



UiO • University of Oslo

Fighting in Ice Hockey

There is More Behind a Clenched Fist than Pain

Dialyn Gray Barry Thelen

Student Number: 644155

Master's Program

Number of Credits: 30 ECTS

University of Oslo

Faculty of Social Sciences

Department of Social Anthropology

Spring 2022

Table of Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	6
<i>Introduction</i>	8
Structure of Thesis.....	11
<i>Methodology</i>	13
Positionality.....	19
Interviews.....	21
Ethics.....	23
Fieldwork Constraints.....	25
<i>Literature Review: Ice Hockey and the Anthropology of Sport</i>	26
<i>Ice Hockey as Imagined Communities</i>	32
Color Schemes of Belonging.....	34
Introduction to The Code.....	36
Miracle On Ice.....	38
Profiting from Ice Hockey as an Imagined Community.....	41
Physical Self Sacrifice.....	48
<i>Toxic Masculinity and Gender</i>	52
Interviews with Reed Larson and Kelly Brooks-Paradise.....	55
<i>The Code</i>	59
Obey The Code.....	63
The Code: Specifics.....	67
The Role of the Enforcer.....	69
<i>Perspectives on Capitalism in Ice Hockey</i>	74
<i>Conclusion</i>	81
<i>Epilogue</i>	83
<i>Works Cited</i>	88
<i>Glossary of Terms</i>	101
<i>Appendix</i>	103
Consent Forms: Fans.....	103
Consent Forms: Officials.....	108
Consent Forms: Online Users.....	113
Consent Forms: Players.....	118
Questions for Fans.....	123

Questions for Officials.....	124
Questions for Online Users	125
Questions for Players.....	126
Contact Slips Requests for Interviews	127

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my family who has supported me throughout this whole process. Since the day I ran screaming down the stairs yelling, "I GOT INTO OSLO!" to sending me off at Terminal 1 Minneapolis-Saint Paul International Airport for my short time in Oslo. You have always been there for me, especially in the time of Covid-19. Knowing I can always come home gives me great freedom and confidence to chase my dreams. Thanks for letting Olaf stay with me too, it was great having a tall guy around the house. Say hi to the dogs for me, I will clean up their poop when I get back, even if I get my masters.

Thank you, Jeanne Thibodeau, the world's most magnificent best friend who could ever grace my world, who let me stay at your Chicago apartment twice, since the first time VFS messed up my biometrics for my residence card. You've always been my best friend, encouraging me to follow my dreams and supporting me every step of the way since we were 9 years old. I can't wait to see how you're going to save the coral. When you get to Oslo, we are going to party.

A major, loving, unconditional thank you to my partner Olaf. I guess ex-partner now. Shit happens. Whatever you do next, it will be amazing. I know you will dominate the upcoming WATL and IATF championships and I will be there cheering for you, absolutely. Get em'.

Thank you, TRIO Wolf Creek, MN Alliance with Youth, and AmeriCorps. I truly enjoyed, appreciated, and cherished my experiences as an AmeriCorps Promise Fellow. Driving my old 1998 zebra Jeep Wrangler, the same car I drove when I was a student at Wolf Creek and returning to help students find academic success was a full circle moment. Academics have been a huge part of my life, and it brought me back to where I started. I am truly grateful.

A major thank you to my advisor, Dr. Camelia Dewan. Thank you for your two years of unwavering support and advice! I couldn't ask for more. You told me to calm down a lot, and I needed that. Before one of the final drafts, you said, "I have great faith in you". I wrote this down on a post-it note and stared at it every day. Thank you for believing in me.

A big thank you to Amy for reading and editing all my papers since my first year of my undergraduate at Hamline University!

Thank you, Jake, and Sarah. The only two other Americans in my class at University of Oslo, who gave me so much advice and guidance. From countless USA memes, struggles with SiO housing, and to sharing the confusion and dismay when we all got C's in ANTH4010 Advanced Anthropological Theory, I hope to see you in Minnesota at some point. (You don't have to visit when it's cold).

Thank you to my crew and Boss Axe Rogue at Bad Axe Throwing, Minneapolis Kennedy location. I couldn't ask for a better group of people to throw axes with. From leagues to colleagues, it has been amazing. The axe throwing community is pretty sharp, if you ask me. Thanks for always having my back, it has been an honor being you Axe Master.

Finally, thank you Ollie. Olliebear, you are the best dog. I can't believe it's been so long since you've been gone. I wouldn't trade anything in the world for our time together. I cannot express how grateful I was to be with you on your last day. I miss you so much. I don't know what lies beyond this time and world, but I hope to see you there with Lulu.



Figure #1: This was my first day of school in my master's program at University of Oslo. Obviously, I was not in Oslo currently due to Covid-19, I was at home with my family, partner, and dogs in Minnesota, USA. The dog in this picture is Ollie, also known as Olliebear. She died about two months later from this photo being taken by lymphoma at 6 years old. I was always frustrated that Covid-19 took so many opportunities away from me, but to be home by her side when she passed is one of the most defining moments of my life.

Yelling. Cheering. Suddenly everyone stands up around you. You stand too, what is going on? The floor moves slightly beneath your feet due to the vibrations of noise and 20,000 people standing. What is happening? Two pairs of hockey gloves hit the ice, and two men lock eyes for everyone to see. They raise their clenched fists up to eye level at each other, widening their stances, summoning their bravery. All the attention, almost of the entire world is here on these two men, they must feel the weight in their shoulders. Then, they latch on to each other's jerseys, and start throwing. They are so close together you can imagine the combination of sweat and adrenaline fill your nose.

Haymakers, punches, jabs, knuckle sandwiches, decks, slugs, hits, fists, thwack, blows, whatever you call them, they rain down on the face of the other like hailstorm of fury. They try to throw the other off balance for higher ground, swinging the other to their fall. Their fists hit each other's helmets, knuckle on hard plastic will leave your hand raw and bloody. It happens so fast. Astoundingly fast. Your heart quickens. The screaming doesn't stop and neither do the men. Both the screaming and fighting only get more intense as blood begins to spill onto the ice. One man is slightly faster than the other and connects a solid right-handed punch to the other's already bewildered face. He collapses, and the linesmen come to tear the two men apart. Both men are assisted to their penalty boxes where they sit for five minutes for their actions. Tough guys always give 100% and never back down. Blood covers the faces and knuckles of both men. They do not seek medical attention for a small face cut, scars look badass, and we all know they earn you respect. Scars are a reminder of your bravery and ability to take a stance for the team you believe in. Small streams of blood are nothing to the river's they would need stitches for. Both men sit slouched in their penalty box, catching their breathes. Punching someone as hard as you can on the ice takes effort. They do not complain or say a word, there are no words for the cacophony of cheers, "fuck yeahs!", claps, and widened eyes that just viewed something that can only be described as controlled chaos.

It is not controlled chaos though; it is a hockey game. You are at a hockey game.

Researching fighting in ice hockey highlights the importance of an anthropological lens when we view cultural and legitimization of violence. Understanding how this sport came to have fighting so intertwined with its history, culture, and presence is what caught my attention. In my research, fighting is deemed part of North American hockey culture, that the game cannot exist without fighting. How is it possible to physically assault someone until they drop

unconscious or bloodied and the consequences are just a five-minute penalty? Not only does this occur with a small, short penalty, but 20,000 people watch the fight. Not only do they observe, but they stand, scream, cheer, and yell in excitement when a fight breaks out. I was so curious as to why anyone would want the job as an enforcer, a role only known for throwing punches and hurting other people for a game about putting a puck in a goal.

Few events in world history can bring entire nations together. We know that sport is not only something we occasionally participate in as a spectator or a player, but it is much more significant than spectating or participation. “Sport plays a tremendously important role in setting boundaries between groups, contesting them, defining what is normal and what is extraordinary, and entangling the everyday lives of ordinary people with the state, nation, and the world” (Besnier, Brownell, Carter, 2018, p. 1). Sport is introduced to us as children, we engage with it socially daily, even if we do not follow or participate in sport. Stadiums to hold the masses are erected in main city centers, sports clothing, sports news, sports media, and how we view the athletes who participate in their sport is worth trillions of dollars globally. Sport is unescapable from micro levels of one’s identity. Anthropologists view, study, and interpret culture and how we perceive the social world around us. Much of the anthropology of sport focuses on football (United States soccer), and leaves ice hockey under investigated. This lack of data centering on how sport is representative of many diverse aspects of culture is what led to the exploration of the phenomenon of fighting in ice hockey.

This master’s thesis is centralized on the main question, why does fighting in ice hockey occur in North America? This collection and interpretation of data is current with events taking place in the National Hockey League (NHL). Since the 2004-2005 season lockout occurred, older sources before the lockout have different penalties for fighting. The lockout occurred when negotiations over salary caps were not resolved, leading to labor disputes and the cancelation of the season with no winner of the Stanley Cup (ESPN, 2005. Phramany, 2021). Months of research, data collection, interviews, video, and literary analysis are consulted to grow an understanding of why violent actions occur in this sport. With the anthropological lens we can view structures of society in sport, and why fighting and ice hockey in North America are entangled together. This master’s thesis is concentrated on the ethnographic present and as years come to pass with new research, data, and player’s experiences, reviewing and expanding on this data is vital.

Structure of Thesis

In the *Methodology* Chapter, I reviewed how I collected information, sites of data collection, interviewing techniques, and how research was conducted and key reflection on methodological concepts such as positionality, interviews, ethics, and fieldwork constraints. I also provide explanations of my ethical responsibilities, management of personal data from interlocutors, reflexivity of participant observation in my home state, and issues and tribulations I encountered in creation of this thesis. Covid-19 was a major contributor to most of the complications I faced. The *Literature Review* chapter describes what relevant journals, articles, and books were used to understand what work has been done in the subdiscipline of anthropology of sport and ice hockey.

Firstly, I explore political scientist Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* as a theoretical medium into understanding why players fight. Anderson's critique of the state and nation engineering is vital to how one can view a hockey team that represent their state, city, or region. Anderson states the relationship between the individual and the team is both of "kinship and clientship" (1991, p. 6) which is extremely prevalent with the role of an enforcer. This can be seen with the use of matching color schemes in jerseys, the lyrics of the Minnesota Wild Theme Song (2000), and at the 1980 Olympic games where the Miracle on Ice occurred. Along with kinship and clientship, Anderson argues (1991, p. 144), "The idea of the ultimate sacrifice come only with an idea of purity, through fatality", which can be demonstrated when players take the role of enforcer and risk their health for the protection of others.

Secondly, I investigate the entanglement of gender and toxic masculinity in hockey and review what interlocutors have told me about their thoughts on fighting in ice hockey, along with two other notable interviewees. I use data collected from fieldwork to discover why fans think that fights occur in hockey and their interpretation of the violent acts.

Thirdly, I will introduce The Code and symbolic meanings behind the unspoken rules that NHL players share. The Code has broader themes like honor, respect, and retribution. The Code also specifies weight classes and which players are allowed to fight each other. The roles, official and unofficial positions that players hold have specific job requirements.

Finally, fighting in ice hockey often draws attention to the sport (Paul, 2003). Recognizing that hockey teams are franchises dedicated to profit, does the NHL have a small five-minute penalty for fighting because it gets fans in seats to buy tickets? Enforcers sell lots of

jerseys with their names on the back, they are one of the most popular players on the team despite their small ice time. In my participant observation, everyone in the arena stands when a fight takes place, they do not look away. Don Cherry says, “When Probert was fighting, did you ever see anyone get out of their seat a go for coffee?”” (Probert, McLellan Day, 2010, p. 18).

Over the last two decades of anthropology, medical and dark (violence, genocide, understanding structures of power) have become popular (Ortner, 2016). Understanding the violence of fighting in ice hockey not only investigates these “trendy” newer focuses of anthropology, but also can be researched in a “classic” frame of race, gender, sexuality, the state, bodies, colonialism, and economics. What makes anthropology of sport so captivating is that it can take a variety of perspectives and intertwine them together. The athlete is a conjunction of intersectionality that make them up, not only their bodies but how they identify. Writing this thesis, I had to be incredibly selective of what theories could be used to interpret my data, and how to centralize on the theme of just, “Why does fighting in ice hockey exist?”. Sadly, this is just my master’s with limited time, data, and resources. Could the expansion of fighting in ice hockey research branch out into a better understanding of multiple academic disciplines spanning a wide variety of topics? Absolutely.

Methodology

Anthropological fieldwork can be defined in a variety of ways. “Fieldwork represents one of the fundamental of “paradigmatic” elements of anthropology as an academic discipline” (Robben, Sluka, 2012, p. 5). When one conducts fieldwork, they are in the social setting surrounded and immersed, living and breathing with their interlocutors. Philippe Bourgois refers to anthropologists’ work as, “We are not allowed to remain at our desks to pore over census tracts; we have to venture into everyday life not just to interview people but to actually participate in their daily life and to partake of their social and cultural reality” (1991, p. 320). Anthropology differs from other social sciences since we usually observe living human beings. I concentrated on being in ice arenas, watching players and fans both in person and digitally. In combination of being in the field, I used the method of participant observation. Participant observation as an outsider is when the fieldworker, “observes, experiences, and makes comparisons in ways that insiders can or would not” (Robben, Sluka, 2012, p. 2). Bronislaw Malinowski defines participant observation as immersing oneself into the native’s community, awareness of preconceived ideas, and working through the embarrassment of being an outsider to a group (1922). Ethnography is not only writing down notes, but also listening and being present in the community (1922). Learning about others through action and time spent with natives is the best way to understanding their society.

I did not have the opportunity to live and immerse myself with NHL players and use the method of deep hanging out as coined by Clifford Geertz (1998). I suffered from multiple fieldwork restraints that limited my research. For ethnographic approaches to my field, I utilized George Marcus’s multi-sited ethnography (1995). “To bring these sites into the same frame of study and to posit their relationships on the basis of first-hand ethnographic research in both is the important contribution of this kind of ethnography, regardless of the variability of the quality and accessibility of that research at different sites” (Marcus, 1995, p. 100). I studied NHL players in North America, and my sites were the ice arenas, stadiums, bars, taverns, pubs, and digital sites that I visited to do interviews and observations. Using media was vital during the Covid-19 pandemic. Researching North American ice hockey required me to view thirty-two NHL teams across Canada and the United States and to attend games at the Xcel Energy Center to view the local NHL team: The Minnesota Wild. Marcus mentions the issues of multi-sited

fieldwork, that the sites must be traced back to each other, so they are not “worlds apart”, and I do this literally by “following the conflict” and go where the fights occur and being present when a stadium stands for two men to brawl (1995, p. 110).

When interviewing people for information about fighting in ice hockey I used *The Ethnographic Interview* by James Spradley (1979). This is expanded in *Interviews*. Two of my interviews were with Reed Larson and Kelly Brooks-Paradise who are extremely knowledgeable with decades of experience about hockey and its culture. I let them lead the conversation with what they believed was most vital to voice.

While my project proposal was quite enthusiastic for a new graduate student, my ethnographic research is conducted with:

- Interviews of fans about how they understand fighting in hockey. This took place at games, bars, and through casual interactions
- Literary analysis of multiple books, journals, podcasts, documentaries, and video montages relating to aggression, fighting, and techniques of hockey
- Attending live NHL and recreational Da Beauty League games to watch how players, fans, and officials react in real time when the game of hockey is in action

Some people and fellow masters’ students have asked me, “How can you do participant observation of hockey enforcers if you do not get the opportunity to feel their pain of getting punched or throwing punches?”. This is an odd question, but due to the unfortunate circumstances of not being able to talk to any enforcers directly, let alone get on the ice with them and have them punch me, was a privilege I didn’t have. Why would participant observation require me to have my face punched, wouldn’t that not go against the ethics of “do no harm”? Not only does “do no harm” apply to my interlocutors but is a standard that I keep for myself. My research requires me to learn the most I can and forge an understanding of what enforcers go through, but to have an interlocutor strike me in the face wouldn’t benefit my investigation into fighting in ice hockey. Western conceptions of senses are defined as touch, taste, smell, sight, and hearing. There has been recognition of other sense such as temperature, vestibular (balance), proprioceptive (movement), and pain. In my defense, I already have the preconceived idea that being punched in the face would be painful and damaging to my physical, neurological, and mental health. I would use my senses to learn from this situation, but again I am not searching

for violence to be inflicted upon myself. Not only would I have to find a hockey player known for fighting, but I would have to find a player in my weight class to punch me in the head to conduct what would be considered a “fair fight”. I am a 5’ 0” (1.52 m) 140 lbs (63 kg) woman and there aren’t any professional hockey players who are my height and weight. It is unethical for me to ask anyone to punch someone in the head for anthropological research.

Of course, I want to understand the best I can why fighting exists in hockey, but it is ethically and morally ludicrous that I would go out of my way to find and encourage violence. I’m dedicated to this master’s thesis, but not “get sucker punched in the head and risk my physical health for better understanding that getting punched in the head is not a pleasant experience” dedicated.

Ideally, fieldwork would involve direct contact with NHL hockey players and be able to spend time with them in a variety of settings. Practice, locker rooms, pre- and post-game, and in their free time. I would hope to be able to get ice time with the players to skate around them and see how they act on ice without plexiglass boards separating us. I pictured lessons in how to grab a jersey, and how to throw a punch on ice. I had dreams of sitting with professional players learning about their sport with the smell of sweaty equipment, and the slight cool wind of an ice arena chill my hands as I took notes gaining valuable data. While I did not practice participant observation on ice, I was able to participate as a fan in the audience who watched the fights occur. This gave me insight into how fans reacted to fights and situations of violence.

I hoped that I would be in Oslo, Norway in 2020-2021, and have a wonderful time learning Norwegian culture and language. Along with my ideal fieldwork expectations, I also wanted to collect more data relating to hockey officials, online users, and sports announcers. I planned to watch numerous hockey games on ESPN that I had a subscription to and try to attend as many live games as possible. I wanted to collect quantifiable data such as the averages of how long fights last, how many connected punches are made, number of participating individuals, and frequency of fights occurring in games. I wanted to gain a perspective of fighting from current NHL players and retired NHL players too, before and after the 2004-2005 NHL season lockout. Overall, I wanted to collect, interpret, and work with more data for my thesis. The project proposal before my fieldwork started was written by was a starry-eyed, naïve first year master’s student who thought she was going to have all the time in the world to work on this research with no issues, problems, or complications.

I did not have the privilege to work with NHL or hockeyfights.com, they did not respond to my emails. From my project proposal, I did briefly speak with Joe Dzedzic who is a Minneapolis hockey coach and played professionally in the NHL, but his schedule became too busy to assist me in research. We did briefly speak on December 15th, 2020, and he recommended that I do not get the NHL involved in my research. I have tried to reach him ever since and have not had any contact. He did not sign a consent form since I faced months of delay with the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (Norsk Senter for Forskingsdata), and at the time of our meeting I did not have consent forms. I tried my best to have a collaborator who was an NHL hockey player who could assist, take part, and guide me in my research, but this sadly did not happen.

I tried to contact many different types of people, companies, and other organizations that are associated with ice hockey related violence. I emailed other hockey interest groups such as Violent Gentlemen, a clothing brand dedicated to hockey streetwear, “We started Violent Gentlemen in 2011 with the intention of creating what we wanted as fans. Well designed, timeless yet topical quality hockey clothing” (Violent Gentlemen About Us). They responded that they would get back to me when they had the time, and never responded. I messaged the private Facebook group Hockey Fights and Brawls administrators to ask for possible interviews and did not receive any responses either. I contacted Ross Bernstein who wrote *The Code: The Unwritten Rules of Fighting and Retaliation in the NHL*. He did message and call me back wanting to do an interview, but never signed the consent form to allow me to interview him or responded to my returning messages despite my efforts.

Since I come from the “State of Hockey” Minnesota, our hockey players are viewed as celebrities. Getting close enough to ask them for an interview was unrealistic. I did not have the opportunity to interview any current hockey players in the 2021-2022 NHL season. Since I was not afforded the privilege to speak with NHL players directly, I used autobiographies to gain a direct perspective from enforcers about their experiences, struggles, and understanding of their role. I also streamed hockey games digitally and watched numerous montage videos of hockey fights on YouTube, Facebook, TikTok, and Instagram. I also reference the fictional film of *Miracle on Ice* by Disney later.

Some people I interviewed were visibly and audibly intoxicated with alcohol, and they took my interview as an invite to talk to me or offer to buy me drinks. Anyone exhibiting drunken behavior who wanted to do an interview, I had them sign a consent form instead of verbal consent, in case they forgot when they were intoxicated, it was a little test to see if they were coherent enough to speak. Since I identify and present as a woman, I'm sure that some of them thought I was asking for interviews in a flirtatious manner. I turned down all free drink offers. Once it was 23:00 at night, I would normally be done with fieldwork, and go home so I would not be alone on the streets at night.

