency of injuries adds to the normalization of injuries as part of the game. There are also references to bodies existing for the team as injuries, especially in the third example, are shown to impact the team. In terms of respectability, each of these passages makes the injury visible for readers. This informs readers of the sacrifice of the players. This is, as the first example stated, 'commendable.'

Playing hurt is produced as respectable through inspirational tales that highlight players who return to the game quickly after an injury. These tales not only make the injury visible, they emphasize time and admiring players who minimize time away from playing hockey. In these passages, readers are informed that players played hurt which is respectable:

Stecher, meanwhile, took a stick in the face from Milan Lucic midway through the third period, got medical attention in the Canucks' locker-room, and was back on the ice with three minutes left when the Canucks almost tied the game. You can wonder a lot about this team. You don't have to wonder about the heart or character of [Stecher] (*VS*, 10 April 2017).

Bonino plays on Pittsburgh's fourth line, but the veteran is a key penalty killer. He had a slap shot from Nashville defenceman P.K. Subban go off the inside of his left ankle in Pittsburgh's 4-1 win Wednesday night while on the ice helping kill a big penalty. Bonino went to the locker room but returned to finish the game. He walked into the hotel where the Penguins are staying in Nashville using crutches,

though he stopped and signed a couple autographs on his way in (*GM*, 3 June 2017).

It was not immediately clear when Ovechkin was injured or how severely. He did not miss a game but briefly left late in the first period Game 5 of the first round, clutching his knee after a hit from Toronto's Nazem Kadri. He returned for the start of the following period. Ovechkin said after that game April 21 he was not worried about his knee and "just needed a little break" (*GM*, 12 May 2017).

Here, playing hurt is constructed as admirable and respectable. This is because despite being injured, these players did not succumb to their injuries. Instead, they briefly left the game and returned to play. The highlighting of this as noteworthy produces playing hurt as respectable and injured players put themselves in danger and their health and bodies are sacrificed for glory, winning, and their team.

5.3.2 Health is the Responsibility of Male Hockey Players

In a few of the sample newspaper articles, health is presented as the responsibility of the male hockey player. This construction occurs through explicit discussions of a player's responsibilities and inspirational tales of players improving their health. Through the construction of health as the responsibility of male hockey players, readers are informed about the importance of striving towards 'good' health through the pursuit of particular practices. Injured male athletes are portrayed as individually working to maintain, improve, and enhance their health so that they can return to the game. Rather than succumbing to the threats and vulnerability injuries impose, those who take responsibility and maintain their health are not defeated. This commitment, dedication, and taking charge constructs the male athletes as mentally tough, strong, and extremely devoted to hockey.

In the articles, there is explicit talk of health as a player's responsibility. For instance, an article stated that injuries are an "obvious obstacles to long-term careers." In this passage, readers are informed that health is the responsibility of hockey players:

"If your body doesn't last and if you can't move out there, it's tough to play in this game," said Leafs forward James van Riemsdyk, now an eight-year veteran at 27.

"You have to take care of yourself, to make sure you can skate and make sure you're not hurt. If you can take care of that, you can continue to work on different skills - skating, shooting, stick-handling - and you put yourself in a position to be able to play a long time" (*TS*, 24 January 2017).

Here, there is a reference to 'taking care of yourself,' invoking that players bodies, despite being put in danger and sacrificed for the team and the team's achievements, is something they must take care of themselves. Ultimately, teams have no responsibility – players are responsible for their health and their health depends on their own care.

Readers are then informed that there is a 'right' way to take care of yourself:

"It's about doing it right every single day," Babcock said. "Living right, eating right, partying at night right, choosing the right spouse - doing all the things in life right that makes everybody successful in any walk of life (*TS*, 24 January 2017).

The focus on the 'right' way here frames health activities as a moral obligation whereby players who follow these practices are good and proper hockey players. This means that male hockey players are responsible for their health and improving their health when they are injured.

The construction of health being the responsibility of male hockey players occurs through inspirational stories as well. These inspirational health stories emphasize the health decisions and actions injured hockey players take to improve their health once they are injured. In these passages, readers are informed of the injured players health focused activities to improve their health so they can return to the game:

"I've been lucky in that I've never had a surgery and I've usually missed time with a broken bone," said Tanev. "The next six or seven weeks, I'm going to focus on getting the ankle moving well and getting back to where I can move without pain and be effective and make smooth transitions. After that, I can start to get into heavy lifting" (*VS*, 13 April 2017a).

He is also considering utilizing special protective gloves inside his hockey gloves - one brand in particular is laced with plastic and designed to protect the hands of oilfield workers. "I've got four to six weeks to skate on the ice, so I can work with that kind of stuff," Gaudreau said. "It's not the first time I've got slashed before. It's something I definitely need to look into, getting a little more padding on my

gloves and trying to feel more comfortable with gloves that have a little more protection (*CH*, 19 November 2016).

In the second example, not only are readers informed about a player's health focused activities, they are informed about a player's plans for preventing future injuries. The highlighting of player's health activities responsabilizes hockey players as it is their obligation to get healthier and even prevent future injuries.

Another article described the inspirational story of T.J. Oshie who played for the Washington Capitals. Oshie's health decisions are the focus of the entire article and Oshie is depicted as going above and beyond to improve his health because he uses non-traditional methods outside of team care. Readers are informed that the method is not approved by the NHL but Oshie and some others use it to improve their health: he "is one of roughly 75 NHL players who make the Accelerated Recovery Performance (ARP) machine part of their daily routine." Oshie is described as constantly trying to improve his body and health:

An electrical current is pumping into T.J. Oshie when he is working out, when he is warming up before games, when he is recovering after them and when he is sleeping, roughly 12 hours a day in all... Electrodes are attached to him as often as shoes are (*VS*, 9 January 2017).

Readers are then informed about how Oshie added the ARP to his rehab when he got injured:

When Oshie broke his ankle in November 2010, he rented an ARP to use throughout his rehab. Electrodes were attached to him between 16 and 20 hours a day. He was back on the ice in January, a month ahead of schedule (*VS*, 9 January 2017a).

Oshie injured his shoulder against the Detroit Red Wings on Nov. 18. Oshie said he was using the ARP 13 to 14 hours a day when he was injured, attaching the electrodes as soon as he put his two daughters to sleep. That, coupled with the work of Washington's training staff, had him back in the lineup after seven games, slightly earlier than expected, Capitals Coach Barry Trotz said (*VS*, 9 January 2017a).

These passages not only tell readers that Oshie chose to improve his health, his choice was successful because he returned to the game quickly. This is inspirational and frames taking care of one's health as heroic. The article also informed readers of Oshie's ongoing health activities and helpseeking behaviours:

When Oshie was traded to Washington in the summer of 2015, he started working with EVO UltraFit and owner Jay Schroeder, and a lot of the training program involved the ARP...Schroeder is available on call for Oshie, and if Oshie wakes up from a pre-game nap with a stiff neck, for example, he can text Schroeder for immediate instructions about how to work out the stiffness with the ARP (VS, 9 January 2017a).

Here, the player is praised for actively seeking out the ARP program and seeking help when an issue arises. This praising and focus on a player's health activities responsabilizes hockey players for their health. Health is constructed as a player's duty and they must ensure that their body returns to a state of healthy in order to return to their team. It is hockey players responsibility to return their bodies to a healthy state.

5.3.3 The Triumphant Return

Related to construction of health as the responsibility of players is the construction of the triumphant return. This construction highlights the returning male hockey player who is celebrated for returning unharmed by their injury and time away from the game through the telling of inspirational tales. The returning male hockey player is constructed as victorious as they return to the very game that harmed their body in the first place, often return better than ever, and redeem themselves for their time away by scoring goals and getting points. In this sense, the triumph is over the injury, and this is conveyed as a great victory, as if the injury was the enemy. This overcoming of injury and redemption constructs male athletes as mentally tough, physically strong, and highly committed to the game, their team, and winning.

The triumphant return is first constructed through inspirational tales that detail an injured player's desires to return. In these instances, readers are given a glimpse into the feelings and emotions of the male hockey players in relation to not being able to play hockey. The

want to return in part displays the nobility of the players who, even though they are injured and hurt, are highly committed to hockey. This means that players are constructed as triumphant over their injuries because they want to return, and the game, hockey, and winning is more important than their personal health. In each of the following passages, readers are informed that injured hockey players want to return:

[Benoit Pouliot stated:] "There's still time left, there's a bunch of games left and playoffs are coming. It's a time to redeem and get back to what I'm supposed to do. The fact Pouliot's production barely dropped off at all while he was injured (he had just three points in the 25 games before getting hurt) tells you all you need to know about how tough it has been (*CH*, 10 March 2017).

Morgan Rielly returned to the Maple Leafs lineup Thursday night, dressed for Toronto's game against the St. Louis Blues. He had been a game-time decision, but obviously felt well enough to go. "I feel like I've had just about enough of watching," Rielly said earlier in the day. "I'm looking forward to my chance to come back and try to help the team (*TS*, 3 February 2017).

I was just itching to get back, just itching to get back...First game back, I was so excited it felt like it was my first NHL game again. We had a huge win against Anaheim and just kept rolling from there. It's been a lot of fun. It's been exciting. I've just been having a blast with it right now" (*CH*, 12 December 2016).

Andersen admitted he left the Sabres game after the first period because he hurt his head. But he did not say it was a concussion, nor did he discuss the specifics of his injury. As for the Leafs, they will not offer injury details even on hangnails. "No, no, I don't want to get too much into that stuff," Andersen said. "I just want to make sure I get back into the net as soon as possible" (*GM*, 28 March 2017).

In these examples, there is a sense of urgency and eagerness among those quoted about returning to the game in order to help their hockey team, invoking how bodies are constructed for the team and how the game is more important than one's health and wellbeing. The reference to redeeming oneself and doing what one is supposed to do is interesting – while injuries are constructed as normal and expected, this reference constructs injuries as a problem and returning players must do something good to make up for getting injured. This means that the return is not just about returning to play; it is constructed as making up for getting injured and being away from the game.

Redemption is referred to in other inspirational tales that construct the triumphant return through stories of players ‘making up’ for ‘lost time.’ In these examples, readers are informed that the injured player ‘lost time’ due to injury but have made up for the time they lost because they are a productive, successful player who gain points upon their return. With this representation of injury, what is produced as ‘lost’ is time that male athletes can be productive for their NHL club. Time away from the game is unproductive and thus, rest and recovery time is idle time, negative, and must be redeemed. This construction invokes how bodies are constructed for the team and the team’s success. In these passages, readers are informed that injured players lost time to play for and be productive for their teams but have redeemed themselves for being away from the game by being productive successful hockey players once they returned:

Crosby missed the first six games of the season because of a suspected concussion, but with 1.37 per per (sic) game, he's made up for lost time. He already has nine multipoint games. But the number that really sticks out is his 16 goals (*NP*, 6 December 2016).

Another player whose season was affected by a serious injury, the sophomore has made up for lost time with 12 goals and 21 points in 27 games. The No. 2 pick in the 2015 draft is not McDavid. But as Eichel goes, so do the 14th-place Sabres, who are 13-9-4 with him in the lineup this season. (*CH*, 28 January 2017; *NP*, 28 January 2017a; *VS*, 30 January 2017).

Here are seven more players making up for lost time... Though a broken foot limited the Canadiens captain [Max Pacioretty] to five goals in the first two months, he has led the team with seven goals and 10 points in December... An ankle sprain limited Eichel to just one game in the first two months of the season. But since returning to the lineup Nov. 29, the sophomore forward has put up five goals and eight points in nine games, leading the Sabres to a 522 record in the process... An injury in the first game of the season kept [Bryan] Little out of the lineup until Nov. 29... Now that he's back and has four goals and nine points in 10 games, the Jets' offence looks even more potent (*CH*, 20 December 2016; *NP*, 20 December 2016a; *VS*, 20 December 2016).

In these examples, the reference to ‘lost time’ invokes a loss of productive time for the players because they were not helping their team win games. While unproductive while injured, by referring to the players successes since returning, the articles construct the triumphant return – players have not only returned unharmed, they redeemed themselves

for being away from the game. This construction shows the extremes of what is expected of professional male athletes and their bodies; injuries are normal and expected, but when a player is injured, they are expected to recover and then return and make up for having to recover from an injury.

The triumphant return is further constructed through inspirational stories that describe a returning player's points and successes after they returned. In these articles, the reader is informed of how many goals and assists the male hockey player have gotten since their return. The reference to the player's statistics constructs the triumphant return because the male hockey players are triumphant over their injuries and return unharmed. Their productivity and successes upon return are celebrated as redeeming qualities. In these passages, readers are informed about the successes of returning players:

Bryan Little wasn't sure how effective he was going to be after losing months to injury, but the veteran centre's scoring and leadership are going a long way for the Winnipeg Jets these days. Little has collected 26 points (13 goals, 13 assists) in 29 NHL games since missing 23 contests because of a knee injury he suffered in the team's season-opener. He also sat out the final 25 games of last season with a fractured vertebra in his back, and absence has made his heart grow fonder for the game he loves to play. The 29-year-old Edmonton native is on a five-game point streak with six goals and three assists (*GM*, 31 January 2017).

Evgeni Malkin assisted on Rust and Kessel's goals in his first game back after missing the final three weeks of the season due to injury (*VS*, 13 April 2017b).

The beats of McDavid's rookie season, meanwhile, are already well known even to casual NHL fans. So I don't need to say "spoiler alert" before revealing that after all the hype - and a dozen games of living up to said hype - McDavid broke his collarbone, and had to miss an agonizing three months of action. Or that he came back from the injury with a vengeance, averaging a point per game from February onward (*GM*, 22 October 2016).

Byron has now scored 27 goals and 22 assists over 128 games with the Habs - especially when they see him scoring on breakaways (which he had trouble doing as a member of the Flames). The speedy undersized winger has carved out a nice career for himself and scored the overtime winner on Tuesday against the Canucks (*CH*, 9 March 2017).

These examples portray the return as triumphant because the players are portrayed as unharmed by their injuries. Instead, upon their return, the once injured male hockey players are described as successful and productive, as defined by points achieved.

The triumphant return is produced through inspirational stories about players who return better than ever. In these examples, not only do the male hockey players return unharmed from their injury, they are celebrated for returning better than they were before their injury. In these passages, the returning player is presented as triumphant because their injury or time away recovering did not affect their hockey skills or how productive they are as a hockey player:

Sidney Crosby started last season with the worst slump of his career. This year, even delayed by concussion, Crosby is off to one of his best starts, with eight goals in six games. He entered Monday tied for the league lead, despite playing only half the games. He has a 38.1 per cent shooting percentage (eight goals on 21 shots) (*TS*, 8 November 2016).

Thing is, the other Johnny - Gaudreau - has been unbelievable lately, too. Since returning from his 10-game injury absence, the 23-year-old left winger has sizzled to four consecutive multi-point performances. Two points per contest. In his Dec. 4 return. Twice last week on the road. And once again in Saturday's 6-2 walloping of the Winnipeg Jets at the Saddledome (*CH*, 12 December 2016).

It's early and Sbisà has played just two games, but he has looked quicker, stronger, tougher and more calm. He set the physical tone early against the Flames with a thunderous and well-timed sideboards bodycheck on Michael Frolik. It didn't put him out of position or in danger of giving up an odd-man rush. Sbisà also blocked shots and the only adventure came Sunday when attempting to rush the puck out of his own zone, he got caught up in traffic at the blue-line and the Hurricanes got a shot on net. Last season, foot, hand and shoulder injuries limited Sbisà to 41 games and he finished with two goals and six assists (*VS*, 18 October 2016).

Here, there are references to players playing better than they played before they were injured, meaning that not only did they return unharmed, they are more productive for their hockey team than before their injury. This alludes to the importance of redemption and making up for being injured.