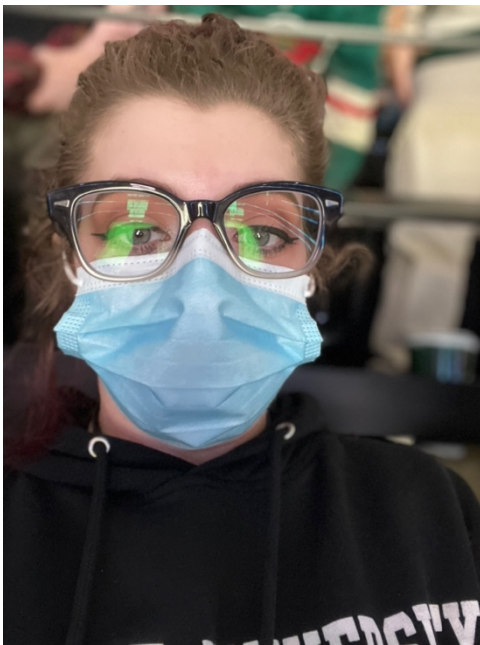


Figure #2: I attended the January 8th, 2022, Minnesota Wild vs. Washington Capitals at the Xcel Energy Center. As one can see from the reflection in my glasses, I am sitting in a cheap seat, “a nosebleed” far away from ice. When mask mandates were in effect, I wore a mask and obeyed all mandates and requirements.

Along with Covid-19 and previous listed restraints, my first attempt to watch a professional hockey game live was met with trial and error. I was going to attend the Tuesday November 30th, 2021, Minnesota Wild versus Arizona Coyotes at the Xcel Energy Center in Saint Paul, Minnesota. Excited for my first NHL game, I brought fieldwork tools with me to observe and interview fans: a notebook, consent forms, two pencils, printed off question sheets, battery charger for my phone, and lip balm. I was ready to take plenty of notes, get many interviews, and finally get into the field and watch everything. I was turned away at the door, I was told no bags were allowed. No purses, backpacks, clutches, or even clear stadium bags were allowed inside. I chose not to throw my notebook that had hundreds of hours of notes written in it from my literature research into a trash bin outside of the Xcel Energy Center. That notebook is more

valuable to me than any ticket. I watched the game from the sports bar across the street from the Xcel Energy Center and took notes and interviews, disappointed in myself for not reading the fine print. The next game I went in prepared, with no bag, and was admitted to the game.

Positionality

My positionality in the field and self-awareness mainly relies on the fact that I am from the state of Minnesota. I am a proud Minnesotan. As I argue the connection of sport and state, I am biased towards the relationship of hockey and the imagined community of Minnesota. I love my home state and find myself very lucky to call it my home, where winter sports are common and respected. Minnesota has a state team called the Minnesota Wild and I am more likely to cheer for my home team at games because it is my home team, and I try to not stick out at games for my own safety of looking like a fan from another team. I mention this in my fieldwork when I would wear a Norge Ishockeyforbund jersey that had the colors: red, white, and blue. Most people did not notice it was a Norway jersey, but assumed it was a United States jersey due to the colors. When I attended the Minnesota Wild versus Washington Capitals game, I did not wear my Norway jersey in fear that I would look like a Washington Capitals fan at a Minnesota Wild home game and face harassment wearing the visiting team's color scheme.

I also identify and present as a white, middle class, petite woman. In this masculine sport and topic of fighting, some interlocutors would not want to talk to a woman about this subject. Being a woman, I was not allowed into locker rooms, or in some conversations due to my gender. I am sure that when I spoke to some players about possible interviews, they assumed I was flirting with them and was a "puck bunny". Women commonly known as a "puck bunnies" (Crawford, Gosling, 2004), are someone who just wants to date or have sexual relations with a hockey player. Indeed, several interlocutors mentioned that they were surprised that I am studying this topic.

My mother is a professional figure skating coach, so as a child I was raised in an ice arena. I am used to the smell of sweaty hockey pads and unwashed equipment and already knew some of their slang and lingo since the two sports share ice time. I only figure skated as a child, and never played hockey due to my short stature. When my mother taught me about how to defend myself as a woman in the case of a violent situation, she taught me the same lesson she learned from Joe Dziedzic when he educated his hockey students about how to fight on ice. I realize just now that I used my previous knowledge of fighting in ice hockey to keep myself safe in the case of someone trying to assault me. As I study fighting in ice hockey, this has just struck me as odd. Hockey punches were taught to me at a young age as a form of self-defense, not for starting fights, but as a way of ending them. Hockey players have always been "good guys" in my

childhood and currently, as I ask them for help and their opinions in this thesis. I have positive opinions about them and their sport. They are known for being very kind, nice people who are always willing to chat.

I know that when I tell people about my project, they get excited and sometimes shocked that I am studying violence. It is not my intention to glorify or promote violence in any way.

Interviews

Interviews consisted of preset questions and allowed the opportunity for the interlocutor to add any additional comments. Using the *Ethnographic Interview* by James Spradley (1979) I attempted to keep the conversation informational, open, and friendly. Spradley mentions that all speech events have beginnings, endings, turn taking, and pauses. But for ethnographic interviews the anthropologists use a list of elements that contain items such as: giving project explanations, asking ethnographic questions, restating informant's terms, and asking friendly questions. For example, researching the question, "Why does fighting in ice hockey exist?" I would start with this as an introduction to asking ethnographic questions. Creating a safe space for interlocutors to talk, express, and develop opinions is critical to my research and personal ethics.

All interviews were verbal and in person except for two that were conducted over the phone. If the interviewee added more comments I would follow the flow of their thoughts with an unstructured interview, they mostly just reiterated their previous thoughts. I tried my best to keep the conversation free flowing and would often ask interlocutors, "Can you expand on that for me?" to get more information. I demonstrated positive body language such as nodding, relaxed open stances, and eye contact. All interviewees had to complete a written consent form, and if in public spaces where alcohol was being consumed, if they could be coherent and able to consent, I would continue with the interview. I spoke directly to them stating that all information tracing to their identity wouldn't be used, and that if they chose to be anonymous then they would remain so as wished. All interlocutors are allowed to pull their consent at any time. Names were recorded on written consent forms and are not used in this thesis, except for Reed Larson and Kelly Brooks-Paradise who consent to having their names known. All interview notes were taken with a pen and paper. Most consent forms were signed in person, except for about three that had to be filled out digitally due to distance, convenience, and the fact that I couldn't bring in physical copies of consent forms into games due to the no bag rule at the Xcel Energy Center where NHL games took place.

I changed one of my interview questions, regarding fans, to make it more open-ended without technical hockey terms. There are four different interviews for the following interlocutors: fans, officials, online users, and players. All pre-set questions are one sentence, open and simple. My in-person interviews took much more of a conversational route. There was a great variety of people with different levels of knowledge of hockey. For example, instead of

asking Question #5 for my Fans interview questions as, “What makes someone good at enforcing or fighting?” I rephrased the question as, “What makes someone good at fighting?”. Using ice hockey specific definitions such as “goon”, “enforcer”, and “tough guy” confused some interviewees and associated “fighting well” with enforcing. This was an inaccurate assumption and could affect interviewee answers negatively. Sometimes people didn’t know what an enforcer/tough guy was, and they were unaware that they had the designated role of fighting. They only thought of two players fighting organically without consideration of one’s premeditated preparations to fight. When starting fieldwork, I used the term goon and enforcer interchangeably. This was a great fault, for they are considered two very different roles and have drastically different definitions. A goon is considered someone who breaks The Code with hooliganism. This could be attacking others from behind, being disrespectful, targeting the scorers on the other team and going out after them with intent to injure. Goon is viewed as a derogatory term for a player with a lack of morals, respect, and love for the game in their own selfish attempt to play aggressively. Enforcer Dave Semenko argues, “Goon is not a pretty name. Not by any stretch of the imagination” (1989, p. 18). The term enforcer is a respected and honorable fighter, this will be expanded on later.

Ethics

As a student at the University of Oslo, I obey strict ethical guidelines for my research. I firmly uphold them by following the American Anthropological Association Principles of Professional Responsibility (2012). These ethical guidelines include:

1. Do no Harm
2. Be Open and Honest regarding your Work
3. Obtain Informed Consent and Necessary Permissions
4. Weigh Competing Ethical Obligations Due to Collaborators and Affected Parties
5. Make your Results Accessible
6. Protect and Preserve your Records
7. Maintain Respectful and Ethical Professional Relationships

To protect my interlocutor's privacy and integrity, I ensured to do no harm by anonymizing data, having written consent by all interlocutors, and by not physically harming anyone in the research of violence in ice hockey. My research has received approval from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (Norsk Senter for Forskingsdata, NSD). I submitted my application on 04/04/2021 and with many back and forth messages and extended waiting periods due to a surge in numbers of other students submitting applications, I received approval on 16/07/2021 with the Reference Number: 849016. As a student at the University of Oslo ensuring that data is stored, collected, and managed with current Norwegian laws and legislation is vital to my role as an anthropology student, researcher, and privileged guest in the country of Norway. I adhered to NSD's rules, regulations, and recommendations was followed and obeyed. Once my thesis is completed, graded, and allowed to be distributed to the public all my interlocutors and those who have helped me with this research will have access to the finished project and paper. Along with the use of the *Ethnographic Interview*, all interlocutors were clearly informed that they could pull their consent at any time during this research and signed a consent form acknowledging their approval.

All digital documentation and files have been saved on my personal MacBook that nobody has access to and is protected by a strong password. Consent letters and interview questions were divided into four categories of Fans, Officials, Online Users, and Players. Please see these interview questions in the Appendix.

I handed out approximately thirty slips containing my contact information and reasons for interviewing, and I did not receive any responses from players. Please see the Appendix to view what the contact slips stated about my intent to interview. When I asked fans and other people associated with ice hockey if they would like to do an interview, they were excited to talk, but when I asked them to sign the consent form, they decided not to do an interview. Ethically, a consent form is necessary for research, but I personally believe it scared some people off with how serious I handle personal data with the NSD and University of Oslo ethical standards. Many were intimidated that their signature was required to interview.

My main group of interlocutors includes fans attending games to watch live hockey. As previously stated, if anyone seemed unable to consent to an interview due to alcohol intake or any other actions, they would not be interviewed. The NSD required a signed consent form for interviews to take place. Hockey players who have published their autobiographies know that the information they have shared is publicly available, same goes for the authors that conducted their own research for biographies of hockey players. The group of enforcers that I have focused on do have personal stories about pain, suffering, anxiety, and the complexities of their lives with their controversial role on the team, all this too is data that is publicly accessible. I wanted to use a more humanistic perspective and let the stories of the enforcers speak for themselves with the use of direct quotes, and not have my paraphrasing overrule or opinions dilute their experiences.

The consent form for fans stated the purpose of the master's project, why they were asked to participate, what participation would involve, how personal data would be stored, and their rights regarding consent and processing of data. The consent form for players, officials, and online users contained the same subjects as the fans, but also stated I would view their social media profiles and their fights online and would "follow" them on public social media websites. Data could be anonymized at one's request.

Fieldwork Constraints

I was accepted into the University of Oslo's Social Anthropology Master's program in spring of 2020. Because of the global Covid-19 pandemic, I faced many struggles with attending games, classes, interviews, meeting interlocutors, and overcoming the uncertainty entailing a global disease. Some of the games I could have attended and conducted research at were canceled and rescheduled due to teams contracting Covid-19. Covid-19 restrictions included ice rinks being closed, public spaces where interviews could have taken place being closed, and the closed border crossing into Canada where ice hockey is the most popular sport. When starting, working, and completing this master's thesis, I have faced many difficulties logistically and academically with the Covid-19 pandemic. I faced about a three-month delay with the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) due to large numbers of other students submitting applications.

Before the start of the 2021-2022 NHL season, I attended six games at Da Beauty League at Braemar Arena in Edina, Minnesota. These games were played for charitable and recreational purposes and allowed off-season professional hockey and Division 1 College athletes to get some extra practice on the ice. The games are played for fun, and so there is less intensity than an NHL game. Profits from ticket sales are used for charitable causes in the community. While Da Beauty League does not have the professionalism and power of the NHL, it was an opportunity to witness ice hockey and the fans who support it.

I tried my best to attend live NHL games while still in Minnesota. Working a job that required weekends and evenings took thorough scheduling. When attending games, I would buy the cheapest ticket possible in the nosebleeds. I started most games very far from the ice, but as the games progressed and I moved down I got better views, and more perspectives to view the game from different angles. Not only with distance, but how fans reacted in the cheaper and more expensive ticket areas which gave me insight into fan's capitalistic dedication to hockey. I also had a family friend who often has free tickets, they would give them to me as a gift to help with my research.

Overall, the Covid-19 pandemic has greatly affected aspects of my masters, fieldwork, and life in general. While global pandemics are uncertain and full of stressful experiences, I tried my best to work with the circumstances I was presented with.

Literature Review: Ice Hockey and the Anthropology of Sport

My literature review was two-pronged, with distinct phases and focuses. Before fieldwork, I read to gain an understanding of how hockey games function, and how the players interpret what occurs in them. After my research was conducted, I concentrated on reviewing the studies of anthropology of sport. *The Anthropology of Sport* by Niko Besnier, Susan Brownell, and Thomas F. Carter (2018) is a book using the lens of anthropology to better understand sport, bodies, and politics and it covers interdisciplinary subjects such as colonialism, history, imperialism, environment, health, class, ethnicity, race, sex, gender, sexuality, and nationalism are covered. *The Anthropology of Sport* not specialize in ice hockey and recognizes any organized game as sport. Sport overall and ethnographic research can provide brilliant qualifiable data, such as how one interprets international competition like the Olympics and understand societies (Besnier, Brownell, Carter, 2018, p. 186). This book also has a chapter dedicated to the legality and the differences of sport laws being “stateless”, and “It is these unusual organizations and laws that make possible today’s global sports system” (Besnier, Brownell, Carter, 2018, p. 44). Throughout the book, it discusses the issues and lasting effects of colonialism and the western world’s influence on sport today, and they use Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* work also to investigate sport and nation. *The Anthropology of Sport* has a variety of different theoretical perspectives surrounding global sport today including on gender and nationalism that I draw on later in this thesis. This book provides an excellent introduction into the anthropology of sport and ways of processing and educating the reader about core themes and concepts. Local ethnography and global politics are entangled and studied in this book, like my research. *The Anthropology of Sport* provides a solid base for me to build my thoughts, understandings, and philosophies of sport. Ice hockey is much more specific than sport overall, but the broad, yet thorough explanations of concepts assist me in comprehension of the anthropology of sport.

One of the most ethnographic pieces of literature on fighting in ice hockey is Dr. Victoria Silverwood’s PhD thesis *‘Five for Fighting’: The Culture and Practice of Legitimised Violence in Professional Ice Hockey* (2015). Silverwood’s doctoral research covers fighting in ice hockey, but she takes a criminology perspective instead of a state perspective. She defines herself, “I do

not consider myself a sports ethnographer - but rather a socio-cultural-criminologist who is interested in how people frame their violent behaviour outside of the criminocentric definitions of crime and law that dominate research of this type” (Silverwood, 2015, p.7). She is currently a lecturer at Hillary Rodham Clinton School of Law at Swansea University. Silverwood uses statistics from the NHL to understand violence and does her ethnographic research with the Elite Ice Hockey League (EIHL). EIHL is the United Kingdom’s ice hockey league, and she spent one season with a team from this league. Her two previous MSc degrees relate to the EIHL. She does mention that NHL players who travel to the United Kingdom for EIHL consider it a “beer league”, “The NHL standards of strict nutrition guidelines, fluid replacement drinks and avoiding alcohol after training are not present in EIHL hockey” (Silverwood, 2015, p. 154).

Silverwood works similarly focuses on the group of hockey players instead of an individual like an enforcer. “Violence in hockey is a social phenomenon that, when supported with the concepts and perspectives offered by the theories considered in this chapter can be understood as having broader remit than the simple understanding of individual behaviour” (Silverwood, 2015, p. 50-51). She also mentions The Code, and I plan to expand and concentrate on this subject. The Code is a set of unofficial rules when two players fight in ice hockey and will be expanded upon later with more depth, since it is central to this MA thesis. Silverwood does speak about how she is perceived in a masculine space like a men’s hockey bench, as one of the following three, “the future wife; the ‘puck-bunny’; or the family member” (Silverwood, 2015, p. 100). It was encouraging to have another woman in male dominated spaces feel the same way I did.

Silverwood does focus on the other aspects of hockey life like time spent in and outside the arena. She mentioned that she had to build trust with her interlocutors about their drug use, especially when it was about pain management for enforcers (Silverwood, 2015).

Like my research, Silverwood covers themes such as respect, retribution, retaliation, intimidation, fair fighting, and justification for violence on ice. She has the perspective that The Code, “...Is therefore pervasive in providing players with a language of justifications for the violence” (Silverwood, 2015, p. 292-293). Silverwood’s thesis has a deep criminology and ethnographic center. Her view is specifically about how violence is justified in hockey, while I take an *Imagined Communities* route of comprehension for violence in ice hockey. Silverwood’s research into fighting in ice hockey in the UK provides insight into how my thesis should be conducted and interpreted with masculinity, violence, culture, and sport.

Masculinity in the National Hockey League: Hockey's Gender Constructions (2017) by Jonathan McKay highlights the social construct of gender and the NHL's hegemonic masculinity ideals that they promote through the media. McKay mentions western dominance is associated with men while submissiveness is associated with women (McKay, 2017). He focuses on how strength and aggression is what is considered masculine, especially in the sport of hockey, so only the most dominant skaters get to have positions on the team (McKay, 2017). McKay discusses fighting in ice hockey and argues that enforcers and "tough guys" have the most hyper-masculine role when they must exhibit high levels of aggression to fight and intimidate, and for them to get these roles their hypermasculinity is rewarded (McKay, 2017). McKay investigates how the NHL creates media that portrays hockey as a masculine sport. For instance, he notices masculine terminology when one is hit by a powerful check such as: *leveling, creamed, destroys, flattens, demolishes, runs over, and devastates*. McKay concentrates on masculinity and media in hockey with a discursive method. McKay's thesis is solely based on media and their interpretation of NHL masculinity and gender constructions, and not integrating research about how fans perceive these structures. He suggests that fans do watch more NHL content that includes hypermasculine actions, such as fights or checks (McKay, 2017). McKay analyzes themes in ice hockey such as masculinity, roles, discipline of men's body, and the disciplinary branch known as the NHL. McKay's concentration into the interpretation of the constructs of masculinity and gender gave me inspiration on how to interpret fighting specifically within the frame of social construction of gender.

NHL Heavyweights: Narratives of Violence and Masculinity in Ice Hockey by Anne Tjønnedal (2016) published by Physical Culture and Sport Studies and Research (2016) focuses on the enforcers or "goons" with the controversial role of starting fights and beating others as a form of control over plays (Tjønnedal, 2016). Enforcers work to control, dominate, and harm other persons in an inclusive masculine way, that a team plays and fights together as a fraternity. They read the biographies of Derek Boogaard (*Boy on Ice*) and the autobiography of Bob Probert (*Tough Guy*). Tjønnedal speaks about these enforcer's experiences with pain medication, injuries, drug abuse, and alcohol abuse and describes those enforcers rarely complain and that there is a lack of emotional intimacy between players, coaches, and officials. Codes of honor such as dominating and acting tough promotes toxic masculinity in ice hockey, according to Tjønnedal. She draws on similar sources that I have used in this thesis, such as *Tough Guy*, *Boy on Ice*, and

hockeyfights.com. Tjønndal's perspectives on masculinity in ice hockey specifically concentrating on enforcers demonstrates that there is a connection between the enforcer and team with the involvement of gender.

Research on what factors determine attendance in each game in ice hockey suggests that the more violence, the higher the attendance, Paul argues in *Variations in NHL Attendance: The Impact of Violence, Scoring, and Regional Rivalries* (2003). The specific factors he uses to determine attendance for each individual game are scoring, violence, and unbalanced schedule with rivals (Paul, 2003). Games that had the combination of fighting and goal scoring often had higher attendance rates (Paul, 2003). Higher scoring teams tended to have lower attendance rates, in both the United States and Canada (Paul, 2003). Paul states that fans prefer teams with tendencies towards fighting and violence, more than teams with higher scoring, and less violence (Paul, 2003). I utilize Paul's research as evidence that fighting has a capitalistic influence for the profitability of ice hockey ticket sales. His article is from 2003, right before the 2004-2005 NHL lockout, which certainly dates this article.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic I faced many struggles getting in touch with players. I mainly used biographies and autobiographies to get an understanding of hockey enforcer's experiences. Hence, books such as *Boy on Ice: The life and Death of Derek Boogaard*, *Hockey Fights of Yesteryear: A Look Back on the Careers of Classic NHL Enforcers*, *Don't Call me Goon: Hockey's Greatest Enforcers, Gunslingers, and Bad Boys*, and *Hockey Strong: Stories of Sacrifice from Inside the NHL* are biographies that assisted me in what an enforcers life is like from an outside perspective. While these books were written about another person, the authors are more educated and use more complex language, thought, vocabulary, and details. Some quotes by hockey players use slang and hockey lingo, that can confuse people. These authors can translate hockey experiences into organized and chronicled stories. Yet, these are biographies written about another person, and in some situations like Derek Boogaard, the biography was written after his death. Biographies are not the exact story of someone's life, but with interpretation from a third party. I acknowledge that these sources have influence from authors perceptions.