The triumphant return is additionally constructed in tales that highlight not-so-triumphant returns. In these examples, readers are informed about male hockey players who have been affected by their injuries once they have returned. These discussions are interesting because while the player returned which means their injury does not prevent them from playing, they are not victorious over their injury and their injury or their time away recovering affected their play. In this sense, they have not redeemed themselves. For instance, a *TS* article described the return of Morgan Rielly to the Toronto Maple Leafs lineup. The article informed readers that Rielly was not playing like himself after his injury: Rielly “didn’t look like his usual explosive self in St. Louis on Thursday in the wake of a six-game absence with an ankle injury” (*TS*, 4 February 2017). Another article discussed the effects injuries had on Chris Tanev of the Vancouver Canucks. Referencing the durable body, Tanev is described as showing wear and not being successful upon returning from injury:

He's not physical, but he's tough and reliable. His lack of obvious offensive skills are made up for, and then some, by his ability to move pucks... Tanev could be in his 30s and he's already showing signs of wear. In the past four seasons, he's had an assortment of injuries and has averaged 64 games a season (*VS*, 3 May 2017).

In these instances, the return from injury is not-so-triumphant meaning that the players return and are not productive, successful male hockey players. The portrayal of the return presents the return to the game as not about players health, recovering, and no longer being injured; the return is about redemption and productivity by playing as expected or better and helping their team succeed. This means that an injured player returns triumphantly only when they return and are productive male hockey players.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I outlined how NHL injuries are constructed in popular Canadian newspapers and I reported the results of the critical discourse analysis. I found that injuries are constructed as normal and as a threat to player success. I described a less visible construction which I termed the humanized injury, which informs readers of injured player’s thoughts and feelings. I then examined how the body is constructed in

relation to NHL teams and the league, and I described expectations of the body. And lastly, I discussed the constructions of the injured hockey player, including the expectations of the injured player. In the next chapter, Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion, I will examine these constructions, discuss the ideal injured male hockey player and, show how hegemonic masculinity is privileged, resisted, and challenged by the injury discourse.

Chapter 6

6 Discussion and Conclusion

This study examined how NHL associated injuries are constructed in popular media. In this thesis, I used critical discourse analysis informed by feminist theory and social constructionism to analyze the narratives of popular Canadian newspaper articles published during the 2016-2017 NHL season. Recognizing that sport is a gendered and a gendering institution, I conducted a critical discourse analysis to understand injury discourse, to examine taken-for-granted assumptions regarding men's hockey and health, and to explore how the injury discourse creates, upholds, and challenges hegemonic masculinity. This research makes visible the discourse that individuals have access to about injuries and masculinity. These messages are powerful. These messages shape how male hockey players are viewed, how sports and injuries are understood, and they shape the prevalent, taken-for-granted beliefs and attitudes about men's health.

In this final chapter, I first I draw on my results to identify how discursive constructions of NHL associated injuries create, uphold, and reinforce hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005). In this regard, I illustrate how my findings contribute to research on men's hockey injuries and I show how gender relations and hegemonic masculinity are reproduced by and transformed through sport. I follow this with a discussion of how the injury discourse, particularly the humanized injury, resists and challenges hegemonic masculinity. As I reflect on the injury discourse, I discuss what is silenced in terms of other possible health and sport discourse. I consider the implications of my findings for sport and masculinity, and for men's health generally. I conclude with a discussion of the limitations of my research and the need for future studies. Finally, I propose steps toward social change.

6.1 Hegemonic Masculinity and the Ideal Male Hockey Player

The findings of the critical discourse analysis add insights to our knowledge about injuries and sport by revealing a picture of the ideal male hockey player. I found that the construction of sport-associated injuries in the sample articles is rooted in hegemonic masculinity. Injury talk is not talk of health; rather, injury talk is talk of dominant masculine ideals. As a discursive site, the popular Canadian newspapers produce an ideal male hockey player through the talk of hockey associated injuries. Consistent with previous masculinity and sport injury research, this study reveals that the injury discourse celebrates injuries and behaviours associated with hegemonic masculinity. This means that a certain way of being a man is rewarded, encouraged, and admired. Other ways of being man and other behaviours, beliefs, and actions outside of this are stigmatized and deemed unmanly.

The ideal male hockey player, as I outline below, is the male athlete who exhibits exemplary characteristics that are highly valued ways of being a man. Through the injury discourse, particular characteristics, behaviors, and actions are celebrated, rewarded, and presented as idyllic, while other attributes and behaviours are produced and discussed as unideal, bad, or problematic. While there are many ways to take up masculinity in hockey, a rough and tough, aggressive, and violent style of play reflects hegemonic masculinity (Allain, 2014). Adding to this, the injury discourse produces the ideal male hockey player; he is one who accepts injuries as part of the game, plays hurt, and hides, ignores, and minimizes injuries. The ideal male hockey player exists for his team, sacrifices his body for the team, and willingly puts himself in danger for his team and his team's success. He operates like a machine; his body is durable and young. When injured, the ideal male hockey player returns unharmed, redeems himself for being away, and takes care of his health so that he can return to the very game that caused him harm. The unideal male hockey player, the hockey player that is not celebrated, is simply the opposite.

6.1.1 The Ideal Male Hockey Player Accepts Injuries as 'Part of the Game'

A major finding of this study is that injuries are produced in media as common, ordinary aspects of professional male hockey. This is similar to previous research that examines how injuries are presented as simply part of the game (Nixon, 1993a; Young, 2004a; Anderson and Kian, 2012; Sanderson et al, 2014), and how injuries are presented in sporting values (Frey, 1991; Hughes and Coakley, 1991; Curry and Strauss, 1994; Nixon, 1992, 1994, 2004), in hockey (Collings and Condon, 1996; Tjønnedal, 2016; Yeldon and Pitter, 2017), and in the workplace (see Breslin et al, 2007). This construction occurs explicitly in the articles through metaphorical devices (e.g. the injury “bug”) that equates injuries with common health problems like the common cold. The injury spectacle, which has been found in sport advertisements (Young, 2004a), highlights the moment of injury and, in doing so, presents injuries as objects of entertainment, thus normalizing them. When injuries are normalized, they become dissociated from the very real physical and emotional lives of players.

The normalization of injuries is rooted in dominant masculine ideals because the acceptance of injuries allows young boys and men to establish their masculinity and their masculine status. Masculine status is gained through the acceptance of risk, pain, and injury as a normal and acceptable aspect of playing sport (Messner, 1994, 2005; Sabo, 2004; Young et al, 1994). As a normal part of sport, risking one’s body and getting injured is part of the game. Together, this risk, the requirement to sacrifice, and the acceptance of the possibility of experiencing an injury, demonstrate men’s commitment to their team, to their identity as an athlete, and to the dominant values of sport (Hughes and Coakley, 1991; Curry and Strauss, 1994; Sabo, 1994, 2004; Nixon, 1992, 1994, 2004). The normalization and acceptance of injury means that decisions regarding playing hurt or playing through an injury go unquestioned (Messner, 1992, 2005).

In order to simultaneously achieve athletic and thus masculine status, male athletes must be willing to put their bodies on the line, expose themselves to danger, and accept that

they may experience an injury while doing so (Nixon, 1993a; Young, 2004a). As such, the portrayal of injuries as normal upholds hegemonic masculinity. The ideal male hockey player then is one who accepts injuries as part of the game and accepts the sacrifice of their body that occurs when they play hockey. Not accepting injuries as part of the game threatens masculine as well as athletic status.

6.1.2 The Ideal Male Hockey Player Tolerates Injuries and Plays Hurt

Not only must the ideal male hockey player accept injuries, the ideal male hockey player must tolerate injuries and when they can, play hurt. Male hockey players who play hurt are revered and celebrated as respected, heroic athletes. This finding is consistent with previous research on sport media which asserts that playing hurt is celebrated in sports magazines (Nixon 1993a) and newspaper articles (Sanderson et al, 2014). Constructed as a noble act, playing hurt demonstrates courage and heroic characteristics. The normalization of injury that is produced in the newspapers has the effect of naturalizing playing hurt (Messner, 1992, 2005).

The tolerance of injury and playing hurt is a defining feature of the masculine identity. The injury discourse reconstructs Sabo's pain principle which is rooted in hegemonic masculinity (Sabo, 1994, 2004). The pain principle dictates that whenever possible, male athletes must continue to play when an injury occurs for the good of the team (Liston et al, 2006). Boys and men are expected to "shake off" an injury and they are rewarded for ignoring their injuries with status and praise from teammates, coaches, and fans. Playing hurt demonstrates that male athletes are manly, strong, and committed to winning (Messner, 2005). Thus, the depiction of playing hurt as respectable upholds the link between the masculine identity and the tolerance of injury (Messner, 1992, 1994; Sabo, 1994, 2004; Young, 2004a). The tolerance of injury is masculinizing, meaningful, and a characteristic of the ideal male hockey player. By praising and admiring the tolerance of injury, the opposite – not tolerating injuries and not playing hurt – becomes not

respectable. Not playing hurt means that male athletes are not willing to sacrifice their body for their team and as such, are not ideal male hockey players.

6.1.3 The Ideal Male Hockey Player Hides, Ignores, and Minimizes Injuries

The injury discourse dictates the expectation that not only must the ideal male hockey player play hurt, when an injury occurs, the ideal male hockey player must hide, ignore, and minimize their injuries in order to avoid negative sanctions and demonstrate their masculinity. This finding expands previous research which found that male athletes often ignore, minimize, and hide their injuries from themselves, their coaches, teammates, and medical staff (Young et al, 1994; Young and White, 1995; this has been found among rowers, Pike and Maguire, 2003; Pike, 2004; cyclists, Albert, 1999, 2004; runners, Collinson, 2003, 2005; and rugby players, Malcolm and Sheard, 2002).

Hiding, ignoring, and minimizing injuries is done in order to avoid the consequences of injuries – this includes losing time away from the game, which is interpreted as impacting team success. Injury outcomes and consequences include either being temporarily or permanently replaced by healthier, stronger, competitive players. Through cautionary tales, readers are consistently informed that injured bodies are replaced by eager, younger, and functioning bodies. This conveys to readers that injured players no longer serve a purpose. I argue that this portrayal dehumanizes both injured and non-injured players by representing them as replaceable cogs in a system (hockey clubs, a league) focused on hockey and financial success (Connor, 2009).

These constructions emphasize that sporting success and accomplishments are directly linked to bodily function and performance (Connell, 2005). In order to be a successful hegemonic masculine man, one's body must be able to function and perform in a masculine manner (Connell, 2005); this includes being muscular, physically able, strong, competitive, and tough. The body and its ability to function as masculine are most important in sustaining and maintaining the masculine identity because it is these features that are celebrated, and thus empowering for men who enact them (Birrell, 2000;

Theberge, 2000). Because bodily performance is so important, masculinity is threatened and becomes vulnerable when the expected bodily performance cannot be sustained (Connell, 2005). Injuries threaten masculinity because getting injured and not being able to play means that male hockey players cannot function as expected and, by extension, are not manly (Young et al, 1994). Getting injured and succumbing to injury also compromises male athletes' commitment to dominant sporting values (Young et al, 1994). Injuries then are a threat to masculinity; those who do not hide, ignore, or minimize injuries compromise their success, and at the same time, their masculine identity.

While injuries are constructed as normal, the ideal male hockey player does not *want* to get injured because of the costs to his masculine identity and because his value to the team is compromised. These cautions convey the need to hide, conceal, minimize, and play through injuries (Sabo, 1994, 2004). Readers are cautioned that injuries lead to grave consequences, the inability to play hockey, replacement, and even failure. In order then to avoid these consequences and sustain one's masculine and athletic status, succumbing to one's injuries should be avoided as much as possible. Readers learn that hiding, ignoring, and minimizing injuries should be done because then players can continue to be productive for their team, and not have to be replaced by other players.

6.1.4 The Ideal Male Hockey Player Exists for the Team

I found that the ideal male hockey player is depicted in popular sports media as someone who prioritizes his team over his own personal needs, goals, and health. Among the analyzed articles, is the portrayal of injured male hockey players as someone who wants to return. This means that the desire to and the eagerness to return demonstrates how committed male hockey players are to the team, to competition, and to winning. This construction not only means that injured male athletes are depicted as wanting to return to play and that hockey, the game, and winning are vitally important to them. This construction emphasizes that when a player cannot ignore their injury and has to sit out, they have to be eager to return to the game.

Male hockey players are also produced as existing for the team. With such a construction, the success of a team is presented as heavily impacted by injuries. Injuries threaten the success of a team because players cannot fulfil their intended function, except that the emphasis is not on the player; it is on his achievements, which are deemed more important than the player. This portrayal of NHL injuries as well as the construction of the economic, commodified body reveals the capitalist dimension of the NHL. Reinforced by capitalism, the body is constructed in relation to profit through economic language and discussions of salaries and trades. Not only are the financial and capitalistic aspects of the NHL revealed, bodies are treated as commodified products that are bought and sold, and like a product, they hold monetary value, and expire like perishable goods (see Sharp, 2000). In the NHL as well as in other professional and elite sporting leagues, athletes' labour is one of the main aspects of teams' and leagues' business plans (Young, 2004a). NHL clubs, and the NHL as a league, are concerned with hockey and financial success. Within this capitalist model, male athletes are workers and they are also an investment. The value of the male athlete and the team's investment is related to the male athlete's role in making an NHL team successful. Player wellness, overall health, and a game strategy that minimizes injuries are secondary to the need for players to do whatever is necessary to succeed. Ultimately, the team's success, which affects their financial success, is constructed as most important. Thus, the injured male athlete, as a worker, has no value.

This construction dehumanizes injured male athletes by reducing them to a product with a monetary value. These constructions portray male athletes as products that can be bought, sold, and traded like any other inanimate object within the capitalist market – like a product, each hockey player has value for a limited time. In this case, male hockey players have value until their bodies no longer function as needed. The trading, buying, and selling of male athletes is done for the team's financial success.

The focus on teams in relation to injuries means that injuries are constructed as something that causes problems for hockey teams (as opposed to the individuals who

play for the team). From this construction then, the ideal male hockey player is a male athlete who does not have injuries and instead, is a competitive, productive, able-bodied player who helps their team succeed and contributes to the team's profit margin. To do otherwise compromises their commitment to their team, their athletic status, and their masculinity (Young et al, 1994).

6.1.5 The Ideal Male Hockey Player's Body is a Machine

The ideal male hockey player's body is a machine. Other sport researchers have argued that the sporting body is a machine because it is a trained instrument that is used to annihilate opponents until the body expires (Messner, 1992, 2005; Trujilo, 1995). Distinctively expanding this mechanical notion to health, injured sporting bodies are constructed as mechanical systems whose purpose is to be productive and function as expected. When injured, bodies are broken down into different parts that need repair and treated as machines, which can be fixed. Thus, bodies can be fixed, revamped, and repaired. In this sense then, it is injuries or the 'broken' parts of the body that are preventing the player from functioning as needed and expected (Martin, 1994).

This mechanical construction of the body removes and 'others' the injury from the entire body (similar to White et al's (1994) findings of 'depersonalized pain' where male athletes 'othered' their injuries and referred to injuries as separate from their body). In other words, the mechanical language isolates the injury from the hockey player's body and ignores male athlete as a whole person (Martin, 1994). This mechanical understanding of male hockey players and their bodies alienates men from their health, from their feelings about their injuries and their bodies, and from the experiences of injuries (Messner, 1992). Related to hegemonic masculinity, this mechanical characteristic of the ideal male hockey player celebrates the body that operates like an efficient machine – it has no emotions, feelings, or concerns for personal health and wellbeing (Courtenay, 2000).