Autobiographies such as *99: Stories of the Game*, *My Last Fight: The True Story of a Hockey Rock Star*, *Tough Guy: My Life on the Edge*, *Looking Out for Number One*, and *Tiger: A Hockey Story* are used for their firsthand experiences as ice hockey enforcers. These stories give

me a closer look into these players lives, roles, and stories that I could not access due to unforeseen circumstances. While these autobiographies are written by enforcers, they often get assistance like Bob Probert and Wayne Gretzky did, both had help from Kirstie McLellan Day who is a journalist and author herself. Many of the stories that come from these books have hockey terminology that a reader must know to comprehend the complete story. While autobiographies from hockey players may not have intricate story telling or academic word use, they are the honest experiences of players. Some of these stories are incredibly informal but that is the reason for using them for their wealth of raw, crass, bloody, and violent experiences.

Most ethnographies about sport are about football, investigating football as an expression of gender organization in England (Parry, Richards, 2019), football and masculinity in Argentina (Archetti, 2020), and hooliganism in European clubs (Spaaji, 2006). Football is the most popular sport in the world, it makes sense that it has the most research. As for ice hockey, since it has more popularity in Canada, United States, Russia, and eastern European countries it did not yield as many results as I expected. I used multiple University of Oslo databases such as Oria, American Anthropologist, American Ethnologist, American Annual Reviews, Journal of Anthropological Sciences, Visual Ethnography, Current Anthropology, Gender & Society Journal, and several more. If there were articles about ice hockey, they were medically based in what injuries occurred at different levels of hockey: professional, youth, and recreational. With the lack of professional ice hockey research in North America, I often relied on broader searches for data with University of Oslo's Oria affiliated and accessible journals.

To gain a better understanding of how other anthropologists conducted their work, I read some of the books, journals, and articles about the sport of football. Key themes across ice hockey and football are that they are very popular in certain regions, and there is an association with national identity and sport. Both sports are dominated by men, have goalies, allow physical contact in play, and both have economic worth in the billions of dollars.

Football, Nationality, and the State written by Vic Duke and Liz Crolley (1996). This book has two major sections that are divided by football nations within the state, and football as extension of the state. They use a cross cultural study of football in regional areas and across borders. They study the explicit connection of football and politics. From Ireland uniting as an island entirely for sport and for sport to be used in Eastern Europe as a concept of identity for a nation is covered throughout the book. "The national football teams retained a prominent

position in the hearts and minds of the nation during the communist years. Support for the national team could easily be constructed as support from the regime” (Crolley, Duke, 1996, p. 88). Similar themes and theoretical work are used, they use Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* in their introduction explaining the definitions of state, region, and nation (Crolley, Duke, 1996). Their use of *Imagined Communities* to understand the state-building and consciousness of a nation with the love of football is complementary to my research for this thesis. This book is slightly older, being published in 1996, nevertheless this analysis of football gave me insight into how other anthropologists are studying sport.

Football, Violence, and Social Identity edited by Richard Giulianotti, Norman Bonney, and Mike Hepworth (1994) is an anthropological book of football and violence related articles. The authors are from a variety of countries, mainly focusing about hooliganism and violence from fans, not players. For instance, the chapter “Death and Violence in Argentinian Football” by Eduardo P. Archetti and Amílcar G. Romero investigates the, “...intimate relationship between violence and the world of legitimate power” (Giulianotti, Boney, Hepworth, 1994, p. 39). Like the themes of my thesis, they study how situations between the police (the state) and fans end in violence and physical dominance. Ending this chapter with the conclusion, “Consequently, football, and sport in general, become a central dimension in the analysis of social and cultural processes” (Giulianotti, Boney, Hepworth, 1994, p. 70), which is a concept I work through in this thesis with North American culture and fighting in hockey. While this book centers on violence conducted by fans and not players, it contributes insight into how fans perceive the sport they are subscribing to along with the sports morals and principles.

The intention of my literature review is to engineer a foundation built by anthropological discipline, the understanding of sport, and how sport is influenced by culture and society. Recognizing other academics works theorizing based on the concept of *Imagined Communities* assisted me in developing a conceptual framework for this thesis. While reading books, journals, and articles that specifically relate to hockey, changing my perspective to educating myself on how other’s study sport like football helped me situate ice hockey and the social complexities of the sport in the broader frame of anthropology of sport, violence, masculinities, and nationalism.

Ice Hockey as Imagined Communities

Hockey teams are more than just a team, they represent the idea of something bigger than themselves. They have a variety of individuals known for their roles, skating on the ice together as a team for the singular reason: get that puck in the net by any means necessary. The jersey one wears is more than just a color scheme and a franchised name that hired you to play, it's a city or a region that cheers for you, a fraternity that shares the jersey with you. When a building with 20,000 fans is chanting your name, how could you not feel exhilarated? David Clarkson, a NHL enforcer from *Hockey Strong* states why he fought, "The main reason why we do it is not that we are on top of the world. We want to win and be a part of something" (Smith, 2016, p. 172). As an enforcer, a player unofficially designated to fight others, Clarkson doesn't say "I" but "we" referring to his team. Hockey players work towards winning for the good of the team, not towards the selfish image of the individual. With the theoretical capabilities of The Code, your team will always have your back. The Code is a set of unwritten guidelines that players obey when they skate and fight. The dedication one puts into serving, protecting, and representing the team is a reciprocating relationship when one is checked or finds themselves injured by a dirty move, that your team will stand up for you and retaliate. When one wears a jersey, they represent more than themselves. When asking fans what they first thought of when they saw a hockey fight, there was two answers. First, they would cheer for the team they chose to cheer for. So, if they were at a home Minnesota Wild game, they would cheer for the Minnesota Wild player to win the fight. They cheer for the player representing *their* team to win. Even when they weren't very involved in hockey, they still made an active decision to associate themselves with a person or a team. The other technical actions that interlocutors immediately recognize is who is grabbing the jersey and holding the jersey with the best grip to control someone while punching them on ice. When people who don't follow hockey too seriously still want one player to win a fist fight that says something about how much meaning there is behind what the jersey stands for.

Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* studies how nations are created, designed, and exploited. A nation, Anderson (1991) argues "it is an imagined political community – and imagined both as inherently limited and sovereign...An imagined community holds values, sentiments, language, "kinship and clientship" (1991, p. 6). People in these imagined

communities have morals in common and believe themselves to be a part of something much bigger than themselves alone. They exhibit commitment to the community and a sense of belonging. Anderson states that a *community* is imagined because the exploitation that prevails is conceived in profound fraternity. Over the last three hundred years, millions of people have had the created concept that they belong to something much bigger than themselves, a nation. Canada's most popular sport is hockey (Adams, 2012), hockey is symbolic for Canadian culture and national identity. While hockey is not entirely representative of all Canadian people due to the professional players being mostly native-born, white, masculine, men the nation views these players as agents of Canada (Adams, 2012). When one feels that they are fighting for their nation, an entity bigger than themselves, they will do whatever it takes to win, "Hockey players are taught to never give up" (Gretzky, McLellan Day, 2016, p. 171). This concept is present when enforcers risk their health and safety for their team when they fight.

Color Schemes of Belonging

Using these definitions from Anderson, one can think of their sports team in this fashion. Sport teams are tied to a geographic location, such as a small town, a larger capital city, a state, a region, or a nation. They share certain beliefs, goals, values, languages, and space together when they support their local hockey team.

They wear the same color scheme of merchandise like jerseys, hats, and sweatshirts (Mardiyana, Reza, Suriadi, 2022). You see similar names on the back of jerseys, these are often the top scorers, enforcers, and sometimes the last name of the person wearing the jersey, like they are on the team themselves. Not only is there the self-identification of affiliation with a team when one dedicates their own money to join in the form of a physical cloth jersey, but to verbally yell with chants, stand, cry, throw their hands up when frustrated, and do go through neurotic chemical reactions to feel a sense of belonging for men who chase a puck around an arena of ice with sticks in hand. When one attends a hockey game, it is overwhelmingly clear what is happening. Bars around the stadium are filled with certain colors, the color scheme of the teams that are playing that night. Walking into a bar with the wrong-colored jersey, or wearing the colors of an opposing team is the consent to harassment when one makes the active decision to not wear home colors proudly or for comfort. As previously stated in Positionality, when conducting fieldwork I wore a red jersey from the Norge Ishockeyforbund, with my last name on the back "THELEN" and the number 97 for my birth year. This jersey has NORGE spelled out across the front of it diagonally, the main color is red with two stripes on the sleeves of blue and white, the colors of the Norwegian flag (also the United States flag too). This helped me greatly to blend in among the crowds of hockey fans without wearing a Minnesota Wild jersey or a jersey with any affiliation to the NHL. The Minnesota Wild color scheme is dark green, red, and white/cream. There are some psychological benefits to the red color; in contact sports its symbolic meaning is associated with aggression and strength, and blood doesn't look as noticeable on a red jersey (Elliot, Maier, 2014. Deadpool, 2016). Very few people noticed that my jersey was from Norway. I also conducted fieldwork in sweaters just to be sure that my jersey was not influencing anyone's opinions during the interviews, even if they assumed I had affiliation with an NHL team. Even looking like I had association with another imagined community by wearing another jersey could have affected my research.

Not only does everyone dress, talk, and socialize alike but they all move alike together as if choreographed. Even outside of the stadium after the game is over, people still chant and clap team cheers. The fans cheer, clap, yell, stand, sit, shout, wave their hands in disgruntled motions when the referee makes a bad call, all in perfect synchronization. Fans also pester those who are wearing the opposing team's jersey, even to the point they are not welcomed into restaurants and bars and are verbally harassed as they walk around. Not only do people identify with their hockey team, but they sometimes berate other people who support other teams. In some instances, it could be a small insult such as "your team sucks" or it can expand into more violent situations.

Introduction to The Code

Not only do fans exhibit dedication to the imagined community of a capitalistic franchised team but players also demonstrate this dedication too. Hockey players normally start skating around the age of three or four years old and spend the rest of their life skating. By the time one is around the age of fifteen years old, training begins to see if they are capable to make it to hockey's biggest stage: The National Hockey League. The NHL is called "The Show" in Canada. When one becomes a player for a NHL team, you represent that town, city, or state.

Not only does a player obey their coach and upper management, but also The Code. The Code is a set of standards, rules, regulations, and courtesy criteria that is unspoken, but all professional hockey players follow when game play is in effect, and specifically when fights occur in North America. "The fighting is not sporadic or even for entertainment purposes, it is there for a reason, and there is a definite method to its madness" (Bernstein, 2006, p. 32). The Code strictly adheres to one's team, and what sweater (jersey) they are wearing. Tony Twist, a famous hockey enforcer states "If we were wearing the same color sweater, then I was going to defend him no matter what. That is what the code says" (Bernstein, 2006, p. xiv). Anderson argues (1991) that nations inspire love, and often greatly self-sacrificing love. With representation of something bigger than yourself that you belong, most people would do anything to obtain the honor and respect. As the specific role of the enforcer, entails, you must protect and defend your team and community. "I didn't like to instigate, but I did like protecting my teammates" (Probert, McLellan Day, 2010, p. 78). Enforcers taking it upon themselves to protect everything that the team and hockey represents, toughness, respect, power, and dominance over others for space on the ice, justice for wrong doings against your team, and more imagined characteristics is a responsibility that is honorable and self-serving. There are no enforcers (possibly goons) who fight for the sake of throwing punches into another's face for fun, but for the imagined community that they represent on their jerseys and their teammates. For one enforcer, a "tough guy", to have the weight of his community's expectations on his shoulders he must show them his dedication through his fists, that enforcer is going to throw powerful haymakers like it was his last. For the life risking actions that enforcers participate in for their jobs, it is in dedication to their team, "not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings" (Anderson, 1991, p. 7). How could one not have honor and appreciation for one who sacrifices their body for the honor of their team? There is a reason why Derek

Boogaard's jersey and number #24 can be seen at Minnesota Wild games today. He is remembered for his dying sacrifice due to his role as an enforcer. Boogaard's story will be revealed later. Anderson argues (1991, p. 144), "The idea of the ultimate sacrifice come only with an idea of purity, through fatality". Nationalistically, he states it is noble, and the highest price one can play with: their life for their nation.

As stated by Anderson, "It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). Both hockey fans and players will never meet every single other hockey fan or player, but they share the connection of hockey. A stadium of 20,000 people will never meet again, but people continue to return to these sporting events believing that someone wearing the same colors are bound together. The NHL has too many players in and out of the game to ever have everyone who has played professionally meet each other. This community of hockey players is imagined, only bound by the created governing rules of the NHL and their experiences with ice hockey. This can also be viewed from Anderson's level of nation states, and that the premise of the United States is imagined. Where the theory of sport and Anderson come into play together can be demonstrated with one event in ice hockey perfectly, The Miracle on Ice in 1980 at the Lake Placid Winter Olympics.

Miracle On Ice

In 1980, the United States hockey team was made up of college students instead of professional players and was coached by Herb Brooks from the University of Minnesota Golden Gophers. These players were summoned to play against the one of the hardest teams to beat at the 1980 Winter Olympics: The Soviet Union (Sarantakes, 2012). Not only did The Soviet Union not have a favorable political relationship with the United States at this time due to the Cold War, but they had one of the best ice hockey teams in the world. The Soviet Union (today Russia) has some of the most talented hockey players and teams globally. The intense training, work ethic, and national representation of Russia greatly drives these players. An example of this is that Soviet goalkeeper Vladislav Tretiak stated he practiced every day for twenty-one years, even on his wedding day (Sarantakes, 2012). At the 1980 Olympics, the United States wins the hockey game against The Soviet Union 4-3, and the team received an invitation to The White House to meet the United States President Jimmy Carter (White House History, 2021). The United States continued playing and beat Finland for the 1980 Lake Placid Olympic Gold medal in ice hockey.

The significance of this story is that nonprofessional athletes from the United States could beat the esteemed Soviet Union in ice hockey. College aged American men could beat the best professional hockey players in The Soviet Union, that the political uprise it gave the United States was deemed A Miracle on Ice. Even Americans who didn't watch hockey were celebrating USA's win over the Soviet Union by singing "God Bless America" in New York bars (Soares, 2021) The United States could beat The Soviet Union in a way that could cause no deaths, at their own game, at the Olympics. If you can't compete with another country at war, at least beat them at the game they claim to be the best in. Not only does this story inspire patriotism in the United States and give a capitalistic rise in monetary funds and popularity to ice hockey in the states, but it established the power of the United States against the Soviet Union. The Miracle on Ice was viewed as *we*, a collective nation of the United States, beat the Soviets (Swift, 2014). Simply, it was United States bragging rights on the international stage of the 1980 Olympics.

One can view the perspective of The United States national pride when these hockey-heroes visited Washington D.C. (White House History, 2021),

“True to his word, President Carter sent Air Force military planes, including *Air Force One*, to pick up the Olympic athletes and bring them to Washington D.C., where they were greeted by thousands of cheering Americans waving flags and signs. The President acknowledged both the “Miracle on Ice” hockey team and others...President Carter declared that “this is one of the proudest moments that I’ve ever experienced. These are wonderful young Americans, and they have thrilled our Nation. And we’re all deeply grateful for your tremendous achievements”

The event of Miracle on Ice was used to reinforce a narrative that the United States imagined community was strong and undivided. Beating The Soviet Union in a game of sticks and pucks on ice meant this great political significance to the American people, not only are all these rules of the game man made, but the communities represented on ice are also imagined communities (Chernakoff, 2017). This game was used to create a persuasive argument that for a country to beat another country at their own nation’s game, is considered dominant, significant, and even a political power move.

Even in the Disney movie depiction of the event of the Miracle on ice, *Miracle*, the actor for Herb Brooks says to his team in encouragement for them to condition (Disney, 2004, 00:41:30), “When you pull on that jersey, you represent yourself and your teammates. The name on the front is a hell of a lot more important than the one on the back. Get that through your head!” The responsibility of winning is not for yourself, it is for the imagined community, the nation you represent. In the scene where Brooks is running the skaters to exhaustion for tying with Norway at an international game, Brooks asks a player a question, “Who do you play for?” one of the hockey players answers in between heavy breaths, “I play for the United States of America!” Brooks then replies, “That’s all gentlemen” (Disney, 2004, 00:46:16) and then allows the tired skaters to rest after having them skate practice drills until they vomit.

One would like to think global politics are more important and substantial than small tit-for-tat jabs at each other for losing games at the Olympics. But sport is one of the ways to establish supremacy nonviolently internationally. How can a country determine dominance over another? By beating them at their own game. In the current global politics, it takes a massive amount of currency, time, and risk to go to war. War is expensive not only for a country’s wealth, but the human cost is great too. A country that goes to war over the loss of a game of physical activity is deemed irrational, emotional, and highly problematic... but when a country triumphs over another sports wise, it’s symbolically powerful and meaningful. Anderson’s

critiques about the nation provides a valuable understanding of sport. One's country thinks of the representatives of our sports as ourselves. Gupta mentions (1995) that people strategically, constantly, and continuously reify the state. We have imagined ourselves sport wise as "both inherently limited and sovereign" and people rally as colors, symbols, cheers, languages, values, and "not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). Our communities are imagined, and as we want to be a part of something bigger than ourselves. The jersey a player wears represents so much more than just a piece of clothing.

Profiting from Ice Hockey as an Imagined Community

The connections of Imagined Communities to franchised ice hockey teams is represented through similar ties of a limited group of those who self-identify with a team or who play directly on it, the sovereign power of the employment and capitalistic gain that owners use to control player's careers, health, and bodies. Not only do the players and direct actors have values, sentiments, and language, but the fans supply this with their time, support, and money. If you buy a \$250.00 USD jersey, you can look just like the professional athletes who represent your region, and even add your own surname to the back and look like a player yourself. Anderson's words directly of "...Kinship and clientship" demonstrate that the relationship is not only reciprocal like a family, but also pleasingly profitable for capital gain. For example, if we view the Minnesota Wild Theme Song with lyrics clearly depicting,

- "Our mother was the referee"
- "The game's in our blood and our blood's in the game"
- "We were born the child of the strong and Wild"
- "The day they try to take this game is the day the gloves come off"
- "We will fight to the end, we will stand and defend"

(National Hockey League: Minnesota Wild, debuted 2000-2001).

Not only is there use of "We" with the concept of togetherness, but also the use of creating kinship ties with the general idea that our mothers were the referee, and we are "Child of the strong and Wild". Even if unrelated, our state's identity has "Our blood's in the game". Not only is this symbolic of the relationship of violence in ice hockey but the Imagined Communities ties to the game that were socially created.

I had the privilege to see an international game between the Minnesota Wild and the Toronto Maple Leafs. While it did not have the intensity or political/cultural significance as an Olympic game, there was natural tension that would exist in a regular season NHL game. This is the second game I attended live on December 4th, 2021, the Minnesota Wild vs. the Toronto Maple Leafs. I really wanted to attend this game because it has a United States team and a Canadian team playing. I went to a nearby bar called New Bohemia that specializes in over 60

beers and German foods like Pretzel and bratwurst. It's not even 17:00 yet, and there are no seats in the bar, streetlights illuminate dark due to Minnesota winters. Every seat is filled by someone in a hockey jersey or logo. Popular players names across the backs of fans show: Kaprizov, Parise, Koivu, and more. People are wearing Nike shoes, jeans, and baseball caps with various logos on them. Casual wear, these people are here to enjoy hockey and relax. Blue light from the many televisions showing other sports highlights, add a soft glow to everyone's faces as they smile and drink. Nobody is like me, here by themselves. Either groups of two or more share conversation, beverages, and laughs. Many people talk with their hands, signaling as they speak to explain whatever they speak about.

In the corner of the bar, they have a fake goalie laminated on a board, and people are allowed to grab a hockey stick and shoot some pucks into the net behind. It is too crowded for that now. I finish my drink, and head to the Xcel Energy Center. I head upwards to my cheap seat in the nosebleeds. You can see everything in the nosebleeds, except for close details. The air is cooler up here with a slight breeze. Two Zambonis finish resurfacing the ice, the warmup skate is over.



Figure #3: I attended the December 4th, 2021, Minnesota Wild vs. Toronto Maple Leafs at the Xcel Energy Center. The notebook I used to take notes at games had to be small enough to fit into a pocket, due to the no bag rule at the Xcel Energy Center. This notebook also doesn't contain any metal like a wire spiral around the spine. This made security easier since this notebook wouldn't be picked up by the metal detectors used upon entry to the game.