6.1.6 The Ideal Male Hockey Player is Durable and Young

The findings of this study also uniquely demonstrate how the ideals of durability and age play a significant role in the injury discourse. According to the injury discourse, the ideal male hockey player is a durable player who must withstand many injuries. By constructing bodies as needing to be durable, the newspaper articles reinforce hegemonic masculinity; in other words, bodies need to overcome injuries and thus be resilient, tough, and strong when injuries occur (Messner, 1994; Young et al, 1994). Injuries are considered to be a normal and part of the game (Messner, 1994, 2005; Sabo, 2004; Young et al, 1994), and as such, a hockey player's body must be able to endure multiple injuries over his career and have the physical strength to play hockey as long as possible. Ultimately, those who demonstrate durability are validated as masculine.

The ideal male hockey player is also constructed as young. In the injury discourse, age is both a label and a biological marker of the body's abilities, decline, and worth. Given that age is related to changes in performance, strength, and the ability to compete at the expected level, this labelling of injured male athletes constructs hockey players' bodies in relation to their career expiration and eventual decline (Tulle, 2016). As a biological marker as well, age informs readers about male hockey players' expected performances, how much 'wear' the body is expected to have, and the amount of time the male athlete has left to play hockey. This focus on age reduces injured male athletes' bodies to calculable numbers and emphasizes the relationship between chronological age as a marker of physiological abilities, change, decline, and eventual expiration (Tulle, 2016).

6.1.7 The Ideal Male Hockey Player Returns to the Game Unharmful and Redeems Themselves

When injuries occur and players are unable to either play hurt or hide their injury, it is expected that the ideal male hockey player returns to the game unharmed and makes up for time away from the game. This is a new finding and, as such, adds to the research on sport injuries by illustrating how the return to play is deemed noteworthy. The injury discourse valorizes returning male athletes because they return to the game without

consequence – they are still strong; they are still skilled; and they are still competitive. Related to this, the need to heal from injuries is framed as something to be redeemed, almost as if the injuries are viewed as a mistake, and the time off is an inconvenience that disadvantages the team. Not only must players redeem themselves because they were away from the game healing, they must redeem themselves because time away means that they are unproductive players and were not helping their team

This overcoming of injury is believable because, at the same time, male athletes are constructed as physically strong, mentally tough, committed to the game of hockey (i.e. masculine). Ultimately, they overcame the threat injury poses to their masculine identity (Connell, 2005), their manhood, and their status as a male athlete (Messner, 2005; Young et al, 1994). In this sense, masculinity is validated because returning from injury demonstrates invulnerability and emphasizes the importance of sacrifice, glory, and being mentally and physically strong when injuries occur. The ideal male hockey player is thus one who returns unharmed to the very game that caused their injury only to put their body in the same danger over and over again until their body expires.

6.1.8 The Ideal Male Hockey Player Takes Care of their Health

And finally, the ideal male hockey player takes care of their health. While this finding is consistent with some health research (see Roy, 2008), it has not existed before now in sport and health studies. This finding illustrates the duality of the injury discourse – injuries are both constructed in relation to the team and in relation to the player. Simultaneously constructed as normal and as a concern for the team, injuries are constructed as a threat to player success. This is because while players sacrifice their bodies for their team, injuries are still deemed an individual problem. Not surprising, then, returning to health is constructed as the responsibility of individual male hockey players. This occurs in the injury discourse through discussions of how it is a player's responsibility to return their bodies back to 'good' health so they can return to play hockey. While bodies exist for the team, the injury is the individual player's problem and not the team's responsibility. This construction links good health to morality as it

constructs those who take care of their health and work towards returning as ‘ideal’ and ‘good’ male athletes. This in turn constructs one’s actions in relation to pursuing good health as morally worthy and morally good (Roy, 2008). With such a depiction of health, readers are cautioned that players who do not participate in these good health practices are not committed to the game and are thus not ideal male athletes.

In summary, this ideal characteristic of male hockey players is rooted in hegemonic masculinity. At first glance, this characteristic seems to contradict hegemonic masculinity because femininity tends to be more likely associated with the practice of good health (Courtenay, 2000) which encourages male athletes to ignore and hide injuries (Messner, 1994, 2005; Sabo, 2004; Young et al, 1994). However, health practices including help seeking are masculinized when such behaviours are a means to restore a valued enactment of masculinity (O’Brien et al, 2005). In the context of hockey then, injured male hockey players are expected take responsibility for their health in order to restore their body so they can perform for their team.

Taking responsibility for one’s health demonstrates how injured male athletes work towards overcoming and defeating their injuries. Rather than succumbing to the threats and vulnerability injuries impose on masculinity (Connell, 2005), those who take responsibility are not defeated. This commitment, dedication, and act of taking charge importantly constructs the male athletes as mentally tough, strong, and extremely devoted to hockey. Ultimately then, health is constructed as a player’s important responsibility which also serves to validate and restore their masculinity, which was compromised by the injury (White et al, 1994). Thus, the ideal male hockey player is responsible for their health and works to improve their health so they can return to the game, because the game is the more important the any individual player.

6.2 Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity: The Humanized Injury

Similar to the findings of Anderson and Kian (2012), who posit that NFL newspaper coverage is becoming more health aware, as evidenced by increasing discussions about the negative impact of injuries, I found glimpses in the NHL reporting I analyzed of what I have called ‘the humanized injury’. The humanized injury – which refers to injured male athletes who are depicted as people rather than simply a commodity – highlights the emotions, thoughts, feelings, and experiences of injured players. While not a dominant theme within the injury discourse, the humanized injury matters because it suggests a crack in the hegemonic discourse. Not only is the humanized injury more health aware, it depicts male hockey players as people with vulnerabilities, worries, and struggles. This occurs as male athletes are shown as being vulnerable and affected by their injuries, but not as weak or lacking masculinity. Such a construction challenges hegemonic masculinity and the pain principle with a more realistic and compassionate view of the injured hockey player as a human being (Sabo 1994, 2004).

The humanized injury is mostly found in articles that describe head injuries and concussions. This is noteworthy because recent medical attention and scientific research have been directed on these injuries, and it has been used to critique NHL regulations around concussions. This portrayal and discussion of head injuries challenges the dominant understandings of injuries in sport – the importance of ignoring, minimizing, and hiding injuries, and the need to always be invincible and play through injuries. How head injuries are discussed signals a move towards incorporating a focus on health rather than upholding the masculine warrior discourse that ignores health entirely (Anderson and Kian, 2012). This discourse recognizes how harmful concussions are for male athletes and how the profit driven NHL lacks concern about male hockey players and their well-being. This is extremely significant because it not only contests hegemonic masculinity, it contests sport as an institution.

Thus, the humanized injury challenges hegemonic masculinity. Even though these constructions are a small aspect of the discourse, this injury talk means that hegemonic masculinity can be contested, and the injury discourse has potential to move towards a more health centred and humanized discourse.

6.3 The Limits of the Injury Discourse

The injury discourse is influenced and shaped by hegemonic masculinity. The result is that the health experiences of male hockey players are ignored or minimized. While there is some discussion of what it is like to experience an injury, injury discourse mostly ignores the lived experience of male athletes. For instance, this includes how players understand and make sense of their injuries, and how the injury affects their overall physical health and their daily life. Discussions of how injuries may affect a player's identity, position, and employment are not included in the injury discourse. The silencing and ignoring of male athletes' experiences with injuries undermines male hockey players ability to be seen as people, and severs their injuries from their personhood, which eliminates their individuality, and disregards their thoughts, feelings, and experiences. Essentially, the injury discourse dehumanizes male hockey players.

The injury discourse does not take into consideration the mental health experiences of male hockey players. Hegemonic masculinity prescribes that men should not deal with their emotions and their health (Courtenay, 2000), and makes it difficult for players (and others) to see mental health as a legitimate health experience. Indeed, playing a sport that is dominated by beliefs that focus on winning and competition may contribute to mental health challenges (see Van Slingerland et al, 2019). For example, this may include mental health issues caused by or related to the pressure to perform at a particular level and the stress of deciding to play hurt despite a concern for the personal consequences of such a decision. Recent attention on professional athletes, including male hockey players, dying by suicide and dying by drug overdoses, underscores the danger of ignoring or minimizing attention to mental health as a topic of concern in relation to injuries in sports media.

Chronic and permanent injuries are also not included in the injury discourse. Research confirms that male athletes suffer a high incidence of permanent injury and varying states of chronic pain (Messner, 1994; Sabo, 2004). For many athletes, painkillers are used to numb the pain so that they can continue to compete and complete everyday activities (Messner, 1992). These experiences, which are the result of playing professional sport, are not considered in the injury discourse. Rather, these experiences are reframed through the machine-like representation of the body and the need to return unharmed, which erases these possibilities.

It is important to consider how injuries and the effects of injuries accumulate throughout a hockey player's lives and their hockey careers. What the injury discourse fails to consider though is how multiple injuries impact the body over time. Multiple and repetitive injuries can greatly impact male athletes' health, their body's strength, their ability to play sports, and complete daily activities (James et al, 2016). Considering how health experiences may interact with experiences of stress inside and outside of the rink, and the health effects of various inequalities male athletes may experience (race, sexuality, socio-economic status) over the life course, especially in early life (Palvalko and Willson, 2011; Hayward and Sheehan, 2016) is significant. The health effects of stress (Pearlin, et al, 2005), the hidden injuries, as well as the detrimental health effects of playing through injuries is ignored in the injury discourse.

The injury discourse also delegitimizes other ways being a male athlete. The injury discourse rewards, celebrates, and upholds health related sport practices that are associated with hegemonic masculinity. Given that gender is always relational, and patterns of hegemonic masculinity are socially defined in relation to other lesser masculinities and femininities (Connell, 2005), practices outside of the injury discourse are socially dishonoured. This means that health practices that do not 'fit' this discourse are erased, marginalized, and constructed as unmasculine, unmanly, and associated with lesser masculinities as well as femininity. This includes health focused practices that put male athletes' bodies and health before the team and before competition. For instance,

not playing hurt when an injury occurs and being more open with teammates and coaches about injuries. It may include a health-centred approach to sport where male athletes are not believed to be invincible, are not expected to accept the danger of sport, and rather play sport for enjoyment, fun, and interactions with others. This may include the participation in sporting leagues that do not emphasize mainstream sport values including a focus on winning, competition, and sacrificing the body (see Birrell and Richter, 1987). The injury discourse upholds hegemonic masculinity and in doing so, marginalizes other masculinities and health practices outside of hegemonic practices.

6.4 The Implications for Sport, Masculinity, and Men's Health

The broad implications of this study are threefold. First, for sport as an institution, the media construction of NHL injuries creates and upholds sport as gendered. While sport was once believed to be free from ideologies and the realm of pure competition and skill (Whannel, 2000), the values and structure of sport have always been intertwined with dominant norms, social values, and gender, race, and class inequality (Kidd, 1990; Messner, 1992). The same can be said for sport media and the NHL injury discourse which creates and legitimates the dominant conception of masculinity. As such, the NHL injury discourse is gendered, celebrating skills and values recognized as masculine (Connell, 2005) and producing dominant masculine characteristics. With multiple discourses, sporting values, and organizations, the NHL injury discourse works alongside other discourses to sustain and maintain sport as a masculinizing area for men.

Second, the NHL injury discourse is gendering whereby the discourse helps construct and preserve the current gender order. Through the production of hegemonic masculinity, the injury discourse not only reproduces men's power and superiority over women because sport is constructed as masculine, the injury discourse produces hegemonic masculinity as superior and dominant over marginalized and subordinated masculinities. This occurs because the NHL injury discourse celebrates and rewards values, behaviours, and ways of being an athlete that are associated with hegemonic masculinity. In doing so, other ways

of being a man and an athlete in relation to health and injury that are outside of the dominant conception of masculinity are punished and deemed unmanly. The injury discourse has implications for female athletes as well. While women and men may subscribe to the dominant ideals of the injury NHL discourse, women, unlike men, are not rewarded or celebrated for adhering to such ideals. This is because playing hurt, playing through injuries, and accepting risk and injury are not defining features of the feminine identity (Birrell, 2000; Theberge, 2000). This means that the NHL injury discourse is important in defining the social meanings of masculinity and femininity (Messner, 2005). The injury discourse is not just talk of injury; it is key in the construction of and contestation of gender.

And third, the NHL injury discourse has implications for men's health generally. In relation to health and illness, mass media communicates messages regarding health. This includes communication regarding health information, the promotion of health commodities, and discussions of practices to achieve 'good' health or encouraging the abandonment of practices that hinder 'good' health (Lupton, 1995). Like other mediated messages, the injury discourse communicates messages regarding health and health practices. This includes the practice of pushing through injuries and disregarding one's health, ultimately denying vulnerability and weakness.

While identified in the NHL injury discourse, these values and health behaviours are not unique to men's hockey or sport; rather they are a means of achieving and demonstrating masculinity (Courtenay, 2000a) and the injury discourse parallels acceptable and appropriate masculine health behaviours, beliefs, and values (Courtenay, 2000a; Lorber, 2002; Conrad and Barker, 2010). This means that health beliefs and behaviours that are constructed by the injury discourse are similar to and fit in with hegemonic masculine health practices. While it is outside the scope of this research to understand how these messages are taken up by readers, these messages can influence men and their beliefs about health and masculinity. For men's health generally, the injury discourse reflects dominant masculine health practices and values.

The implications of the injury discourse extend to the Canadian identity and Canadian masculinity because the injury discourse reinforces hegemonic masculinity and at the same time, invokes ideas about Canadian identity. Hockey in general is an important site for Canadian men to both learn and negotiate their masculine identities (Robidoux, 2002). Male hockey players are presented as symbols of Canadian masculinity and are constructed as models of the nation that exemplify desirable masculine characteristics (Gee, 2009; Allain, 2011). As I have argued, this includes beliefs about health. At times, the injury discourse invokes the Canadian identity – for instance, the ‘Russian threat’ which incites the language of the Cold War, invoking a ‘them’ and ‘us’ mentality. The injury discourse also reveals the ideal masculine hockey player who accepts injury, sacrifices their body, and disregards their personal health and well-being. With the importance of hockey to the Canadian identity, and given that the articles are written for a Canadian audience and published in Canada, this means that the injury discourse helps create and define Canadian masculinity (and what it is not) and expectations of Canadian men regarding health, well-being, and their bodies.

6.5 Limitations and Future Research

The main limitations of this dissertation were, first, the focus on Canadian popular newspaper articles where injury is explicitly discussed. Given that my sample included articles where injuries were a significant topic of attention, articles where injury was not a main subject were excluded and unexplored. Thus, my findings may not be applicable to all discussions of NHL injuries in popular Canadian newspapers. Second, this research only examined injury discourse in popular newspapers. This means that my findings about the injury discourse may be unique to popular newspapers. This means that my findings about the injury discourse may be unique to popular newspapers and the media narrative. Moreover, images, and how and where articles were placed and highlighted were not considered, limiting my analysis to the dominant narratives and themes within the articles. Third, this research only focused on a single NHL season. While the articles were published during the most recent NHL season when the research began, I could not document or explore how the discourse changed overtime. Given this, my findings may

not be relevant to other seasons; other NHL seasons and an examination of injury discourse over a longer period of time should be explored. Finally, my focus on the NHL only may be a limitation of this study. While I argue elsewhere that focusing on the NHL specifically is important because it allows for the exploration of NHL specific values and discourse, my findings may not be applicable to other hockey contexts or other sports. Overall, these limitations mean that the injury discourse may not be transferrable to all sport media, sporting contexts, or hockey leagues beyond the NHL although several of my findings are similar to injury and masculinity research.