Both national anthems are sung, O'Canada and the Star-Spangled Banner, everyone stands for both anthems. Anderson (1991) mentions the power of the national anthem, the mediocre tune or bland words still provide an experience of simultaneity. The puck drops, and

the first period starts off with normal amounts of pushing and shoving. There are a few “oooooooo’s” and “ahhhhhhhhhh’s” as plays continue. Then, in the last three minutes of the first period: we have a fight. The two fighters were Wayne Simmonds of the Toronto Maple Leafs and Marcus Foligno of the Minnesota Wild. Foligno skates to the bench since he is done with his shift, and notices a few players are in a tussle. He has one leg over the boards, and then swings back onto the ice to introduce himself into the tussle. Fans, including me, are on their feet now, standing to get a look. Everyone’s eyes center to the scuffle on the ice. Foligno then grabs Simmonds, and they start exchanging right-handed haymakers, big swinging punches are throwing both men off balance as they hold each other’s jersey with their left hands. Both fighter’s helmets come off, then both men are in a slight wrestling stance as they try to gain a better grip on each other. Players not involved in the fight are yelling with broad smiles at their teammates in the brawl. Brandon Duhaime can be seen yelling “HEY” at the players engaging in roughhousing.

This leads them to the Wild’s boards and bench, where the linesmen break up the fight. Both players release their grip from each other and skate away. There is no blood on either of their faces, but a small smear of blood on Foligno’s left breast “A”, I cannot say whose blood it is. As Foligno skates to the locker room to get off the ice, he waves his right hand in an open palm upwards sweeping motion. He yells, “LET’S GO”. See figure #3.



Figure #4: (Hockeyfights.com, 2021, Wayne Simmonds vs Marcus Foligno, YouTube) Note Foligno raising his right hand as he yells, “LET’S GO”. There is a small streak of blood on his left breast “A”.

Both players do not need to sit in the penalty box for fighting, since there is only three minutes left in the period, and their fighting penalty is five minutes. As they skate off the ice, they are met with encouraging pats on the head and back by teammates. Their equipment is cleared off the ice as they threw off their gloves, helmets, and sticks when the fight started.

While the punches were only thrown between two skaters on the ice, the stadium was electric. Not only did everyone stand, but their bodies all moved at once along with the widening of eyes and the escalating volume of voices. Some fans were yelling, “FIGHT! FIGHT! FIGHT!” repetitively. People clapped, yelled, and all stayed standing until both players left the ice. It was a loud event, everyone had something to say about the fight. You can feel the energy through your feet, between people jumping and moving around, the vibrations of the cheers is huge. Twenty thousand people all witnessed the bare-knuckle fight of two men, on ice, at a

hockey game. When that many people stand and yell, “AHHH” as the fight goes on, you can’t miss it. Nobody was on their phone. Nobody was walking away to go to the bathroom. Nobody was talking to another person; they were all focused on watching these two people exchanging haymakers. Feld argues that (1987) sounds are dense, overlapping and interlocking. Between the echoes of hollers, jeers, and the impassionate clapping of hands all weave together to create an encouraging, vicious roar. The excitement around me felt like it had weight to it, as it sat on my shoulders and ran out through my hands. There was so much energy it was bouncing off everyone to each other in a tangible form of hysteria and vibrations.

For the reader, here is the transcription of what the announcer says about this fight (Hockeyfights.com, 2021, Wayne Simmonds vs Marcus Foligno, YouTube),

“...And it’s starting to get more physical” -Announcer 1

“Well, the Wild’s best shift no question about it they win the battles in the offensive zone and this is how you do it. This is how you beat the Leafs; you drag them into the fight. Big battle shift down low, gets the Leafs going. Wayne Simmonds doesn’t want any of it. Marcus Foligno jumps in and now they’ve dropped the gloves.” Announcer 2

“Well this started with Greenway jabbing literally two players at the same time. Simmonds and Bunting were both after Greenway, and Foligno jumps in, drops the gloves, with Wayne Simmonds, and the crowd roaring here in Saint Paul there’s been a buzz downtown all day, and the first period has not disappointed.” Announcer 1.

They continue to talk about the play, but then announcer 2 begins to talk about the fight,

“Little battle down, Mathews able to dump Greenway, now the other side of the ice Mathews tries to finish the hit like we’ve seen so often lately, Jordan Greenway just dismisses it, and you got to love this, watch Marcus Foligno. Jordan Greenway battling with Bunting, Foligno’s got one leg over the bench, two on one, get me back out there, end of a shift, tired, defends a teammate, jumps out there, drops the glove, doesn’t matter, he’s there for his linemate. This game is important to a man, as we talked about it, there’s a buzz in the town a buzz in the building...” – Announcer 2.

Not only do the announcers talk about what’s happening but they also use terms like, “You got to love this”, “defends a teammate”, “This game is important to a man”, and used several times is “battling”. The announcers are supporting this by talking about the importance of

defending a teammate, for a game that is important to a man's honor, and the energy around the building as a buzz that has been with the people of Saint Paul all day, all this energy boiling down to two men throwing punches on ice during a hockey game. We see support of the situation by all fans standing, louder cheering, announcers speaking positively about the honor of the fight "you got to love this...important to a man...", and the teammates of the fighters who give them encouraging pats for their work.

The game continues as people then seat themselves or get up since there is only two minutes remaining in the first period. The second period continues with most people cheering for the Minnesota Wild, but then the Toronto Maple Leafs tie the game at 3 to 3. At the beginning of the third period, many people left confident that the Wild was going to win with a 3 to 0 lead. I left my nosebleed seat and walked down to the first sections that were much closer. I asked a couple if they had anyone sitting in front of them, they said no, and that they were also students at one point who would move down to the expensive seats when they were empty. When you pay the extra money and sit closer to the ice, it is warmer, louder, and people are more enthusiastic. From the nosebleeds you can hear the thudding sounds of players being checked against the boards, but down here you can see their disgruntled faces as they smash into the plexiglass. You can hear their yells as they try to communicate where to put the puck. There was much more yelling, standing, and cheering. People were more likely to clap to cheers of "Let's go Wild!" *Clap, Clap, Clap Clap Clap*. The famous stadium song from Queen of "We Will Rock You" plays. The lyrics from the song have two options, there is "You got mud on your face, you big disgrace" and "You got blood on your face, you big disgrace". Unsurprisingly, the second lyric with blood on your face played loudly at the Xcel Energy Center.

The game now goes into overtime. Overtime periods are five minutes long with only three skaters and one goalkeeper on the ice (National Hockey League, 2021). For overtime, everyone stands on their feet. Due to my short stature, I had trouble seeing the ice due to taller people in front of me. The five minutes pass, with no goals. This leads to a shootout, where a referee will set a puck on center ice. Three players will then take the puck and try to shoot it into the goal. The team with the most goals wins the game (National Hockey League, 2021). Whenever a Wild player skates to center ice for the shootout, Minnesota fans cheer and scream, and when they score it gets even louder. When a Toronto Maple Leaf skates to center ice for the

shootout, Minnesota fans boo loudly, and when two of the Leaf's miss their shots, Minnesota fans cheer happily.

In the shootout, the Minnesota Wild made two goals, while the Toronto Maple Leaf's only made one. The Minnesota Wild win tonight's game 4-3. The loudest part of a game is when the home teams win (Heere, Katz, Reifurth, 2018). When the final goal was made by scorer Kirill Kaprizov, Minnesota fans were jumping, yelling, screaming, and waving their hands in the air for their team's victory. Fans hugged each other, spilled beer, shook hands, and I even high fived the guy who was next to me. Big smiles and happy faces are exchanged among Minnesota Wild fans as they got their win in a shootout. Like a fight, the energy between Wild fans was huge and in the air. Even as the crowd leaves the Xcel Energy Center, there is still cheering and yelling, "Let's go Wild" on the streets and in the bars. As I walked by a bar, someone in a Toronto Maple Leafs jersey walks towards the entrance of a bar, and Minnesota Wild fans say, "Oooooooooo you shouldn't go into that bar, sorry you lost!". People continue their celebrations as bars crowd with fans, drinking for their team's triumphant win.

Anderson's *Imagined Communities* explores the engineering of nations, that they are created entities. As I observe thousands of people gather in an arena to watch professional hockey players do whatever it takes to get a puck into a net, even if that includes bare knuckle fighting. As the fans leave in a mass exodus there is still affinity among the crowds. Long after the sweaty equipment is taken off, the sports analysts give their last opinions, the ice is resurfaced by the Zamboni, and the empty beer cans are cleared away, the echoes of 20,000 fans singing, "We will fight to the end, we will stand and defend" quietly come to a whisper of the energy and belonging once established hours before. The *Imagined Communities* of hockey teams that bring together millions of fans to rally for colors, symbols, cheers, languages, values, and regions. The players will do what it takes to get the puck in the net for the name on the front of the jersey is more important than the name on the back. For the sacrifice and determination towards one hockey nation is created and based on love and fraternity.

Physical Self Sacrifice

When one becomes an enforcer, they take on an extremely challenging job. While their intentions may be pure in that they fight others to provide justice for their teams, they take severe physical abuse for their role. Beating other men up on the ice is hard on the body, especially when one has this job for years. Bob Probert mentions in his book, “I was twenty and I thought I was invincible” (Probert, McLellan Day, 2010, p. 69). When players enter the NHL, they are around the ages of 18-23 years old. When they retire, they are around 25-35 years old. Most of the injuries they obtain are at an age that they can handle the pain, but after they retire from the ice the pain becomes incredibly severe years later.

A major issue that has been discovered in the last twenty years is the effect of concussions on the brain. Known as Chronic Traumatic Encephalopathy (CTE) is a neurodegenerative disease caused by repeated trauma to the brain. In hockey, not only does getting punched in the head give you a concussion, but poor stickhandling, slap shots, getting checked, hitting the boards, and many more common physical acts can injure (Bloom, Caron, 2014). A common myth about concussions is that you must be hit in the head to receive one, this is not true. A chest hit or any major physical body contact with high velocity can lead to a concussion. Many of the concussions that come from hockey are not from fighting, they are from physical checks and hits. Traumatic Brain Injuries (TBI) can occur both direct and inertial (Clark, Guskiewicz, 2016). Equipment at its highest technology with laser cut blades, custom sticks, pads, and years of high-quality educated coaches can yield incredible results for individuals who perform at these levels of athletics. The game of ice hockey is at its peak of athletic excellence, and it seems there is no intention of stopping anytime soon.

Not only have the players gotten bigger, and the ice arena stay the same, but now have hockey players who are top tier athletes skating on the ice at up to 40 MPH (64 kph) who are pure muscle and strength engaging in physical contact with the best equipment. “And how we talk about players are so much bigger and faster today. And that is all true. But none of this means hockey itself has to change” (Gretzky, McLellan Day, 2016, p. x). Not only is there the force of one’s body hitting another, but there is also the padding intended to be used to prevent injury can be used to injure others. There is also no out-of-bounds for ice hockey. The rink is enclosed so that is difficult for the puck to fly out and injure spectators. Hockey players slam into each other and engage physically and aggressively, for there is a lack of space on the ice. The use

of the boards can cause great injury and even death when a powerful check is used. Even though the height, size, and capability of players and technology of the equipment have evolved, the size of the rink has stayed the same. NHL ice rinks are smaller than Olympic sized rinks. NHL rinks are 200' (61 m) by 85' (26 m) (National Hockey League, 2021). The Olympic standard for ice arenas is the International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF) dimensions, which is 60 m (197') by the width ranging from 25-30 m (82'-98' 5") (International Ice Hockey Federation, 2021).

International hockey rinks tend to be larger by almost 1-4 meters for the width, which is a bigger offensive zone and allows more space for players to skate and shoot. As an enforcer for Wayne Gretzky, Semenko says, "You would be amazed at how valuable space can be when you're out on the ice playing hockey." (1989, p. 40).

The violence that an enforcer gives and takes affects their lives long after they step off the ice and untie their skates. The lasting health issues of CTE, broken bones, and other injuries that mount over years of abuse from fighting lead to life threatening consequences.

An example of great self-sacrificing love (Anderson, 1991) for their team is the enforcer Derek Boogaard. John Branch is a New York Times sports reporter, who wrote a biography about Derek Boogaard after he died (New York Times, 2021). Boogaard was a famous enforcer and died at the age of 28 on May 13th, 2011, from an accidental drug overdose of painkillers mixed with alcohol. Feared for his stature, when Derek had his skates and helmet on, he was about 7 ft tall (2 meters). Derek's height got him recognized, not his talent in the game of hockey. "Hockey was a unit of measurement in Canada and few grew as big as Derek" (Branch, 2014, p. 22). Derek's father noticed the attention his son was receiving due to his size, and knew his coaches were going to require him to fight. So, Derek's father signed him up for boxing lessons, so his son could know how to fight. As Derek moved up in hockey becoming a feared enforcer, he made it to the NHL and played for the Minnesota Wild, he was drafted at 19 years old (Branch, 2014). He was nicknamed "The Boogeyman" for how scary he was. He could intimidate the other team into not playing dirty, since nobody wants to fight the Boogeyman. He was a regular right-handed enforcer, but it was his height and stature that scared the other teams the most. Derek's popularity grew quickly, and his #24 jersey (he chose the #24 for his inspiration, enforcer Bob Probert, who was also #24) became a big seller (Branch, 2014). When conducting fieldwork, many #24 Minnesota Wild Boogaard jerseys were in the ice arena and bars. Fights have always been sensationalized, but theatrics would be used when Derek would

fight, "...in some cases, music over the arena's sound system – the theme from *Rocky* for example – provided a soundtrack to the bout. Sometimes a bell rang, as if marking the start of a boxing match" (Branch, 2014, p. 122). Derek continues to play for the Minnesota Wild where he is loved and adored. He signs a contract that is worth millions of dollars and becomes one of the most feared enforcers when he breaks Todd Fedoruk's cheekbone and orbital bone in a fight (Spittin' Chiclets, 2020). Derek continues playing for the Wild and is prescribed OxyContin, a powerful pain opioid and more Ambien for sleep, and one player who befriends Derek warns him about drug abuse, Todd Fedoruk (Branch, 2014). Despite Derek breaking the Fedoruk's face to the point metal plates hold it together, they became friends and eventually teammates on the Minnesota Wild. "Derek apologized for the damage he had caused. Fedoruk told him not to. That is part of the enforcers code, never having to say you're sorry" (Ice Guardians, 2016).

Derek continues to fight for The Minnesota Wild, and gets a tooth knocked out during a fight, in which he is prescribed 195 hydrocodone pills for pain management (Branch, 2014). Friends and family members of Derek notice he is slowing down and has short term memory issues. Derek spends about three weeks in a California rehab clinic and comes back to Minnesota to "continue to keep that belt" an announcer states. Derek then is traded to The New York Rangers, and his father asks management to help Derek with his drug abuse. The team doctors prescribe more hydrocodone and Medical Director Sheldon Burns gives Derek a physical exam and stated that Derek had no major issues (Branch, 2014).

Derek's family, teammates, and friends notice how much he is struggling with drug abuse and depression, he is sent to Authentic Recovery Center in Malibu, California. His previous medical history sheet that he filled out himself had some discrepancies, "There was a "health questionnaire", and the third question was whether he had "ever had a head injury that resulted in a period of loss of consciousness." Derek checked no...The only question which he replied "yes" was No. 29: "Are you pregnant?"" (Branch, 2014, p. 190-191). Derek returns to Minneapolis to reunite with his brother and some friends, and that night with a lethal dose of prescription painkillers and alcohol, Derek dies in his sleep at 28 years old (Branch, 2014).

Derek's brain was donated to Bedford Veterans Administration Medical Center, where they found clusters of a brain protein that causes dementia in people around 40 years old (The New York Times, 2014, 32:41). Bob Probert, Derek's inspiration of an enforcer, had the same

disease. Derek Boogaard, Wade Belak, and Rick Rypein, died in under four months of each other, all under the age of 40 years old. These three players were hockey enforcers.

Many can easily see the physical abuse that hockey enforcers take is overwhelming. There is another serious issue that enforcers face, and that is the mental stress of performing. It is very common for enforcers the night before to not sleep very well, not only do hockey players have an intense schedule of eighty-two games per season (this does not include preseason, or playoff games), but they have the anxiety of performing violently in front of their team and 20,000 people. Derek Boogaard had issues with sleeping before games, and was introduced to Ambien, which was not often prescribed to players but was often “handed out like tic tacs in the locker room” (Branch, 2014, p. 126). Derek spoke about the anxiety he faced knowing he would have to fight the next day, “If I think about it, I get nervous sometimes,” Derek said in early December of his rookie season. “There are guys here who can put fists through your face” (Branch, 2014, p. 140). The thought and the realization that the next game could be your last for every game you are paid to attend is the stress that enforcers work through. John Branch states in his book *Boy on Ice* about Derek Boogaard, “If nothing got broken, and nothing bled, then there was little reason for concern” (Branch, 2014, p. 141). John Branch states it perfectly,

“For generations, enforcers liked what the fighting brought them – respect and a career – but not the hidden costs. Their popularity grew exponentially when they battered another enforcer, but it was a small fraternity. There was no room for grudges. Unlike any other player in the sport, their success came at the expense of someone else’s health, reputation, even livelihood. But the alternative was worse. Derek recognized that quickly” (Branch, 2014, p. 152). Todd Fedoruk states in an interview on popular hockey podcast Spittin’ Chiclets (2020), “I’m proud of that shot, um, people think I’m crazy for liking that and going through that, and that’s bullshit man”, he is referencing when Boogaard broke his orbital, cheek bone (zygomatic), and eye socket. For someone to break your face, and you state unapologetically and honestly that you are proud of that shot, says something about the love of hockey and the respect Todd Fedoruk has for Derek Boogaard, even in death.

Toxic Masculinity and Gender

Sport is affected by the society and culture that practice it, and the utilization of gender has influence in ice hockey. Using Besnier, Brownell, Carter, (2018, p. 127) for definitions of sex and gender, "...sex to genetically determined reproductive anatomy fixed at birth, defining female and male categories. Gender, meanwhile, refers to the symbols, behaviors, roles, and statuses that are associated with anatomical sex, that are learned and culturally variable, and that define women and men". The concept of toxic masculinity is a newer term used in western culture and in academia (Harrington, 2021). Kuper's (2005, p. 714) defines toxic masculinity as, "Toxic masculinity is the constellation of socially regressive male traits that serve to foster domination, the devaluation of women, homophobia, and wanton violence". Kuper's does provide a straight forward definition, his work applies to men who are imprisoned and already facing marginalization. Anne Tjønndal does not directly use the term "toxic masculinity" in her *NHL Heavyweights* article, she studies how masculinity and violence are expressed in hockey, but doesn't expand into how these constructs are defined (2016). Tjønndal (2016) mentions that an enforcers job is to dominate others, but they do this for the unity of the team. Boise (2019) argues that the characteristics associated with toxic masculinity are concerned with socially constructed traits, not "men" as a concept. With the construction of masculinity, it can be deconstructed, "Thus the term 'toxic masculinity' potentially increases receptivity to the notion that there are harmful and non-harmful forms of masculinity, as well as operating as an analytical tool allowing masculinity scholars to talk in normative terms of what masculinity *should* be rather than simply describing what it appears to be" (2019, p. 148), masculinities are not identities, they are acts of individuals. My fieldwork demonstrates that those who understand The Code do not consider fighting to be a selfless act used to protect and serve one's team, while those who do not know The Code are the ones that find fighting to be macho and masculine.

One can say that because men try to exhibit masculinity, they are aggressive and must communicate with their fists to establish dominance. While there is the intense dedication to the sport of ice hockey, that enforcers also known as "tough guys" specifically will do whatever it takes to win, for the team, not themselves. Hockey enforcer Darren McCarty who played for the Detroit Red Wings argues, "I would do anything for my team or any of my teammates. Loyalty is one of my strengths" (2014, p. 134). Dave "Tiger" Williams, who holds the NHL record for

most minutes spent the in penalty box states in his autobiography that he fought in hockey, and if he made it to the NHL he would be paid enough money to provide for his brothers and father, "...he knew what kind of a financial lift it would be for my family if I made it into the big leagues" (1984, p. 53). Enforcers have more driving force behind their fists than just masculinity, they think about their families and their imagined community.

While the narrative of violence and fighting in ice hockey may be seen as a manifestation of toxic masculinity, I honestly don't think it is the main driving force. When reading biographies and autobiographies of hockey players from the 1990's and earlier, there were many quotes about what a man had to do, but also had adherence to The Code, "The fight is over, you lost, take it like a man" (Probert, McLellan Day, 2010, p. 80). Interviews with fans who did not play hockey thought fighting was a masculine, dominant performance. When asking Question #5, "What makes someone good at fighting?" some fans responded with the simple masculine answer: "Who has the biggest balls". When I asked them to explain why having big balls would win a fight, then the conversation transformed into more technical clarification. For instance, whoever drops their gloves first, height advantages, balance, strength, endurance, and dexterity. One man said that size doesn't matter when it comes to a hockey fight. One man spoke about how it is more of a mental fight than physical, and that the team is represented by one fighter, and it's up to that fighter to inspire the team. He stated, "No one makes you a bitch on your homeland". There was some variety in these answers regarding masculinity and the relationships of those for whom they fight for.

Fans who played hockey had different answers. One of the previous players spoke about fighting, "It can change the game". That the fighter should know their role, also mentioning that fighters should have a sense of "understanding needs of the team". Another interviewee mentioned the ability to take punches and to be smart when fighting. When asked about this he said, "...Take punches you need to take... You get punched punch back". It appears that those who do not know about The Code associate masculinity with fighting, and those who do know of The Code associate fighting as an emotional, passionate, and righteously defensive action. Since hockey is a fast-paced, high-risk game, players often react quickly to situations.

While the west uses a dichotomy of men and women as a binary of opposites occurs in ice hockey when women are not allowed to fight and body check, but men are (Poniatowski, 2014). Strathern argues, "In addition to the perception of biological differences is the tendency to

assign personal and social qualities, characteristics, and capacities to the sexes in a way that distinguishes all men from all women” (2016, p. 33). If men are strong, women must be weak, if men’s hockey is considered masculine and toxic, the opposite would be women’s hockey that would be feminine and uplifting (Strathern, 2016). An example of this is that men fight and women do not. Women’s hockey does not allow body checking and fighting, unlike men’s (Poniatowskii, 2014). Though women’s hockey is not as popular as men’s, Canada and the United States have the best hockey teams Olympically due to their nation’s sponsorship, population, and public support (Poniatowski, 2014).

Women’s hockey does not receive as much attention and research as men’s, and with women’s hockey physicality, body contact is still considered “part of the game” (Theberge, 1997. Stevens, 2012). While this sexist dichotomy exists, women ice hockey players have argued for checking to be a part of women’s hockey and even argue enjoyment of the use of body checking on ice (Brand, 2018. Weaving, Roberts, 2012. Berg, Migliaccio, 2007). Women do not want to be treated differently on the ice, they want the same amount of physical contact as the men would. Roberts and Weaving state, “The opportunity for women to play by the same rules as men would help place female hockey players in a position of choice and bodily agency and further demand reform of traditional hockey practices that deny certain physicality based on myths of female body capabilities” (2012, p. 477). This perspective would allow men and women to play by the same rules.

If women had the privilege to play by the men’s rules, would the game be different? If aggression and physicality of men’s hockey is sought after by women hockey players, is it toxic masculinity or dedication to their imagined community that women hockey players crave? Are traits such as aggression or fighting specifically masculine traits? Are these traits toxic? I will not explore these questions; my thesis is solely dedicated to NHL (men only) players and why they fight. This subject of men’s and women’s hockey with different rules and regulations regarding fighting and body checking should be further investigated.

Interviews with Reed Larson and Kelly Brooks-Paradise

Two of the people I interviewed were a previous NHL player and a child of a professional hockey coach. I interviewed Reed Larson who played for the Detroit Red Wings from 1976-1990. He provides a perspective of fighting before the 2004-2005 lockout season when labor disputes lead to the season being canceled (ESPN, 2005. Phramany, 2021). He had a long career as a right wing. He retired in 1990. He spoke about how there is the use of “cheap shots” in the NHL, and that “Body checks hurt more than fists”. The use of intimidation was used to police players, and that fear was always part of the game. Since Larson was considered a middleweight, his coach didn’t ask him to fight. Larson said that coaches today will only have players fight if retaliation is needed. He said fighting does require merit, referencing the rules and courtesies of The Code.

When I mentioned The Code, he said that players should be good at hockey and fighting, not just fighting. When I asked Larson about fighting, he cited his 1,300 career penalty minutes and around 100 fights he participated in right off the top of his head, he knew his career statistics immediately. “Finish it, don’t start it” is what he said about fighting, it should be used to end conflict and not start it. When he did take a fighting penalty, it was for defending his team. He did not mention “taking it like a man” or anything that had to do with masculinity or gender. He spoke about the fighting was for the benefit of the team, not the individual.

Larson did mention that he knew all enforcers did their job because they just really wanted to play hockey. They wanted to be on the ice with the other players and be part of the team. He mentioned previous issues that enforcers faced like quick turnover, pain, and enforcers get tired of fighting people. A long career for an enforcer is 6-8 years. This is seen with the case of Derek Boogaard, who dedicated his life to fighting as an enforcer and suffered from terrible pain, which led to his overdose in 2011.

Kelly Brooks-Paradise had some interesting insight into fighting from a mother and woman’s perspective. If Brooks sounds familiar, it is because she is Herb Brook’s daughter. As someone who was raised in a serious, famous hockey family, I was incredibly grateful for her insight. She mentioned her two twin sons who play hockey together. She said that if someone hurt one of them, the other brother would stand up for him. She said that her sons stick up for each other on the ice and if someone is playing dirty, like tripping or axing (hitting another player with the stick like an axe), then that player deserves to be fought. If someone plays the

game like that, then they deserve it. Like The Code, she said fighting is standing up for yourself and your team. She used the statement that fighting is “refereeing their own players”. She is against “goons” coming onto the ice just to fight and not play the game. Nobody should go into the game with the intentions to end someone’s hockey career with heavy fighting but checking and pushing is acceptable on the ice. When I start with the first question why does fighting occur in hockey, she just laughed. “Hockey players are the toughest, it’s part of the game”. Brooks-Paradise spoke about how close contact occurs all the time in hockey, and that fighting has been allowed for years in the sport and is part of the entertainment. She expanded on close physical contact, mentioning that rivalries and built-up grudges can lead to fights. Brooks-Paradise did say that fighting did not need to occur with the one-word reaction to Question #4: Does hockey need fighting to occur in its games? “No” she simply stated.

When asking fans if fighting in ice hockey was necessary, they said yes. The reasoning with hockey needing fighting to occur was part of the sport, and for enforcing The Code. Several people went the opposite way of reasoning like Brooks-Paradise and said it was not needed. This made it uncomfortable for some interviews, because their friend I interviewed before them would think completely differently. I had several interviews with a group of men, hanging out at a game or a bar, and they would sometimes react, “Really? You’re against fighting in ice hockey?”. There was a definite split, no one was debating both sides or using middle grounds of reasoning.

Two men stated that there was a capitalistic power behind fighting, that people loved it and that’s why it occurs in games. If it got people go to hockey games, why would they stop it? The investigation of capitalistic interests is expanded on later in this thesis. These two men did their best to avoid the question and worked their words around it without mentioning anything more about if fighting should be present.

With my data collected, those who did not understand hockey culture as well thought of fighting as a masculine, dominance seeking behavior that had economic benefits for the franchises. Interlocutors who had hockey, experiences and Brooks-Paradise who has her own twin sons playing competitive hockey had the understanding that it is not masculine, and that it was a self-sacrificial, honorable act for the betterment of the team and for the imagined community. While we are “riddled by gender” by its all-encompassing effect on how we perceive masculine aggression, there is more research to be done. Studying “men” is an investigation of billions of people globally. Using the simplified binary of “men” to define so

many people is inaccurate and unrealistic. Further investigation of how players consider their gender identity with the sport should be conducted thoroughly to yield more thorough results. Yanagisako and Collier argue (1987, p. 287) “We must begin by explicating the cultural meanings people realize through their practice of social relationships”. They expand further and state that one should concentrate on socially meaningful categories people employ and encounter in specific social contexts, along with the symbols and meanings that underlie them. I utilize this concept along with Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* that fighting in ice hockey is an act that does not reflect the societal pressures of masculinity, but it is the act of representing something bigger than yourself: your hockey team.

As previously stated, athletes are not independent of an imagined community. While some sports have a solo performer without teammates, for example golf, cycling, boxing, skiing, others have team-based participation like ice hockey, football, basketball, cricket, and more still exhibit that they represent an imagined community. Whether this is a club, the place they train, a city, a region, or a country they are not individual actors in their success. When one wears certain colors and sings a certain anthem, we all know what they embody. While an incredibly small number of people become professional athletes, they still represent the population of their imagined community. This is when the second pole comes into play, when a community is represented by people of the greatest physical capacity with muscles, power, strength, and rigor they are seen as the image of their represented community. These athletes may be given great value and rewards for their achievements as “individualizing and specifying” (Foucault, 1978, p. 139), but they are still a part of the bigger picture. Nations want to have the best representing them physically against other countries.

Centralizing on the theoretical principles of imagined communities, there is a cultural and regional association with how players skate and play the game of hockey. Ice hockey is the number one sport in Canada, and my home state of Minnesota. The most successful player ever in the NHL is Wayne Gretzky, a Canadian. He speaks about the pressure he faces representing his nation, “You hear people say it all the time – whenever you put on a Team Canada sweater, you expect to win gold” (Gretzky, McLellan Day, 2016, p. 295). There have been several quotes from books I have read about how American, Canadian, and Russian tactics of using fighting to maintain peace in the sport greatly differ from European hockey doctrine. European hockey has been criticized by North Americans for their lack of fighting. European hockey has the strategy

of score more, pass more, skate better, and no fighting, whereas the United States, Canada, and Russia rely heavily on aggressive physical contact and fighting to take place. Enforcer Bob Probert states that in the last decade after the 2004-2005 lockout season, “The game is more European now. More skating, less hitting” (Probert, McLellan Day, 2010, p. 172). Probert’s reference to “less hitting” is no fist fighting takes place. Canada, United States, and Russia are nations that allow fighting (with small penalties) to occur with the oral expectation of The Code, whereas other European countries do not allow violent conduct and immediately break up fights (International Ice Hockey Federation, 2021). This thesis is not conducting a cross-cultural examination of how different cultures perceive and use fighting in ice hockey.

The use of the metaphor “arms race” is used frequently used as an explanation between teams. Dave Semenko uses political rivalries as a metaphor, “In hockey, enforcers are a deterrent. Like the United States and the Soviet Union, each with its nuclear weapons” (Semenko, Tucker, 1989, p. 27). In a global political environment where guns and bombs are viewed as a final option for violence and destruction, the representation of an imagined community’s entity flexing muscle, speed, and expertise is a nation’s weapon at beating another peacefully. This next quote from *The Code* is political, like Semenko’s, “You see, respect is earned the hard way in the NHL, and tough guys make room for themselves by building their reputations” (Bernstein, 2006, p. 33). The importance of athletically talented individuals in sport is so dreadfully important, that even teams and countries have led to illegal practices of doping and cheating to win (World Anti-Doping Agency, 2019). Investing in sport muscle is cheaper (and less politically direct and life threatening) than military muscle, and to actively train someone from your imagined community to have explosive athletic power raises less questions than explosive bombings, inside and outside the community. Strathern mentions that within western culture there is the assumption that warfare is a masculine concept, and only those who participate in war are men (Strathern, 2016).

Much like an imagined community, hockey teams have more meaning than just a franchise who hires men to put a puck in the net. The symbolic meaning that underlies why these men do whatever it takes is The Code and the importance of representing and serving their hockey team. While fans who are not aware of The Code view fighting as two men punching each other as macho match of toxic masculinity, those who know The Code understand the deeper meaning of the punches exchanged by two men in different colored jerseys.

The Code

For the sport of ice hockey, there are the official rules by the NHL and unofficial rules players obey on the ice. Fighting in ice hockey obeys a certain set of unwritten rules, formally known as “The Code” (Silverwood, 2015). The Code is defined as a set of honor, rules, expectations, and common courtesies when one plays hockey, and especially when one fights. The Code does not apply to the women’s league of Premier Hockey Leagues, or the International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF) that is mostly used in Europe (Ice Guardians, 2016). The Code is not found in any NHL Official Rulebook or document. The Code is an ideal that all players are expected to maintain, follow, and respect. When referencing The Code as an unspoken expectation of hockey players, it will be spelled with capitalization of the first letters. When referencing The Code in the book, *The Code: The Unwritten Rules of Fighting and Retaliation in the NHL* will be italicized.

Sports journalist Ross Bernstein and author of *The Code* (2006, p. xvii) defines the code as,

“The code, I learned, was in face a living, breathing entity among those lucky enough to call themselves members of the National Hockey League. The code was hockey’s sacred covenant, its unwritten rules of engagement that had been handed down from generation to generation. There was, as I learned, a mysterious chain of accountability that dealt with the issues of violence and fighting. It was no wonder I haven’t ever heard of it, because “it” is usually not spoken of by those who live by it”.

Since the 20th century ice hockey has been played in Canada (Martel, 2021). Quoted from Marty McSorley who is famously known for enforcing, defending, and playing with Wayne Gretzky with the Edmonton Oilers states in the foreword of *The Code*,

“As for the code, to me it was what we, as hockey players, lived by. The code was a living, breathing thing among us. It changed and evolved as the rules changed and evolved, and it took a life of its own. The basic premise of the code is that you have to answer for your actions on the ice. You learn it pretty early on in your hockey career, and it doesn’t take very long to figure out just how important it is. The code says that you play hard and physically in order to get yourself more space out on the ice, but you don’t take advantage of guys who aren’t in a position to defend themselves along the way”.

McSorely (2006, p. x - xi) also states that The Code is based on honesty and respect, and that it is not the “wild wild west” and is a “necessary evil”. The association with the term “necessary evil” assumes that fighting must occur in the game for hockey to in North America for the game to be played. This is where the common term, “it’s a part of the game” originates from (Apostol, Goldschmied, 2021). There is order to the chaos of a fight on the ice, there are correct and incorrect methods of fighting, and if you do not follow The Code, the punishment is far worse than a haymaker to your head. McSorely argues that if you play aggressively or dirty, your actions will have an opposite and equal reaction. Somebody on the other team will play just as aggressively or more intensely against you. When McSorely mentions that “you don’t take advantage of guys who aren’t in a position to defend themselves” he is referencing that you do not hurt another player who is injured, smaller, or weaker than yourself. If it is not a fair check or fight on the ice, you are breaking The Code.

For Question #6 I asked fans, “Do players regulate themselves with fighting?”, and I received many confused responses, and most of the men didn’t have an answer for me. With this question, I wanted to see if anyone could recognize or mention The Code. Some interlocutors said “I don’t know” directly. The previous hockey players did respond differently. They did acknowledge that when one, “play dirty – react dirty”, and that fighting “solves all the problems”. Again, there was differences between people who have played and those who are only fans.

There is more to the sport of ice hockey than just putting the puck in a net with a stick, The Code is a system of justice, honor, and retribution, enforcer Scott Parker who played for the Colorado Avalanche and San Jose Sharks argues (Ice Guardians, 2016), “You’re accountable, no matter what you do...and think that there’s gonna be no retribution, or you’re not gonna answer the bell, you’ve got another thing coming”. In a simplified version, if you play dirty you will get punched until you learn your lesson from the other team. This quote speaks for itself, “It’s funny how the threat of being punched in the face repeatedly can change someone’s thought process” (Bernstein, 2006, p. 41). Getting punched in the head multiple times by someone who is chosen for their strength, power, and stature is not a pleasant experience and is a deterrent for bad behavior (Ice Guardians, 2016).

Minnesota Wild General Manager (from 1999-2009) Doug Risebrough who has played for both the Montreal Canadiens and Calgary Flames states (Bernstein, 2006, p. 30),

“The code isn’t just about fighting. If a player is being aggressive with a guy who is uncomfortable playing physically, then that guy’s teammate will stand up for him. Sure, the ultimate accountability for the incident is the fight, but 99 percent of the altercations are cleaned up by the players before they ever get that far. That comes down to respect. And it is important to note that respect goes both ways. Players who take advantage of other players in a disrespectful way, those guys don’t always get the respect that matters most: from their own teammates in the dressing room. Hockey in my eyes is about competing and battling and scoring and skating and winning games together as a team. The code just reinforces those things and keeps everybody honest and on the same playing field. You have to look at what the purpose of fighting in ice hockey really is. It is certainly not about entertainment. It is just one small part of the game, but an important one. It is there to allow everybody to enjoy the game. Most fans don’t know the rules of the code because they are unspoken by the people who live and play by them”

The Code is strict and has deep meaning behind it. It is not just two men throwing punches at each other, it’s conflict resolution and justice in the form of a clenched fist. While *The Code* written by sports journalist Ross Bernstein covers The Code from 2006, Silverwood (2015) also studied The Code in her PhD thesis of the legitimization of fighting in ice hockey with a criminology lens. The fight I witnessed between Wayne Simmonds and Marcus Folingo is a perfect example of The Code in action in 2021. Both players dropped their gloves, both made the active decision to fight each other, they only punched each other, and when the linesmen came in to break it up both men let go and obeyed the orders of the linesmen. The Code was followed, and nobody broke the unwritten rules. The announcers mentions that Marcus Folingo, “Defends a teammate” (Hockeyfights.com, 2021). The Code is still practiced today currently in the NHL. Figure #5 is a Tweet from the NHL team the New Jersey Devils, which states that this “ice hockey system” is The Code.



New Jersey Devils 
@NJDevils

...

You see, Ice, in the hockey system, the players are represented by two separate yet equally important groups: The refs, who investigate crime, and the players, who prosecute the offenders. These are their stories.



ICE T  @FINALLEVEL · 5h

Serious Question: Why is Hockey the only sport that they let the players fight? Don't say tradition..

Figure #5: (Twitter.com, 2021, New Jersey Devils)

This tweet is from the New Jersey Devils, speaking about the subject of fighting. This tweet was posted at

21:09 February 5th, 2021.

Obey The Code

There are some easy do's and don'ts in hockey fights that goes against The Code. See Figure #6.

Do's	Don'ts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Punching • Grabbing • Hitting with a closed fist • Pulling another off-balance • Trash talking known as “chirping” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kicking • Slashing • Using blade as a sharp weapon • Using the stick as a weapon • Biting • Licking • Headbutting • Slapping with forehand or backhand • Use of taped fists or hand coverings • Throwing another person • Eye gouging • Hair pulling • Hitting the groin or genitals • Grabbing someone and lifting them off their feet • Using the boards or the metal goal rods as a weapon

One of the most important parts of The Code is consent. Consent is key to fighting, that everyone who participates agrees to the circumstances of pain and violence. The action for consent to fight is simple: drop the gloves. When one drops the gloves, it becomes *volenti non fit injuria* – in Latin it is understood, “to a willing person, it is not a wrong” (Cornell Law School, 2021. Silverwood, 2015, p. 55-56). If both players consent to the fight by dropping their gloves, they understand the risks that are involved in fighting. Enforcer Bob Probert mentions he spoke to men before he fought them. “Obviously, you try the best you can to ask the guy to

acknowledge that you're going to fight him so that you don't jump him. For me, I just wanted an honest fight" (Probert, McLellan Day, 2010, p. 57). Having verbal consent to fighting is vital to an equal fight that everyone agrees to. For some, they argue that even a non-verbal consent when fighting is involved. "It's like notorious enforcer Dave "Tiger" Williams once said: "You consent to assault when you lace up your skates. It's what hockey is all about" (Bernstein, 2006, p. 26). Hockey is a high contact sport that requires physical contact, so for one to expect everyone to play politely is unreasonable. Silverwood states that some players she interviewed who played in mainland Europe and in the UK (which uses a more aggressive North American style of hockey with fighting, but not exactly like the NHL), that players believed there were more cheap shots in European hockey than in the UK (North American) format (Ice Guardians, 2016). Reflecting on *The Code*, fighting should be executed strategically, and not for individual reasons but for the betterment of the team. Enforcer Mike Peluso who was a NHL enforcer from 1989-1998 states (Bernstein, 2006, p. 40),

"That was hard to do as a fighter, to turn down another guy's request to drop the gloves. It just went against everything you believed in, but you had to be smart and sometimes you had to pick your spots. The team had to come first. That is the difference between a team fight and an individual fight. So, you swallow your pride and tell that other guy that you just can't go, and he'll have to wait for a rematch. Hopefully he would respect that; otherwise, he might start hacking your guys just to goad you into it. You never knew".

Picking fights as an enforcer is a tactical responsibility with proper timing. Players must consent to fighting, but a player is allowed to rile others up, get them frustrated, or make them mad so that they fight back. This can create fights and also provide time for players to get ready for a fight and have the reasonable expectation that a fight could be occurring soon.

The second foreword of *The Code* from enforcer Tony Twist states (Bernstein, 2006, p. xv),

"I tried to be respectful of my opponents and tried not to do anything to break the code, like going after a guy at the end of his shift. Stuff like that was bullshit. The true heavyweights, the toughest guys in the league, would never do something like that. You addressed guys when they were fresh, or you waited. If you knew that you were going to go with a guy and he was a minute into his shift, then you skated by and

said, “No worries, I’ll catch you next time. You’re a little short of breath.” That’s what the code is all about, civilized insanity”.

Bob Probert states that you never attack from behind, and those fighters need consent before they fight (Probert, McLellan Day, 2010, p. 197). Consent is shown by eye contact, dropping of the gloves, handheld at eye level in fists while maintaining a defensive stance. The Code is unspoken, and one should know their role when they step onto the ice.

Punching from behind, “jumping” someone and attacking from behind is not allowed by The Code. Any attack from behind is not allowed, due to the lack of consent. The use of any tool other than one’s bare-knuckle hands are strictly banned. No use of sticks, helmets, blades, jerseys, anything other than your bare fists can be used in a fight. In instances where players have broken The Code by using a stick to physically attack another in a slashing, jabbing, or hitting motion have had to face legal ramifications for their actions. Legal, off the ice action, is a small minority of all violent actions done against other in hockey. As previously stated with *volenti non fit injuria*, when a player laces up their skates, they understand the physical and mental risks of hockey. If one laces up boxing gloves and then suffers a major hit in the ring, they cannot sue or pursue legal action. Enforcer Joe Kocur who played for the Vancouver Canucks, New York Rangers, and Detroit Red Wings alongside Bob Probert states that the people he hurt and would fight against were enforcers too who understood The Code, that “You’re not there because someone held a gun to your head” that enforcers make the active decision to fight (Ice Guardians, 2016).