In terms of the injury discourse specifically, future research should explore the use of war language in discussions of health. While only occurring in a few articles, there are references to war and war imagery. War metaphors and imagery have been found to be common among sports media and are often used to describe men's bodies (Jansen and Sabo, 1994; Trujilo, 1995); this is a topic worthy of further exploration. Connections between the injury discourse and Canadian identity and nationalism are also further areas to explore. References to nationalism have been found in other sports media (Allain, 2011) and hockey is used to promote national pride, Canadian unity, and Canadian masculinity (Robidoux, 2002; Allain, 2008, 2011). As I noted in the results chapter, references to violence and the celebration of violence were evident. Others have found that within hockey, including in sports media, violence is normalized and being violent, aggressive, and physical are celebrated and rewarded (Colburn, 1985; Young, 2000; Robidoux, 2001; Allain, 2008). While I did point out areas where violence was referenced in Chapter 5, the connection between injury and violence is another area where more research is needed.

Future research should also consider examining other media and the constructions of hockey injuries. Television is an important topic including the broadcasting of NHL games, analysis shows, and sports news programs including BellMedia's TSN. The internet is a source for information on sports. Research should consider sports news websites as well as social media which include news articles, videos, and images

available for sports fans. Other masculinity topics for future research include the examination of the construction of injuries and violence, including fighting. Concussions should be a topic of examination to understand how discussion of concussions has changed overtime in media. And while media specific discourse is the focus of this research, interviewing NHL players as well as other professional male hockey players would add to our understanding on the NHL injury discourse. Future research should also consider how these topics interact with race, class, sexuality, and other statuses, including the construction of marginalized and racialized injured male athletes in sports media. These examinations would add to our knowledge about injuries, sport, and inequality, and the ways in which sport as an institution upholds and at times, challenges, oppression and inequality.

Finally, it is important to note that the findings of this research point to the relevance of taking a materialist analysis of the data. Such an analysis, for example, would consider the body as a commodity that is exploited for profit and the NHL as a corporate entity, with teams representing firms. This is an avenue for future work.

6.6 Conclusion: Towards Social Change

I began this research with a desire to understand and makes sense of sport norms and hockey discourses beyond my own experiences in the world of hockey. Since the early 1970s, feminist scholars have expanded our understanding of sport and gender by examining inequality, oppression, and gender relations in sport. Adding to the sport and feminist research (Birrel, 2000), the purpose of this research was to understand the role of discourse, specifically language, in producing, reproducing, and challenging hegemonic masculinity in hockey sports media. I was motivated by the concern for the human condition and social change that recognizes male hockey players as people, not simply as male athletes.

Through critical analysis, the goal of this study was not just to study and document discursive constructions – the hope is to foster social change or at the very least, offer

suggestions that may lead to social change. While sport as an institution continues to change and evolve, beliefs in essentialism dominate the organization and structure of Western sport. We see this in the strict gender categories of professional sport, and the differences in rules and regulations between women and men's sport. We see this with the struggles of transgender, androgynous, and intersex athletes, and the invasive and humiliating gender testing 'uncategorized' athletes endure (for instance, Indian Olympic runner Dutee Chand – see Padawar, 2016). There continues to be limited media coverage of women's sports (Wanta, 2006) and male athletes continue to have more access to resources and facilities and opportunities for advancement, sponsorship, and financially stable professional careers (for instance, professional female hockey players boycott women's leagues – see Pingue, 2019). I point these sporting issues out not to say that change in sport is not possible but rather to contextualize the gendered institution of sport.

In terms of social change with media messages, social change can be sparked in a few ways. At the time of writing this chapter, concussion research and awareness is the focus of several organizations. For instance, the Government of Ontario is currently running a concussion awareness campaign after Rowan's law was passed in 2018 that removes athletes from the game if a suspected concussion occurs in Ontario leagues. The campaign titled "Hit. Stop. Sit," includes a commercial that features a female soccer player repeatedly receiving blows to the head before collapsing on the field (Government of Ontario, 2019). These awareness focused campaigns are important because they bring attention to the dangers of concussions. A similar campaign could inform the public about sporting injuries and offer health focused messages that are geared towards putting one's health and body before their sport. This would challenge the injury discourse and possibly influence how sports media constructs injuries in general.

Change within the NHL would influence change in media discourse. This is a complex change because the NHL is a business and its concern is always financial. Albeit slow, changes in policies and regulations have occurred in the NHL including equipment

changes (for instance, rules about wearing helmets) and more recent policies about concussions. As present in the newspaper articles analyzed, there is apprehension by the league to accept scientific research regarding concussions and offer real solutions and protections for players. With more public awareness and discussion regarding head injuries, fans and players alike must demand these changes and hold the league accountable.

With injury construction, change must first occur at the youth level. This should include injury awareness programs for young players, coaching staff, and hockey parents that focus on alternative messages that are more health focused and challenge hegemonic masculinity including the dangers of playing hurt, playing through injuries, and the hockey and masculine status that comes with these practices. At the youth level as well, policies and guidelines can be offered to foster a team environment that is health conscious so that young male hockey players are more likely to feel comfortable admitting and publicizing their injuries to their team and coaches. This could include team meetings that remind players of the coaching staffs' concern for player well-being. The focus on youth hockey is important not only because similar health practices have been found in all levels of sport (Young, 2004a) but because changes in sporting values and practices will trickle into professional hockey and into sports media as the young players age. This would occur because the accepted sporting values and views about injuries would change which would influence media discourse. While a grand and slow change, offering alternative messages to players could mean that dominant views of injuries would be challenged as those players grow into sports writers, professional hockey players, and adult fans.

Through a critical discourse analysis, this dissertation examined narratives and themes in popular Canadian newspaper articles published during the 2016-2017 NHL season. Examining the constructions of NHL associated injuries, it was revealed that injury talk is not talk of health or well-being. Rather, talk of NHL associated injury is talk of hegemonic masculinity. The injury discourse includes the constructions of injuries, the

body, and masculinities. Through these constructions, the ideal male hockey player is fashioned as one who accepts injuries are part of the game, plays hurt, and ignores injuries. The ideal male hockey player exists for their team, sacrifices their body, and puts themselves in danger for their team. They are a machine, durable, young, takes care of their health, and when injured, returns to redeem themselves. Alas, by exploring the constructions of injuries, parents, hockey coaches, league officials, and sport writers can work to offer alternative messages. Without alternative messages, harmful health practices will continue to be understood as the only legitimate and acceptable view of health.

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Johnston, P (4 May 2017). "Canucks ink Pedan to 1-year pact; Blue-liner trusts new coach from time in Utica." *Vancouver Sun*, pp. C6.

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Kuzma, B (23 May 2017). "Burrows Isn't Counting Out Senators Just Yet." *Vancouver Sun*, pp. B2.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Analysis Sheet

Adapted from Jäger, 2001

1. Newspaper Characteristics

- What are the characteristics of the readership for each newspaper?
- What is the newspaper's yearly circulation in Canada?
- How are the newspapers constructed? (e.g., What sections do each newspapers have?)
- Do the newspapers have a sports section? If so, how often is the section published?
- Are the newspapers affiliated or local to a particular NHL team?