In the few cases that a player has legal action taken against them in United States court for actions done on ice, the player is charged with attempted murder or aggravated assault, and/or assault with a deadly weapon. The Code was broken when Todd Bertuzzi from the Vancouver Canucks sucker punched Steve Moore from the Colorado Avalanche from behind on February 16th, 2004. This incident is described by Chris J. Gee and Luke Potwarka (2007). Todd Bertuzzi was a winger for the Vancouver Canucks and tried to fight Steve Moore from the Colorado Avalanche who did not consent to a fight. Bertuzzi then sucker punches Moore on the side of the head where Moore is unable to see the incoming roundhouse fist. Bertuzzi’s knocks out Moore and rides him down face first onto the ice. Once Moore’s teammates saw the dirty move, they begin to pile on top of Bertuzzi, who has fallen on top of Moore’s unconscious body.

Fighting breaks out between all the players on the ice, and Moore is taken away on a stretcher for emergency medical care. Moore had two damaged vertebrae and a concussion after the incident (CBC, 2014). On June 24th, 2004, Todd Bertuzzi was formally charged by the Vancouver Attorney General for assault causing bodily harm with one year probation and 80 hours of community service and was suspended from the NHL (Gee, Potwarka, 2007. CBC, 2014).

Not only did Bertuzzi face consequences on the ice for his actions, but inside a legal courtroom too. He broke The Code by hitting Moore from behind and didn't allow Moore anyway to fight back or consent to this surprise sucker punch. His actions demonstrate toxic masculinity to those who do not know The Code and Bertuzzi went against The Code and the good of his team. When The Code is broken, outside the ice rink legal action can be taken for violating the NHL's nonwritten rules of fighting.

The Code: Specifics

The Code is for all hockey players, specifically the enforcers. But other skaters do play hockey instead of fight, these are the centers, right and left wing, left and right defense, and the goal tender (Condor, 2021). Another crucial element to The Code: never touch the other team's goalie. Goalies are not built like other players. They are quicker, smaller, and do not travel the length of the ice during game play. Silverwood (2015) mentions similar concepts occur in the UK, that going after goalies with the intent to injure is disrespectful, "That's the purpose of the rule, to protect certain roles". Goalies are a crucial part of the team. Colton Orr an enforcer for the Boston Bruins, New York Rangers, and Toronto Maple Leaf's argues (Ice Guardians, 2016), "If something happens during the game, someone makes a cheap shot or runs your goalie" that is action that requires retaliation with The Code. A metaphor for a bad goalie is leaving your house unlocked in a bad neighborhood. No team wants some opposing player to kick down the door of their home. Another metaphor often heard is that when you hit or touch a goalie, it likes poking a hornet's nest, that goalie's team will come after you in numbers, seeking violence and retaliation for harming a goalie. A good goalie is key to having your team's part of the ice secure. Wayne Gretzky (2016, p. 65) mentions that he would not have four Stanley Cup Championship rings if it wasn't for his calm goalie, Grant Fuhr. If a fight breaks out, there is only one person the goalie can fight in the entire rink: the other goalie. Since goalies also have different, larger padding and sticks than everyone else, they are the only two people in the ice arena that are designated to fight each other. Enforcers, scorers, and any other player cannot fight the goalie. Only goalies fight other goalies.

Ice hockey also uses a similar sport's classification for equal fights. In boxing, they categorize people based on height and weight, so that the fight is fair and just. Heavyweights are big men who are over 6 feet (1.83 meters), and over 200 pounds (90m kilograms). Lightweights are considered anything below this. Men do have a great range of body types, sizes, and other statures that can give them an advantage in fighting. Long arms give one reach, big hands can be used like hammers into another's face, and height can assist in getting physically above the other person. If a heavyweight tries to fight a lightweight, this is breaking The Code. Players should know to "pick on someone your own size". But, if a lightweight picks a fight with a heavyweight, that is allowed. The lightweight should know that they are at a disadvantage, and for them to actively instigate the fight is acceptable for they should understand that their actions

of fighting a man much bigger than them has consequences. A great example of this is when Bob Probert (heavyweight) fought Tie Domi (lightweight) and Probert's coach criticized him for even giving the time of day to fight someone smaller than him.

“Tie Domi was a little fucker, and I figured, “Why not?” You know? I didn't have to fight him, but I said “Aw fuck, let's go. Give him a chance for the hell of it, eh?”

He was saying to me, “Come on, Bob, Macho Man wants a shot at the title.” He called himself Macho Man, like the big-time wrestler. I said, “Ah, you little fucker, okay, come on!” He got lucky when he grazed me and I got cut just above the eye. He didn't really hit me, just wandered through with a left. It didn't even hurt or anything. Whole thing only lasted about thirty seconds because the refs jumped in before the fight really got going. So he skates to the box and pretends like he's putting on the heavyweight championship belt, a hot-dog move.

Later, the coach, Bryan Murray, asked me, “What the fuck are you wasting your time with that little goofball Domi for? You've got nothing to prove.” “Aw fuck,” I said, “I gave him a shot.” Murray said, “Bob, you should know better.” (Probert, McLellan Day, 2010, p. 17).

While these specific aspects of The Code may seem irrelevant, they are not. Everyone who skates on the ice has role to perform to benefit the team (Silverwood, 2015). While fighting in ice hockey may seem like chaos on the ice, those who know and understand The Code identify that the fights taking place have reason, ethics, and respect supporting their intentions.

The Role of the Enforcer

Enforcers apply The Code and are often seen as selfless and popular. It would seem odd that a player who does not score goals, skate well, shoot well, or pass well, would be so beneficial and crucial to a hockey team. Dr. Victoria Silverwood's doctoral research of violence in hockey state's similar themes, "Much of the role therefore of the enforcer is protection, protection by intimidation and protection by retaliation, the excuses offered by the code are invariably linked in defence and in offence and can be complicated to untangle" (Silverwood, 2015, p. 218).

How can a game be "self-governing" when officials oversee and assign penalties? The governing body of the sport of ice hockey in North American is known as the National Hockey League. There are penalties for fighting, but they are much less severe than other sports. Other western sports such as American football, baseball, soccer (European football), tennis, skiing, golf, basketball, volleyball, and more have strict penalties, fines, and suspensions for starting fights. Fines can amount to millions of dollars; suspensions can last a single game to a lifetime. What is the punishment for fighting bare-knuckled in ice hockey in the National Hockey League? Five minutes.

For a regular fight in the 2021-2022 season in which two players obey The Code and participate in a fight, once the linesmen break up the fight penalties will be assigned. Referee's hold a great amount of power to decide the severity of the penalties, as stated in the NHL's 2021-2022 Official Rules, "The Referees are provided very wide latitude in the penalties with which they may impose under this rule. This is done intentionally to enable them to differentiate between the obvious degrees of responsibility of the participants either for starting the fight or persisting in continuing the fight. The discretion provided should be exercised realistically" (National Hockey League, 2021, p. 76).

While fighting has a five-minute major penalty assigned to its violent conduct, there are other acts that are deemed "unsportsmanlike conduct" or "misconduct". Unsportsmanlike conduct is defined as, "Players and non-playing Club personnel are responsible for their conduct at all times and must endeavor to prevent disorderly conduct before, during or after the game, on or off the ice and any place in the rink. The Referees may assess penalties to any of the above team personnel for failure to do so" (National Hockey League, 2021, p. 111). Acts that would be deemed unsportsmanlike can range from use of profanity, throwing objects on the ice, grabbing a

face mask of another player, hair pulling, biting, and use of profane gestures (like a middle finger). These examples are all against The Code, except for profane language. This includes Rule 46.13: the removal of one's sweater (jersey) over the head in a fight or taking off one's jersey from their torso in a fight in attempt to be shirtless or just in protective equipment (National Hockey League, 2021). In the 1980s, many players would slip out of their jersey's so they could punch and move around more, so now the use of a jersey strap keeps the jersey on the player, even when fighting. It is considered unsportsmanlike conduct to remove one's jersey knowingly.

Marty McSorley states in his foreword of *The Code* that hockey is a game that polices itself, and heavyweights do not start fights, they end them,

“It could be anything really. And everybody on both benches knows it's coming too. That is just the way it is. A series of events led up to that point, and the enforcers would have to end it so that the game could calm down again. That's how the code works. And when the fight was over, it would have a sobering effect on the guys back on the bench, who could get back to playing good, clean hockey” (Bernstein, 2006, p. x).

John Branch defines the role, “Enforcer was not an official position on the team, but a title unofficially applied those whose jobs as fighters overshadowed their play. Referees enforced the black and white rules. Enforcers, as if deputized, operated in gray areas. In the glossiest version of the job description, enforcers kept the peace” (Branch, 2014, p. 52). Enforcers know the game of hockey very well and are told when to fight when it is the right time. In the NHL there is a time frame called a “power-play”. A power play occurs when one or more players are serving their penalty time, and there is a numerical player advantage for one team. If one player serves a penalty, then it would be 6 versus 5 (including the goalies as part of the original 6 players present). With this advantageous opportunity for an opposing team, it must be a worthwhile penalty for someone to start fighting. Enforcers must know when to fight and when it is appropriate for them to take a fighting penalty. Normally coaches will let the enforcer know who to fight and when, but this is often unspoken, and enforcer already knows who they have to fight. “With the instigator rule, tough guys don't usually just go out and whack a player, because that would put the opposing team on a power play. Instead, they have to pick their spots”

(Bernstein, 2006, p. 35). Enforcers must have a superb understanding of timing and strategy about when to fight.

Another key element of being an enforcer is intimidation. One doesn't have to throw punches if everyone fears him and doesn't even want to know what it would be like to dance with someone who could end your career in one punch. Not only are enforcers chosen for their size, power, strength, fighting experience, and strategic actions but they must be scary. They must invoke terror into finding out what would happen if you dropped your gloves with them or decided to check their team's star player. New York Rangers enforcer Nick Fotiu speaks about intimidation, "That number means so much to me, though, because it signifies the fact that my presence alone out there negated most fights from every even happening. I mean, if you could get to a point where your presence alone could serve as a deterrent for your opposition from playing dirty and running your top guys, then you won half the battle before you even stepped onto the ice" (Bernstein, 2006, p. 43). Fotiu continues to talk about his methods to scare other teams, which has masculine qualities (2006, p. 43),

"I used to love intimidating the opposition; it was a lot of fun. I remember when the Flyers would come to Madison Square Garden in New York to play us. I knew exactly what time they were going to arrive and what door they were coming in. So I would do like 200 hundred push-ups right before they got there and would tape my wrists and get my arms all pumped up. Then I would put on a tank top and position myself right by the door where they came in. I would stand there looking just sweaty and pissed while I was sawing my sticks for that night's game. Well, when they walked in and started heading to their locker room, I know that they would look over at me and see me all pumped up with my muscles all budging out.

That had a psychological effect on their tough guys for sure. They would come in tired from a long trip and then start thinking, "Oh man, look at this freaking guy!" Then, when they were getting dressed, I would go run a lap around the concourse and dump water all over me to make it look like I was sweating like crazy. I would then go down by their locker room while they were getting dressed and talk to the trainers. They would say real loud, "Oh, so you're not playing tonight, Nick?" and I would say "No, I just felt like running three miles before the game to get really warmed up." I know that their guys could hear it, and I wanted to plant that seed. Then, and here is the kicker, I would buzz around like crazy during warm-ups, real fast. Finally, when the game started and I got my first shift, I would come out like bat out of hell, just banging guys and scaring the crap out of them. You just knew that they were over on their bench thinking, "Man, this freaking guy is nuts. He just ran three miles. Look at him!"

Maybe they would think twice about starting something out on the ice with one of my guys because of that, because they didn't want to have to fight me afterwards. Intimidation could be a very, very powerful tool"

Enforcers follow The Code to the greatest extent, and hence the name of their role to enforce The Code as it provides justice for their team. Enforcers take their role very seriously and have a place on the team as the designated tough guy. Marty McSorely states,

"You know, hockey enforcers are typically the nicest guys on their teams. They are the most approachable and the most fun to hang around with, too. They usually accepted that role because they care about their teammates so much. In fact, it might just be the most selfless job in all of professional sports. They are good people. They are like the cop on the beat or a protective father looking out for those who might be able to look out for themselves. Some people like to paint horns on them and call them animals, but when you get to know most of them you will see that it couldn't be further from the truth" (Bernstein, 2006, p. xi).

Enforcers are those who uphold The Code, for they are the ones whose careers greatly depend on it. "Part of the enforcer's code was to quietly accept responsibility" (Branch, 2014, p. 90). The players who take it upon themselves to provide accountability know the risk they take physically, and still choose to do it anyway.

Another differing characteristic of goons and enforcers is that enforcers often play for years in the NHL, while a goon often plays for about one or two games in the NHL. Any tough guy's jersey you can buy online is an enforcer, goons are normally forgotten after their one or two games of tomfoolery. Enforcers also relate well with fans. Not only do they provide entertainment such as fights, but many identify with the enforcers in their honorable role. "But they were seen as a sort of outed superhero – Blue collar, understated types with selfless alter egos and a devotion to helping those in need. It was work that most their teammates would not consider themselves" (Branch, 2014, p. 56). To see a guy use his fists to provide safety and space to his team selflessly, and taking the pain for everyone on his team is viewed with prestige and humble self-sacrifice.

Dave Semenko mentions in his book that he always just wanted to skate and score, not fight. "I'd much rather just play hockey... but if I had a job to do, and there were plenty of other guys who would be glad to fill the role if I didn't" (Semenko, Tucker, 1989, p. 35). My interview

with Reed Larson agrees with Semenko, that enforcers just want to play hockey, but understand that they have a vital role to play on the team.

Perspectives on Capitalism in Ice Hockey

Some believe that hockey has light penalties for fighting so that more aggression occurs and violence will follow. With this planned performance of violence, that attracts attention and sells more tickets to games. Fighting has been viewed as a capitalistic interest and benefit to the NHL. “The NHL could have banned this type of violence altogether, but it chose to keep it as a part of the game. In fact, in 1922 Rule 56 was introduced, which regulated but did not ban “fisticuffs,” instead giving the guilty party a five – minute penalty rather than a suspension or expulsion. The owners saw how much the fans loved the violence and saw dollar signs. Fighting and hockey were now joined at the hip” (Bernstein, 2006, p. 40). When a fight occurs at a hockey game, nobody looks away. People watch, there is only two times in a hockey game in which everyone stands: the national anthems and fights. Not only is there the entertainment of the game, but also the hope that fans might witness a fight. Sometimes before games sports announcers will mention that a fight could be a possible outcome for the two teams playing. Hockey is a fast-paced game, but announcers always talk faster when a fight occurs. Sometimes, they will even announce the heights and weights of the two players fighting, just like a boxing match and understanding the weight classes of the boxers. People watch intently and stand to get a better view of the fight. Hockey franchises have taken note of this, with more people in the seats, the more they can profit. Since fighting is not allowed in other sports or has a much steeper penalty or fines involved, people go to hockey games with the hope that a fight will occur. Paul states that fans prefer teams with tendencies towards fighting and violence, more than teams with higher scoring, and less violence, this is true for American fans more than Canadian fans (Paul, 2003).

As noted in my fieldwork, people get very excited by fights. They will clap, yell, cheer, and stand to get a better view of the fight. “Fans, invariably, stood and cheered often more vociferously than when a goal was scored” (Branch, 2014, p. 62). Goals are exciting, but fights are unpredictable madness. The NHL could try to ban all of fighting with incredibly stiff fines and penalties, but how could they? “A lot of people are down on fighting in the NHL. They say it doesn’t belong in the game. But like Don Cherry says, “When Probert was fighting, did you ever see anyone get out of their seat a go for coffee?”” (Probert, McLellan Day, 2010, p. 18). Fans like to watch fight reels and see highlights from games that includes goals, checks, and fights.

They make so much money from people who do not understand that there is The Code and there is more symbolic meaning behind it. People in seats sells tickets, which sells overpriced beer, as they wear overpriced merchandise, and overpriced parking for people to come in to see the game itself. There is a website called hockeyfights.com that specializes in statistics, newest fights, records of fights, and one can even visit the website and vote on who they think won the hockey fight.

“And don’t kid yourselves: fans love hockey fights. Just Google the term “hockey fight” and you will get more than 18 million hits. For many, that is the sole reason they come to the games. There are fanatics who follow fight logs religiously, post results on their websites, collect and trade fight videos, and run fan clubs. There are even groupie wannabes who wait around after games in hopes of getting autographs from their favorite tough guys. It should come as no surprise that fighters are oftentimes teams’ most popular players” (Bernstein, 2006, p. 36).

This is true in my fieldwork; many people still wear a Derek Boogaard jersey ten years after his death and still want to wear his name and number. Dr. Victoria Silverwood focuses on the finance of hockey violence, that it benefits hockey team financially to have fights occur (Silverwood, 2015, p. 220). Keeping the franchise, players, sponsors, and especially the fans happy takes work and strategic decisions. “During my observation I saw numerous examples of players feeling that they had no choice but to engage in a fist fight despite feeling that the game did not need this, because they were ordered to do so by the coach or management... That is not to say that there aren’t other occasions when a player will fight for an unnecessary reason, such as needing to prove their masculinity, or due to their emotions...” (Silverwood, 2015, p. 223). I agree and disagree with this statement. While some coaches will tell a player to go out and fight, it is the enforcer they communicate with, someone who is knowledgeable and aware of their role as a fighter. While they might not want to fight, it is “their job” on the team to enforce The Code. Some players who are not enforcers do fight, but normally out of frustration or with their own intentions of fighting.

Even if one believes fiercely that hockey and fighting need to coexist for the sport to occur, I did get the special opportunity to view professional hockey players who did not have the ability to fight. Due to the NHL season only being active from September 2021- April 2022, I

could not attend so many games in my area. During the 2020-2021 season I was unable to get tickets due to Covid-19.

When asking around family and friends, I was introduced to a league that has professional NHL and D1 student players in their off season playing for fun in a family setting that was very affordable: Da Beauty League. These players were sponsored by local businesses and played for a broken beer keg as a championship trophy. This gave them an opportunity to play hockey in their off season, at Braemar Ice Arena in Edina, Minnesota. Da Beauty League is created to be a very family friendly environment with community values such as giving back to nonprofits, “Originally founded in 2015, Da Beauty League wanted to bring beauties together and grow the sport of hockey. To do this we host games with some of the best NHL players at Braemar Arena in Edina and at the end of the season donate the money to a few hockey nonprofits” (Da Beauty League, About Us). There was no alcohol allowed or served in the arena, there was many children running around with friends and family as they all watched the recreational hockey players skate and shoot. When asked by the doorman why I was bringing in a notebook to a hockey game, I told him I was there to watch hockey for my masters, and to have a better understanding of fans and ice hockey, especially violence in ice hockey. He told me that in Da Beauty League there is no fighting allowed, you would be removed from the league if you did fight. Since Da Beauty League was recreational, large checks didn’t occur and playing was for the fun of the game and the gathering of a community and a state that loved hockey. Players didn’t have their paychecks on the line, these games were all for fun with charitable intentions. The doorman did say I came to the right place to see professional hockey players skate and shoot, but not to fight. Every time he checked my tickets after that conversation he would always say, “I hope you see lots of fights tonight!”

I attended games on August 9th, 11th, 16th, 18th, 23rd, and 25th of 2021. There were six teams playing, all teams were named and sponsored after a local business. The stands didn’t have individual seats or select areas. Everyone sat where they pleased, and like NHL games they arrived in groups of friends, families, or couples. There are many children running around the building, using the five dollars their parents gave them to get a slice of pizza or running to the locker room exit to ask a player to autograph their jersey. The atmosphere is casual, people were there for off season hockey, a reason to get out on a Tuesday and Thursday night in summer. Pictures of past Edina High School hockey teams line the walls, and banners of Minnesota High

School Hockey Tournament Champion banners sway slightly in the rafters. The cool breeze of the rink is nice to feel on your face during the Minnesota summer. Since people came out to see professional players, the announcers would say, “Here comes number 27 Nick Bjugstad who plays for the Minnesota Wild!” This helped the audience know who was on the ice, whether they were playing professionally or for a university. Fans wore similar attire to these recreational games like the professional ones played in a stadium. Since it was August, most people wore shirts and shorts. Like professional games, people said “ooooo” and “ahhhhh” as players shot pucks and when goalies saved goals. People cheered when goals were scored, but not like in professional games when they would stand and shout. The enthusiasm was present, but not the electric excitement like a NHL game. I believe the catalyst of alcohol might have changed the situation if it was permitted at Da Beauty League. Since skaters were playing for the joy of hockey and for charitable reasons, they did not use powerful checks or overwhelming intimidation.