2. Article Characteristics

- How were the articles accessed? (e.g., Print only, online only, print and newspaper website)
- When was the article published? (e.g., Regular season versus playoffs)
- Who is the intended audience? (e.g., Sports fan, hockey fan, any Canadian reader)
- Is the article a wire article? Is the article published in multiple newspapers?
- What section of the newspaper is the article published in? If the article is published outside of the sports section, why is this so?
- What page of the newspaper and section is the article published on?
- Why was the article written? (e.g., Opinion piece, reporting on recent events, or future NHL events)

3. Surface of the text

- How long is the article?
- How is the article structured? (e.g., Paragraphs, lists, bullet points)
- Are headings and subheadings used in the article?
- What topics are discussed in the article? (e.g., Health, game play, player success or failure, hockey scores, trades)
- How do these topics overlap or contradict each other? (e.g., Health related to player success or failure)
- What topics are absent from the article? (e.g., Health experiences, long term health effects of sports)

4. Injuries

- What injury or injuries are discussed and privileged? (e.g., Knee injury, upper body injury, lower body injury)
- How are the injuries presented in the text? (e.g., As a list, in brackets after an athletes name, in paragraphs)
- How are injuries portrayed in the text? (e.g., Negatively, as an inconvenience, as part of the game, as shocking, as something to be concerned about)
- What are the effects of injuries according to the text? (e.g., effects the team, effects the athletes ability to play/be successful)
- What kind of language or rhetorical devices are used when injuries are referenced? (e.g., medical language, metaphors)
- What kinds of experts (e.g., medical experts, coaches) are cited or referenced when discussing injuries in the text?
- How is the return from injury portrayed? (e.g., return better than ever, return with something to prove, no longer as skilled)
- How is not returning from injury portrayed?

5. Constructions of the body

- How is the body related to the NHL and hockey?
- How is the body conceptualized in the text? (e.g., the athlete's body, the injured body)
 - i. How is the athlete's body conceptualized in the text (e.g., useful, strong, important and needed for the team)
 - ii. How is the injured body conceptualized in the text? (e.g., useless, broken, hurting the team)
- How is the body in pain conceptualized in the text? (e.g., as normal, part of the game)
- What is not talked about regarding the injured body? What is not talked about regarding the body in pain? (e.g., experiences of the athletes, the effects it has on their identity)
- How does the body's quality change when injured according to the text? (e.g., athlete not useful to the team, may never recover)
- How does the body's quality change when pain exists according to the text? (e.g., may never recover, may not be the same)
- When discussing the body, what ideals of masculinity are referenced, privileged, ignored, and challenged?

6. Constructions of Health

- How does the text define healthy (implicitly or explicitly)? (e.g., not being injured, being able to play)
- How does the article conceptualize the healthy hockey player? (e.g., no longer on the injury list, players who can play)

7. Constructions of Masculinity

- What kind of understanding of masculinities and gender does the article convey?
- When discussing injury, pain, health, and the body, what ideals of masculinity are referenced, privileged, ignored, and challenged?
- How is language and other rhetorical devices (e.g., metaphors) used to express these ideals of masculinity?
- Are there counter-examples provided/moments of resistance to these idealized constructions of masculinity? How are they expressed?

8. Constructions of subjectivity

- What kinds of subjectivity are constructed in the articles with regard to accounts of injury and pain? (e.g., the injured athlete, the healthy athlete)
- How is the ideal injured athlete described and understood to be? (e.g., as normal, playing through pain/injury, as wanting to return as soon as possible, as working to return)
- How is the non-ideal injured athlete described and understood to be? (e.g., as a problem, as replaceable, as weak)
- How are the injured athletes portrayed in relation to other athletes, their team, and/or the NHL?
- What characteristics of the injured athlete does the article focus on and privilege? (e.g., strength, skill, speed). What characteristics are ignored?

9. Rhetorical Devices

- What form of argumentation does the text follow? What strategies are used by the article to form its argument? (e.g., referencing team and player statistics, the pain principle, healthisms)
- What logic does the text follow? (e.g., injuries are normal, injuries are bound to occur)
- What metaphors and idioms are used in the text? What do they convey?
- What kinds of vocabulary and styles of writing does the article use?
- How are cautionary tales and other literary devices (the model athlete) used in the text to reinforce particular construction of health, the body, and masculinity?

10. Other

- What is the overall message of the text?
- What are some unique, surprising, or unexpected aspects of the article?
- Does the article support or contradict other articles in the sample?

Appendix 2: Data Gathering and Database Searches

Database: *Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies*, Accessed: July 2017-March 2018

1. Search 1- Articles on the NHL

- Keywords: “NHL,” “National Hockey League”
- Search: “NHL” anywhere OR “National Hockey League” anywhere
- Publication date: 12 October 2016 – 11 June 2017
- Publication title: *Calgary Herald, The Globe and Mail, The National Post, Toronto Star, Vancouver Sun.*
- Total articles: 3,744
- Total articles per newspaper:
 - *Calgary Herald*, 920
 - *The Globe and Mail*, 587
 - *The National Post*, 681
 - *Toronto Star*, 749
 - *Vancouver Sun*, 807

2. Search 2 – Articles on the NHL and Injury

- Keywords: injur*, “NHL,” “National Hockey League”
- Search: injur* anywhere AND “NHL” anywhere OR “National Hockey League” anywhere
- Publication date: 12 October 2016 – 11 June 2017
- Publication title: *Calgary Herald, The Globe and Mail, The National Post, Toronto Star, Vancouver Sun.*
- Total articles: 1,088
- Total articles per newspaper:
 - *Calgary Herald*, 235
 - *The Globe and Mail*, 206
 - *The National Post*, 189
 - *Toronto Star*, 242
 - *Vancouver Sun*, 216

3. Search 3 – Articles on the NHL and Pain (not included in study)

- Keywords: pain, “NHL,” “National Hockey League”
- Search: “pain” anywhere AND “NHL” anywhere OR “National Hockey League” anywhere
- Publication date: 12 October 2016 – 11 June 2017
- Publication title: *Calgary Herald, The Globe and Mail, The National Post, Toronto Star, Vancouver Sun.*
- Total articles: 114

- Total articles per newspaper:
 - *Calgary Herald*, 29
 - *The Globe and Mail*, 11
 - *The National Post*, 21
 - *Toronto Star*, 25
 - *Vancouver Sun*, 28

4. Search 4 – Articles on the NHL and Injury (subject)

- Keywords: injur*, “NHL,” “National Hockey League”
- Search: injur* anywhere except full text – ALL, AND “NHL” anywhere OR “National Hockey League” anywhere
- Publication date: 12 October 2016 – 11 June 2017
- Publication title: *Calgary Herald*, *The Globe and Mail*, *The National Post*, *Toronto Star*, *Vancouver Sun*.
- Excluded Companies:

Abbotsford Heat Hockey	Detroit Tigers
AHL	Erie Otters
Arizona Cardinals	FIFA
Arizona State University	Gold State Warriors
Atlanta Hawks	Guelph Storm
Atlanta United FC	Halifax Moosehead
Baltimore Orioles	Los Angeles Dodgers
Barrie Colts	McGill University
Binghamton Senators	Minnesota Timberwolves
BNP Paribas	Moncton Wildcats
Borussia Dortmund	Montreal Alouettes
Boston Celtics	NBA
Boston Red Sox	NCAA
Bowling Green State University	NFL
Bridgeport Sound Tigers	OHL
Brooklyn Nets	Phoenix Suns
Buffalo Bills	Pittsburgh Pirates
Charlotte Hornets	Portland Trailblazers
Chicago Bulls	Quebec Remparts
Chicago Cubs	Saskatoon Roughriders
Chicago White Sox	Seattle Seahawks
Chicago Wolves	Seattle Sounders
CHL	Sudbury Wolves
Cincinnati Bengals	Tampa Bay Rays
Cleveland Cavaliers	Toronto Blue Jays
Colonial Athletic Association	Toronto Marlies
Dallas Cowboys	Toronto Raptors

Denver Nuggets Detroit Pistons	University of North Dakota Vancouver White Caps
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- Excluded subjects:

Cowboys College Football Diapers Olympic Games Rodeos	Rugby Snowboarding Social Networks Twins
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- **Total articles: 199**
- Total articles per newspaper:
 - *Calgary Herald*, 50
 - *The Globe and Mail*, 26
 - *The National Post*, 28
 - *Toronto Star*, 34
 - *Vancouver Sun*, 61

Curriculum Vitae

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Post-secondary Education and Degrees: Wilfrid Laurier University
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Winter 2020 – Research Methods in Sociology (Soc 2206)

Publications:

Clarke, J & R. Miele (2016). Trapped by Gender: The paradoxical portrayal of gender and mental illness in Anglophone North American magazines: 1983-2012. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 56, 1-8.

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