When a penalty would occur, Da Beauty League did not use the penalty box. Penalties were smaller infractions, like high sticking or tripping. They would do “Za Hot Puck Minute” when a team could get two points for one goal in a select two-minute period. It was called “Za Hot Puck Minute” because it was sponsored by a local pizzeria. They could use “Za Hot Puck Minute” when they pleased, most likely strategically. Da Beauty League is focused on skating and scoring talent, hence sponsored minutes when they can get higher numbers for goals. I attended these games to get a perspective of a “clean” game of hockey. No fighting, no huge checks, or intentions of harm. It was just a bunch of Division I and professional players having some fun and getting some practice in. The atmosphere was completely different between Da Beauty League and an NHL game.

When I conducted interviews, Question #2 I asked, “Why do you watch hockey?” and #3 I asked, “What makes fighting and ice hockey so intertwined?”. I wanted to see if they thought the two were entangled together, or if people attended hockey games to see fights. When asked about Question #2, many stated that it was the fast-paced games that kept them interested in watching hockey. Most agreed that the physicality of the sport was also fun to watch. With ice hockey, there is almost always some form of movement or action that the skaters are doing to gain control of the puck. Players are constantly moving, skating, shooting, and passing. Interlocutors didn’t go to games to see fighting directly, but to see the fast flow and athleticism

of the game. One interlocutor said hockey was simply, “Not boring”. Anderson’s (1991) words directly of “...Kinship and clientship” demonstrate that the relationship of sport and capitalistic gain. People go to games to see their team play for belonging, but not directly for the fighting. But from my fieldwork most fans did not know of The Code, they had different assumptions behind the reason of fighting in the NHL. Most stated that it was entertaining to watch as a sport in general. Many stated that since the game is so physical that fighting would naturally occur. The most common answer was “It’s part of the game”. One interlocutor quickly answered after making that comment, “I don’t know why”. One man commented that if a fight occurred during a game, it was a “bonus” but not the main reason why he attended the game. Fights weren’t promised, but if one did arise, he would enjoy them. This demonstrated that fans were attending games for the love of hockey with the additional “bonus” of fights occurred in my fieldwork.

One of the live games I attended at the Xcel Energy Center had a similar situation, where there was excitement for the game of hockey but no fighting. A fight did not occur, but people did enjoy themselves. There is never a promise of a hockey fight, they occur organically. I attended the Thursday December 2nd, 2021, Minnesota Wild versus New Jersey Devils. I parked my car at my undergraduate university to save money on parking, at least my thousands of dollars of debt for my bachelor’s degree are slowly paying off. All I brought with me this time was lip balm, my phone, a pencil, a small handheld notebook, a credit card, and my driver’s license for identification. Most of the people who come to the hockey games are in groups of two or more. They are normally dates or groups of friends and family coming out to the game. I sit in section 216, row 7, seat 15. I am so high up that I can see all the ice very well but lack certain details like players faces and voices. These cheap seats are called the nosebleeds for a reason, I basically scaled Everest to get this high up.

Players are allowed to warm up, skate around, stretch and shoot some goals. Remixes of rap music play, to hype up the crowd and players. These remixes have all expletives censored. Fans stand around the boards of the arena with their faces pressed up against the glass. They have signs with certain names and numbers, cheering on certain players. If you’re lucky, or your sign is clever enough, a player might throw a puck over the glass for you to have. Warmups ended, and all players leave the ice.

Now fog machines start producing clouds, fans bring overpriced beer and fried food down to their seats, and everyone gets settled in. A projection is shown on the ice, it writes

“DeterMNation”. This is the word “determination” with MN capitalized like how Minnesota is abbreviated.



Figure #7: (NHL.com/wild/fans/wallpapers, 2022, Minnesota Wild Team Wallpapers) Minnesota Wild players stand together, with the abbreviation of Minnesota (MN) capitalized to highlight the relationship of the state and the hockey team.

On the jumbotron, a video montage plays showing clips of old-time hockey in black and white. It shows the time when Minnesota had a team called the North Stars, not the Wild. It shows highlights of amazing goals, checks, and players skating away from goals with proud, triumphant faces. Lasers are flashing around the ice arena and gathering on the clouds the fog machines produced so everyone can see them dance. This multimedia effect of sounds, video, and lasers is something you can't ignore. There is a stage element to starting the game. After two minutes of pregame excitement the referees and linesmen skate out to center ice, and the national anthem is sung. This is the first time that everyone will stand in the arena tonight. They might stand once more if a fight occurs. Once both national anthems are sung, the sport

announcer starts with the same quote every Minnesota Wild game, “LET’S PLAY HOOCCCKKKKEEEYYYYYYY!”. Player’s skate onto the ice and fans sit in their seats, the puck is about to drop.

When the game starts, everyone is seated and likely holding a drink. The first period starts and when a Devil’s players shoots on the Wild’s goal and misses, a pleasant clap is heard. Just lightly patting hands together, in a kind “nice save” small level of energy and appreciation to the goalie. Even from the highest seats away from the ice, one can still hear the thudding of bodies against the boards. It is easily heard from hundreds of feet away. A Wild player checks a Devils player into the boards, and the fans cheer happily. When a goal is made by the Minnesota Wild, Wild fans stand up, exchange high fives, clap, cheer, and put their arms up in excitement. For the few New Jersey Devils fans, they do not do this, they remain seated. There is about twenty seconds of celebration that is assisted with happy music, foghorns, flashing lights, and the jumbotron showing the goal in slow motion for spectators to re-watch. There is some occasional shoving and jersey pulling, along with some inconsiderate verbal exchanges with players on the ice, when a Wild and Devils player begin to shove each other, they are pulled apart by linesmen and the crowd boos. The fans have been deprived of a fight, and they wanted a fight. Someone yells “let’s get involved!”. At other times in the game fans will yell “fight fight fight fight fight” if players begin to tussle. After the first period is finished, intermission begins. “The State of Hockey” song from previously mentioned is played while fans get more beer and food. The Wild continue to win the game 5-2 against the New Jersey Devils, and many fans leave the game early in confidence that Minnesota won the game. They did not leave early due to the lack of fights, but with confidence that their home team won, and they didn’t need to be there when the crowd exits. Once the game is over, they announce the top three players of the game who can be from either team. A mass exodus of people then leaves the stadium, and people come to clean up after the mess of spilled beer and food wrappers. As the colors of the Minnesota Wild leave the Xcel Energy Center to go home or continue the night at the bars, talks of the game are shared and people are socially engaging with each other. No fights took place tonight, but a win at home ice always leaves fans in a good mood. Even without the promise of fights, people still showed up to the games and enjoyed themselves with a Minnesota Wild win.

Conclusion

Why does fighting occur in ice hockey? The answer to this question is that there is more behind the jersey and the clenched fist. Using *The Code* and *Imagined Communities* one can see the relationship of serving your team and representing something bigger than yourself. The colors of the jersey along with the name on the front and back show to the world your affiliation with a place and people. The players by the unofficial title of enforcer protect and serve their team. Anderson argues (1991, p. 144), “The idea of the ultimate sacrifice come only with an idea of purity, through fatality”. Nationalistically, he states it is noble, and the highest price one can play with: their life for their nation.

The situations that fighting arise from are circumstances that involve dirty play, disrespectful actions, and retaliation. Most anthropological research into sport investigates the concepts of state, identity, masculinity, gender, and capitalistic principles are essential in the analysis of social and cultural processes. With Anderson’s (1991) argument of, “...An imagined community holds values, sentiments, language, “kinship and clientship” (1991, p. 6). People in these imagined communities share and believe these concepts together, in creation and acceptance to be a part of something much bigger than themselves alone. The Minnesota Wild “State of Hockey” song depicts the dedication of the fans, “The game’s in our blood, and our blood’s in the game” (2000). Anderson also states, “...it is useful to remind ourselves that nations inspire love, and often profoundly self-sacrificing love” (1991, p. 141). When conducting fieldwork, there was always Minnesota Wild jerseys with Boogaard on the back, even ten years after his death, Minnesota still remembers. While these players are professionals, they are just skaters with sticks trying to put a puck in a net, but there is so much more symbolism and belonging than just a chant and color scheme. The Miracle on Ice establishes how this simple game of hockey with the United States beating the Soviet Union created a sense of patriotism among an entire country. With global politics, one would expect more professionalism than tit-for-tat jabs and bragging rights at the Olympics. If you can’t beat them in war efforts, beat them at their favorite game is childlike pettiness, but we see rivalries in sport still do this today.

Fighting in ice hockey is entangled with the unspoken rules of *The Code*. While many may view the fighting on ice as barbaric, my interviews demonstrated that those who knew *The Code* understood the complexity and courtesies of ice hockey’s unofficial rules. Those who

spectated the sport had different thoughts about why fighting occurred, and mostly tied it to toxic masculinity. Strathern argues, “In addition to the perception of biological differences is the tendency to assign personal and social qualities, characteristics, and capacities to the sexes in a way that distinguishes all men from all women” (2016, p. 33). While the western dichotomy of gender is men are opposite of women, we can see this in hockey when men are allowed to body check and fight (Poniatowski, 2014), and women are not. Research shows that women want to have body checking like the men have, claiming it is “part of the game” (Brand, 2018. Weaving, Roberts, 2012. Berg, Migliaccio, 2007. Theberge, 1997. Stevens, 2012). Those who I interviewed who lacked on ice experience thought that fighting was a physical, masculine trait of having “big balls”, but with my data and research, checking and aggression is a hockey trait, not a masculine trait that is an act of gender, not an identity itself.

Even when The Code is obeyed, there are consequences to fighting in ice hockey. When studying the role of the enforcer and their choice to sacrifice their body with the risks of serious medical issues like Chronic Traumatic Encephalopathy (CTE) and pain management. Derek Boogaard is used as an example of what the hard life of an enforcer is like, an early death and drug abuse (Branch, 2014). However, these enforcers still chose this unofficial position for their dedication to their team, their imagined community that they represent on the ice. They enforce The Code and expectations of honor, rules, beliefs, and common courtesies for all hockey players on the ice.

With the consolidation of years of research, data collection, ethical responsibilities, self-awareness and reflexivity, and the global pandemic of Covid-19, I have come to the final period of the game. Using ethnography in the discipline of anthropology is a way to study culture, society, gender, and nationality through the lens of sport. Fighting in ice hockey occurs when disrespectful and dirty plays do not get called or seen, and the players take justice into their own hands with The Code. The Code is simple, play dirty and retaliate dirty, you will be held accountable for your actions on the ice. The man who enforces The Code provides vigilante justice for his team, his jersey, his people, and not for his own ego.

There is so much more behind the clenched fist of an enforcer. It entangles Imagined Communities of physical places, team identity, capitalistic influences, and most importantly The Code. Fighting is not a performance of toxic masculinity but enforcing unspoken rules to keep the game respectful and clean by obeying The Code. Drop the gloves, let’s play hockey.

Epilogue



Figure #8: Olaf and I attended the January 14th, 2022, Minnesota Wild vs Anaheim Ducks at the Xcel Energy Center. Yes, we do have matching Norge Ishockeyforbund jerseys. Our family friend gave us amazing tickets that got us close to the ice. This was my last night at home before I left for Oslo, Norway. It was a proper last night in Minnesota.

On January 14th, 2022, I had my last night in Minnesota before I left for Oslo, Norway. Life has many twists and turns, from being accepted to my dream graduate school in the middle of one of many Covid-19 lockdowns, to meeting someone who changed my life forever right before the world shut down, watching my favorite dog die of cancer, getting a much deserved raise at my job, tattoos, and to finally be here now, writing this thesis in Oslo, Norway, in overpriced SiO housing in my flat's decently clean kitchen late at night, it all seems like it came down to the night of January 14th, 2022, a hockey game between the Anaheim Ducks and the Minnesota Wild.

It was my last night home. The last night I would spend in the city I was born in, Saint Paul, Minnesota. The January, Midwest cold air breezed past Olaf and I's face, but we didn't care. This was home and I was going to miss it regardless of how cold wind struck my face, and how numb it felt. This was it. Our last night together. Tomorrow, I crossed the ocean for my long-awaited adventure of Oslo, Norway. But for right now, the present moment walking hand and hand with him up Kellogg Boulevard I couldn't help but enjoy it. His hands are large and warm, caring and kind, intertwined as we stroll together. It is so secure being next to someone you have shared the last two years with, through a global pandemic and everything in between. If you can weather the Minnesota cold in January, you can weather a long-distance relationship

with a seven-hour time difference, right? (We couldn't, we broke up months later). We were late to the game, typical, but I didn't say a word. I have no complaints or frustrations. Nothing really mattered, just that I spent time here with him before everything changed tomorrow. Tomorrow seemed so far away, so did Oslo. I have bigger things to worry about.

His cousin gave us tickets to this game. It was the Anaheim Ducks versus the Minnesota Wild. We splurged on nice drinks and made our way to our free seats. But before he could even pay for our offensively overpriced drinks, a Minnesotan asked us, "Where did you get your jerseys from?! It's my homeland!" She was a middle-aged white mom, who noticed our matching Norge Ishockeyforbund jerseys. I told her that they were from Norway, and that I was heading there tomorrow for my masters in fighting in ice hockey. She loved every word of that sentence. She didn't speak a word of Norwegian, but I understood her ancestors once lived in Norge. We did our Minnesota goodbye, where we chatted for too long before Olaf and I left to find our seats. We had great seats, close to the ice where you can see the faces of athletes struggle to gain control of a vulcanized, black, rubber puck. We have only missed a small portion of the first period, so it wasn't too much of a loss. How could I be angry at my partner on this last night? I have bigger things to worry about.

We get seated next to fellow Minnesotans on both sides of us wearing their Minnesota Wild merchandise. I check my phone, my Covid-19 test just came back from the airport, it's negative. No matter what happens, I am leaving my home in under 18 hours. Nothing will stop me from getting my masters. Covid-19, a loving partner, a dead dog, or even Vladimir Putin at this point. I am determined to go where my ancestors came from, but for the moment, right now, I sit next to my partner of two years who understands me entirely, and we sit to enjoy a game of ice hockey. A drunk man tries to pass down our row, which is crowded enough by just us sitting there. As he strolls by, he spills my overpriced drink that Olaf bought, and I begin to swear, "Hey buddy, what the fuck? You spilled my drink you asshole! The fuck, man?!" I am then touched by my partner, with his hand on my shoulder, "It's fine, you didn't spill that much" he says. It's our last night here, together, I realize that the random man didn't spill that much of my drink, not to mention he probably didn't have the intention to spill my drink. I have bigger things to worry about.

We enjoy our drinks, happily buzzed by the intoxication of highly profitable alcohol, as we watch professional athletes fight to gain control of the puck. This is last time I will get to

smell the cold ice and expensive fried food like cheese curds and highly processed hotdogs. I won't be able to see the sea of Minnesota Wild colors of red, green, white, and cream for, shit...I don't know how long. I don't have a return ticket home from Oslo. I try my best to scribble down some notes, I am here for a reason, right? This is my masters. The last year and a half of my life has been dedicated to the strive of further anthropological knowledge, understanding, and comprehension of what I would encounter in my first experience of graduate fieldwork. Your professors and lecturers don't tell you how heartbreaking it is to have people not respond to your texts and emails. They don't tell you that even when you look hockey players in the eye and tell them you would greatly appreciate anything they have to say about their experiences with hockey, and when you are only met with silence and ghostly responses you feel empty, like you haven't tried hard enough. Your professors, doctorates, and professionals with years of academics can't even tell you how to do fieldwork in a pandemic, because, hell, they haven't had to do that themselves...I have bigger things to worry about.

Put down your pencil. Put down your paper. It is here right now. Next to someone you love, but also a masters project that you love, just sit. Just take notes. I obey my consciousness. Just sit in the moment, you won't get another like this for god knows how long. Just take notes in the moment, you won't get another like this for god knows how long. Olaf and I's head move back and forth as we watch the game together. No eye contact is made between the two of us, despite this being our last night, but a closeness is still felt. Personal, intimate, lovely closeness. Then, screaming. Bodies standing. Voices raised. I have bigger things to worry about.

A fight breaks out between Brandon Duhaime of the Minnesota Wild and Sam Carrick of the Anaheim Ducks. A strong forecheck from Duhaime causes tensions to flair between him and Carrick. The gloves are thrown off, we all know what is about to happen. Stand, stand now, stand right now, get a better view. Olaf and I's voice rise in volume and in pitch with the crowd of 20,000 other people. My people. The people of my home, Minnesota. Duhaime and Carrick grasp ahold of each other's jerseys as my partner and rise and yell. Wholly shit, my last night here in the city I was born, I watch two men do the dance, a bloody, grotesque dance that my master's foundation is based on. Karma? Destiny? Fate? Luck? Coincidence? My partner, I, 20,000 people, and the teammates of the two fighters stand and watch now. I have bigger things to worry about.

Here is what the announcers had to say about it (Hockeyfights.com, 2022, Sam Carrick vs Brandon Duhaime, YouTube),

“...They appear to be chirping a bit at Duhaime as he left the zone.” –Announcer 1

“Well Manson, he’s probably learned his lesson if you recall last year, he chased Jordan Greenway after a hit that ended up resulting in Manson getting hurt, being out for a stretch of time. Good clean hit. Strong fore-check from Duhaime, whether Manson likes that or not that’s a good play by Duhaime. Solid, solid body check.” –Announcer 2

“And now Carrick drops the gloves with Duhaime! Duhaime, not afraid to play the body, and now after a clean hit has to defend himself by Carrick.” –Announcer 1

“Well, this is, this, is what confuses hockey fans. That is just a good solid check from by Duhaime. Doing his job, fourth line winger, you’ve got to play the body he does that. Yeah Manson’s a valuable piece of the Ducks blue line. But to have to answer it, and the counter there is that’s exactly what Duhaime does, is he answers the call. He doesn’t have to fight there you can see I’m doing my job but, on his own bench that’s where Duhaime gets a lot of credit, makes the hit, stands up for himself, I’ll do it, little chirping on the draw. That’s why the teammates respect him, love this situation you’ve got a guy out there playing physical but not afraid to stand up for himself. “ - Announcer 2.

“I think the two points you made are both interesting, one he’s willing to stand...” – Announcer 1’s audio is cut off by the end of the video.

The fight is done. Carrick falls on top of Duhaime. The moment went as fast as it came, punches of left and right hands were exchanged in fury and ferocity. The Code was obeyed, and the fight is completed. The screams and yells of Olaf and I join to the chorus of 20,000 fans as we cheer for the violence. The two men are guided by linesmen to their designated penalty boxes. Wholly shit, this is exciting. Our voices and arms raise... not Olaf and I’s voices and arms, but everyone’s. These 20,000 people who I will never see again or ever know the names of, move in a choreographed and vocalized fashion of symphony for our inspired love, and often greatly self-sacrificing love (Anderson, 1991). The thought of me leaving my partner, my family, my friends, my home, my nation, my state, my team, my comfort, my dogs, my job, and my

feeling of 20,000 people who I all seem to know in this exact moment as we move and breathe together. I leave all of this tomorrow; I have bigger things to worry about.

The Minnesota Wild absolutely crush the Anaheim Ducks with a final score of 7-3. Olaf and I walk out of the Xcel Energy Center, arm in arm, and go and get food. What more could I ask for? A giant win by the home team, time spent with my partner, a last lingering feeling of home in my state shared with thousands of others, big budget drinks, and finally ending with good local food? What more could I ask for? Cheers, high fives, hugs, the bitter cold Minnesota wind and overhauled local accent of extended O's and A's quietly drift into the dark night. Home, my home, the city I was born in twenty-five years ago, accurately only three blocks away from the moment I stood right now. My last time here, when will I be back? I don't know. Whatever happens, I'll fight my way out.

I have bigger things to worry about.

This thesis of concentrating on fighting occurring in ice hockey in North America reveals the *Imagined Communities*, The Code, establishments of gender and how fans and those with hockey experience think differently about the punches being thrown at games. From understanding the colors and representation of wearing a jersey, capitalistic gains, self-sacrifice, and those who make the choice to bloody their fists for the betterment of their teams is what the last two years of my life have been dedicated to the understanding of. The greatest hockey player with multiple world records, Wayne Gretzky argues (Brown, 2014), "You miss 100% of the shots you don't take", consider my master's thesis my clenched fist, and the best punch I got.

Works Cited

Adams, M. L. (2012) 'The Game of Whose Lives? Gender, Race, and Entitlement in Canada's "National" Game', Gruneau, R., Whitson, D. (eds), *Hockey, Culture, and Commerce*. Toronto: Toronto Press Incorporated, pp. 71-84.

Admiral, R., Bissonnette, P., Whitney, R. (2020) Episode 295: Featuring Todd Fedoruk, *Spittin' Chiclets: Presented by Pink Whitney by New Amsterdam* [Podcast], Available at: <https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/spittin-chiclets/id1112425552?i=1000491548627> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

American Anthropological Association (2012) *Principle of Professional Responsibility*. Available at: <https://www.americananthro.org/LearnAndTeach/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=22869> (Accessed 21 April 2022).

Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Apostol, M., Goldschmied, N. (2021) 'Do Not Drop Your Gloves: "Winning a Fight in the National Hockey League does not Improve Chances to win the Game', *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 57 pp. 1-8. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2021.102041> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Archetti, E. P. (2020) *Masculinities: Football, Polo, and the Tango in Argentina*. New York: Berg Publishers.

Barret, R., Olson, J., Thirdstreetmusic. (2013) *Minnesota Wild Theme Song*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xb1SHuPXTvs> (Accessed 21 April 2022).

Berg, E., Migliaccio, T. (2007) 'Women's Participation in Tackle Football: An Exploration of Benefits and Constraints', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, California State University - Sacramento*, 43 (3), pp. 271-287.

Bernstein, R. (2006) *The Code: The Unwritten Rules of Fighting and Retaliation in the NHL*. Chicago: Triumph Books.

Besnier, N., Brownell, S., Carter, T. (2018) *The Anthropology of Sport: Bodies, Borders, Biopolitics*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Bloom, G., Caron, J. (2014) 'Ethical Issues Surrounding Concussions and Player Safety in Professional Hockey', *Neuroethics*, 8.5 (13) pp. 5-13. doi: 10.1007/s12152-014-9210-7 .

Available at: [https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Gordon-](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Gordon-Bloom/publication/262413817_Ethical_Issues_Surrounding_Concussions_and_Player_Safety_in_Professional_Ice_Hockey/links/5f859dde92851c14bcc3afd6/Ethical-Issues-Surrounding-Concussions-and-Player-Safety-in-Professional-Ice-Hockey.pdf)

[Bloom/publication/262413817_Ethical_Issues_Surrounding_Concussions_and_Player_Safety_in_Professional_Ice_Hockey/links/5f859dde92851c14bcc3afd6/Ethical-Issues-Surrounding-Concussions-and-Player-Safety-in-Professional-Ice-Hockey.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Gordon-Bloom/publication/262413817_Ethical_Issues_Surrounding_Concussions_and_Player_Safety_in_Professional_Ice_Hockey/links/5f859dde92851c14bcc3afd6/Ethical-Issues-Surrounding-Concussions-and-Player-Safety-in-Professional-Ice-Hockey.pdf) (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Boise, S. (2019) 'Editorial: Is Masculinity Toxic?', *International Journal for Masculine Studies*, 14 (3), pp. 147-151. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/18902138.2019.1654742> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Bonney, N., Giulianotti, R., and Hepworth, M. (1994) *Football, Violence, and Social Identity*. London: Routledge.

Bourgois, P. (1991) 'Confronting the Ethics of Ethnography: Lessons From Fieldwork in Central America', Robben, C. G. M., Sluka, J. (eds), *Ethnographic Fieldwork: An Anthropological Reader*. 2nd Edition, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 318-330.

Branch, J. (2014) *Boy on Ice: The Life and Death of Derek Boogaard*. New York: W.W. Norton Company Inc.

Branch J. (2021) 'John Branch', *The New York Times*, Available at: <https://www.librarydevelopment.group.shef.ac.uk/referencing/harvard.html#:~:text=Harvard%20style%20referencing%20is%20an,or%20bibliography%20at%20the%20end>. (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Brand, P. (2018) 'Why some Calgary Elite Female Hockey Players are Frustrated with Bodychecking Bans', *Calgary Journal*. Available at <https://calgaryjournal.ca/2018/03/31/why-some-calgary-elite-female-hockey-players-are-frustrated-with-bodychecking-bans/> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Brown, P.B. (2014) 'You Miss 100% of the Shots You Don't Take', *Forbes*. Available at: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/actiontrumpseverything/2014/01/12/you-miss-100-of-the-shots-you-dont-take-so-start-shooting-at-your-goal/?sh=da59f8b6a40d> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

CBC Sports. (2014) *Steve Moore Confirms Settlement in Bertuzzi Case*. Available at: <https://www.cbc.ca/sports/hockey/nhl/steve-moore-confirms-settlement-in-bertuzzi-case-1.2756008>. (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Cherankoff, S.L. (2017) *Cold Upset: How the American 1980 Olympic Hockey Victory Restored Patriotism in America*. Senior Thesis. Salve Regina University. Available at: https://digitalcommons.salve.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1115&context=pell_theses (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Clark, M., Gustiewicz, K.. (2016) 'Sport-Related Traumatic Brain Injury', In: Grant, G., Laskowitz, D., *Transitional Research in Traumatic Brain Injury*, Boca Raton: CRC Press/Taylor and Francis Group. Available at https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK326721/#ch2_sec11 (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Condor, B. (2021) 'Hockey Positions: It Might Look like Chaos on the Ice, But the Sport has Defined Roles that Turn the Mayhem into Magic. A Closer look at each Six Positions', *NHL Seattle Kraken*. Available at: <https://www.nhl.com/kraken/news/hockey-positions-explained/c-323011708> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Cornell Law School: Legal Information Institute. (2021) *Volenti Non Fit Injuria*. Available at:https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/volenti_non_fit_injuria (Accessed 13 April 2022).

Costello, M., The White House Historical Association. (2021) *The “Miracle on Ice” Winter Olympic Champions at the White House*. Available at:<https://www.whitehousehistory.org/the-miracle-on-ice-winter-olympic-champions-at-the-white-house> (Accessed 13 April 2022).

Crawford, G., Gosling, V. (2004) ‘The Myth of the ‘Puck Bunny’: Female Fans and Men’s Ice Hockey’, *Sociology*, 38 (3), pp. 477-493. doi: 10.1177/0038038504043214 (Accessed May 10 2022).

Crolley, L. Duke, V. (1996) *Football, Nationality, and the State*. Essex, Addison Wesley Longman Publishing Company.

Da Beauty League. (2022) *About Us*. Available at: <https://dabeautyleague.com/> (Accessed 21 April 2022).

Deadpool (2016) Directed by T. Miller. Available at: https://www.amazon.com/Deadpool-Ryan-Reynolds/dp/B01BHDDR6M/ref=sr_1_1?crd=1HKES93XCRDJ5&keywords=deadpool&qid=1652561969&s=instant-video&srefix=deadpool%2Cinstant-video%2C159&sr=1-1 (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Elliot, A.J., Maier, M.A. (2014) 'Color Psychology: Effects of Perceiving Color on Psychological Functioning in Humans', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 65 pp. 95-120. doi: 10.1146/annurev-psych-010213-115035

ESPN (2005) *Lockout over Salary Cap Shuts Down NHL*. Available at: <https://www.espn.com/nhl/news/story?id=1992793> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Feld, S. (1987) 'Dialogic Editing: Interpreting How Kaluli Read Sound and Sentiment', Robben, C. G. M., Sluka, J. (eds), *Ethnographic Fieldwork: An Anthropological Reader*. Second Edition. West Sussex: John and Wiley & Sons, pp. 480-495.

Foucault, M. (1978) *The History of Sexuality: Volume 1 An Introduction*. New York: Random House Inc.

Gee, C., Potwarka, L. (2007) 'The Impact of Introducing Legal Punishment of the Frequency of Aggressive Behavior in Professional Ice Hockey: Using the Todd Bertuzzi Incident as an Ecological Case Study', *Athletic Insight: The Online Journal of Sport Psychology*, 9 (3), pp. 15-30. Available at: <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.600.5587&rep=rep1&type=pdf> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Geertz, C. (1998) 'Deep Hanging Out', *The New York Review of Books*, 45 (16) pp. 69.

Gretzky, W., McLellan Day, K. (2016) *99: Stories of the Game*. Canada: Penguin Random House Canada Limited.

Gupta, A. (1995) 'Blurred Boundaries: The Discourse of Corruption, the Culture of Politics, and the Imagined State', *American Ethnologist*, 22 (2) pp. 375-402. Available at: https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.uio.no/stable/pdf/646708.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A81fbe2cdbfb021bd39578800d204169e&ab_segments=&origin= (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Harrington, C. (2021) 'What is "Toxic Masculinity" and Why does it Matter?', *Men and Masculinities*, 24 (2), pp. 345-352. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X20943254> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Heere, B., Katz, M., Reifurth, K. (2018) *The Loud Crowd: Using Vocal Responses to Understand the Emotional Experiences of Spectators*, 10 (2), pp. 36-48. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.18666/JASM-2018-V10-I2-8679> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

HockeyFights.com (2022) *Sam Carrick vs Brandon Duhaime Jan 14, 2022*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-qFOooBq7sM> (Accessed 21 April 2022).

HockeyFights.com. (2021) *Wayne Simmonds vs. Marcus Foligno December 4, 2021*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WPelrTwLGCY> (Accessed 21 April 2022).

Ice Guardians. (2016) Directed by Harvey, B. Available at:

https://www.amazon.com/gp/video/detail/B08NLX76N1/ref=atv_hm_hom_3_c_ondcaM_2_1

(Accessed 10 May 2022).

International Ice Hockey Federation. (2021) *International Ice Hockey Federation Official Rule Book 2021/22*. Latvia: International Ice Hockey Federation.

Kupers, T. A. (2005) 'Toxic Masculinity as a Barrier to Mental Health Treatment in Prison',

Journal of Clinical Psychology 61 (6), pp. 713-724. doi: 10.1002/jclp.20105. Available at:

<https://www.ojp.gov/sites/g/files/xyckuh241/files/media/document/written-kupers.pdf> (Accessed

10 May 2022).

Malinowski, B. (1922) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press.

Marcus, G.E. (1995) *Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited*

Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 24, pp. 95-117. Available at: [https://www-](https://www-jstor-)

[jstor-](https://www-jstor-)

[org.ezproxy.uio.no/stable/pdf/2155931.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A8ca00dcfb856cf6cdd7e62659](https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.uio.no/stable/pdf/2155931.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A8ca00dcfb856cf6cdd7e62659)

[e161518&ab_segments=&origin=](https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.uio.no/stable/pdf/2155931.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A8ca00dcfb856cf6cdd7e62659) (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Mardiyana, M., Reza, B., Suriadi, J. (2022) 'The Concept of Color Psychology and Logos to

Strengthen Brand Personality of Local Products', *Linguistics and Culture Review*, 6 (S1), pp.

839-856. doi: <https://doi.org/10.21744/lingcure.v6nS1.2168> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Martel, J.P. (2019, 2021) *Origins of Hockey*. The Canadian Encyclopedia. Available at: [https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/origins-of-ice-hockey_\(Accessed 21 April 2022\)](https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/origins-of-ice-hockey_(Accessed%2021%20April%202022))).

McCarty, D., Allen, K. (2014) *My Last Fight: The True Story of a Hockey Rock Star*. Chicago: Triumph Books.

McKay, J. (2017) *Masculinity and the National Hockey League: Hockey's Gender Constructions*. MA Dissertation. Columbia: University of Missouri-Columbia.

Miracle (2004) Directed by G. O'Connor. Available at Disney+ (Accessed 21 April 2022).

National Hockey League. (2021) *National Hockey League Official Rules 2021-2022*. Toronto: NHL Enterprises L.P.

National Hockey League: This is the State of Hockey Minnesota Wild. (2022) *Team Wallpapers*. [Wallpaper designed for Desktop]. Available at: <https://www.nhl.com/wild/fans/wallpapers> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

New Jersey Devils. (2021) Retweet to ICE T [Twitter] 5 February. Available at: <https://twitter.com/njdevils/status/1357783421431537664?lang=en> (Accessed 21 April 2022).

Ortner, S. B. (2016) 'Dark Anthropology and it's Others: Theory since the Eighties', *Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 6 (1) pp. 47-73. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14318/hau6.1.004> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Parry, K. Richards, J. (2019) '*Beers and Blurred Boundaries: The Spatial and Gendered Organization of Pre-Match Venues for English Football Fans*' *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 55 (6), pp. 647-663. Available at: <https://doi-org.ezproxy.uio.no/10.1177/1012690219835487> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Paul, R.J. (2003) 'Variations in NHL Attendance: The Impact of Violence, Scoring, and Regional Rivalries', *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 62(2), pp. 345-364.

Phramany, C. Sport-Net (2021) *Why was the 2004 NHL Season Cancelled?* Available at: <https://sport-net.org/why-was-the-2004-nhl-season-cancelled/> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Poniatowski, K. (2014) "'The Nail Polish Underneath the Hockey Gloves": NBC's Framing of Women Hockey Players in the 2010 Winter Olympics', *Journal of Sports Media, University of Nebraska Press*, 9 (1), pp. 23-44. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1353/jsm.2014.0000> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Premier Hockey Leagues (2022) *PHL Rules*. Available at: <https://www.premierhockeyleagues.com/rules> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Probert, B., McLellan Day, K. (2010) *Tough Guy: My Life on the Edge*. Toronto: Harper Collins Publishers Ltd.

Robben, A.C.G.M., Sluka, J. (2012) *Ethnographic Fieldwork: An Anthropological Reader*. Second Edition. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.

Roberts, S., Weaving, C. (2012) 'Checking In: An Analysis of the (Lack of) Body Checking in Women's Ice Hockey', *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport: American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance*, 83 (3), pp. 470-478.

Sarantakes, N. E. (2012) Introduction: Miracle on Ice. *Dropping the Torch: Jimmy Carter, The Olympic Boycott, and the Cold War*. pp. 1-14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Semenko, D. Tucker, L. (1989) *Looking Out for Number One*. Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Limited.

Silverwood, V. (2015) '*Five for Fighting*': *The Culture and Practice of Legitimized Violence in Professional Ice Hockey*. PhD Thesis. Cardiff University School of Social Sciences. Available at: <https://orca.cardiff.ac.uk/86257/2/Victoria%20Silverwood%20Final%20Thesis.pdf> (Accessed 21 April 2022).

Smith, T. (2016) *Hockey Strong: Stories of Sacrifice from Inside the NHL*. New York: Gallery Books.

Soares, J. (2021) 'A Tale of Two Medals: The USA, Olympic Ice Hockey and Popular American Views of Détente (1972) and Renewed Cold War (1980)', *The International Journal of Sport*. 38 pp.13-140. doi: 10.1080/09523367.2021.1937996.

Spaaij, R. (2006) *Understanding Football Hooliganism: A Comparison of Six Western European Football Clubs*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Spradley, J. (1979) *The Ethnographic Interview*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.

Stevens, J. (2012) 'Women's Hockey in Canada: After the Gold Rush', Gruneau, R., Whitson, D. (eds), *Hockey, Culture, and Commerce*. Toronto: Toronto Press Incorporated, pp. 85-99.

Strathern, M. (2016) *Before and After Gender: Sexual Mythologies of Everyday Life*. Chicago: Hau Books.

Swift, E.M. Sports Illustrated (2014) *A Reminder of What We Can Be: The 1980 Olympics Hockey Team*. Available at: <https://www.si.com/olympics/2014/10/28/reminder-what-we-can-be-1980-us-olympic-hockey-team-si-60> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Theberge, N. (1997) "'It's part of the Game": Physicality and the Production of Gender in Women's Hockey', *Gender and Society*, 11 (1), pp. 69-87.

The New York Times. (2014) *Punched Out: The Rise and Fall of Derek Boogaard [Full Version]* *The New York Times*. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=txI16GT-P_M (Accessed 13 April 2022).

Tjønndal, A. (2016) NHL Heavyweights: Narratives of Violence and Masculinity in Ice Hockey, *Physical Culture and Sport Studies and Research*. 70(1), 55-68. doi: 10.1515/pcssr-2016-0013

Williams, D. “Tiger”, Lawton, J. (1984) *Tiger: A Hockey Story*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd.

World Anti-Doping Agency (2019) *Dynamic Version of 2019 ADVRs Report*. Available at: <https://www.wada-ama.org/en/resources/anti-doping-stats/anti-doping-rule-violations-adrvs-report> (Accessed 10 May 2022).

Violent Gentlemen. (2022) *About Us*. Available at: <https://violentgentlemen.com/pages/about-us> (Accessed 21 April 2022).

Yanagisako, S. J., Collier, J. F. (1987) *Essays for a Unified Analysis*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Glossary of Terms

Beer League	A recreational league, not professional.
Centers	These players are at the center, mostly at face-offs where the puck is dropped. They move the puck forward down the ice to the opposing team's goal.
Check	A check, or "checking" is when a player hits another player with their body to separate them from control of the puck.
Chirps	Trashing talking, offensive language, insults that can escalate into fighting.
Defense (left and right)	These players are the two who back up the forward line of center, left and right-wing players. They assist the goalie by keeping the puck away from the net.
Drop the Gloves	When a player drops his gloves, this signals that he is ready to fight and consenting to the fight.
Enforcer	The unofficial role of a fighter, a player known for his fighting skills and not his skating or shooting abilities.
Goalie	The goaltender. This player has a larger stick and more padding for protection from the puck. It is the goalie's job to stop pucks from entering the net for points.
Goon	A skater who plays and fights unethically and selfishly. Goon's lack hockey values such as honor, respect, and sportsmanship. A goon is known for disobeying The Code.
Haymaker	A punch with a wide-ranging motion to the left or right, not direct, and straight. Haymakers are a non-technical punch that involves hooking the fist inwards to the opponent. It is called a haymaker because they movement looks as if someone if using a scythe to cut hay manually.
Knock Out	Also known as KO, is when someone is punched and becomes unconscious.
Linesmen	Linesmen can report violations on the blue line for offside and icing rules in the NHL. They often communicate with the referees. 2 linesmen are present in NHL games.
Nosebleed(s)	This refers to seats being so cheap and so high up, and away from the ice that one would

	jokingly experience altitude sickness and get a nosebleed.
Puck Bunny	A woman who only wants to date or have sexual relations with a hockey player for status.
Referee	Referee's job is to impose penalties and have the game follow official rules. Referee's have the final say in disputes. They are often in communication with the linesmen. 2 linesmen are present in NHL games.
Roundhouse	Similar to the haymaker, it is a punch that swings wide and the thrower uses their body weight for power.
Scorer	The unofficial position of a player who is skilled at getting goals, they are known for their smaller size, shooting, and skating.
Sucker Punch	An unexpected punch with no warning or prior consent.
Tough Guy	Another term for an enforcer, a player known for their fighting abilities.
Wing (left and right)	Also known as wingers, these players assist the center, they can work offensively and defensively. Wings often are the players battling to get control of the puck.
Zamboni	A vehicle used to re-surface the ice after it has been skated over, Zamboni refers a specific brand of ice resurfacers.

Appendix

Consent Forms: Fans

Are you interested in taking part in the research project *“Fighting in Ice Hockey”*?

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main purpose is to. The purpose of this research is to better understand the aspects of fighting within professional ice hockey. In this letter we will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve. I will gather data such as: opinions, photos, comments, video, sound recordings, technique, experiences, and stories concerning to fighting in ice hockey.

Purpose of the project

The sport of ice hockey has a long relationship with unsportsman like fighting in the National Hockey League. Fighting is viewed as part of the sport and cultural of hockey. Small penalties are given to players for fighting in hockey, while other sports have large fines and suspensions. Studying the coexistence of fighting and hockey can help us learn how these two aspects of the game come together and make hockey what it is today.

Research questions that need answers: Why does fighting occur in hockey? Why is fighting allowed in hockey? Are there unspoken rules of fighting in ice hockey? When is it acceptable to fight, and when is it not? What is hockey culture?

The research gained from this project is for a Master of Art thesis, with the goal of obtaining a master’s degree from the University of Oslo.

Data collected will be used in teaching, other research projects, and public speaking possibly with the National Hockey League (NHL).

Who is responsible for the research project?

University of Oslo is the institution responsible for the project.

Why are you being asked to participate?

Fans have information, experiences and opinions that are vital to the understanding of fighting in professional ice hockey. These interlocutors will be asked for their insights for this topic.

Connections made to your contact are either from family, friends, or other acquaintances who shared your contact information with me. Online users who post in open forums may be asked to join this research too. All information is for research associated with the Master’s thesis. No contact information will be shared.

What does participation involve for you?

Participation requires your thoughts, experiences and opinions. Please be honest and authentic with sharing your views. The interview consists of a set of questions, and your comments may be added at the end of the questions. Photos, videos, sound recordings, stories, and direct comments you share can be recorded with your consent. Only data stated in this information letter will be requested from the subject, any requests for data that you do not consent to will not be asked.

Observations are part of the study, I may watch you viewing a game, in a public or private space. For instance, a public bar/pub or a private home residence that I am invited into. Answers and opinions will be recorded by pen/paper and electronically. If filmed, a personal iPhone X or GoPro Hero 9 will be used for recording.

Different people may be asked different questions. Players might be asked different questions than fans or referees, for example:

What does participation involve for me?

I will ask questions and make comments. I might ask you to show me something or explain something in greater detail to me. With permission I will use your quotes and ask more about them. I will ask you questions and ask for further explanations. I might ask to record your statements and demonstrations for review and further study. I will be responsible for data collection, storage, and interpretation. I will be presenting on data gathered and write a thesis on said subject.

Participation is voluntary

Participation in the project is voluntary. If you chose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about you will then be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences for you if you chose not to participate or later decide to withdraw. Please use contact information in this letter to contact me if you choose to withdraw. 3rd person/party have the right to protest the processing.

The sport of ice hockey has a unique history of fighting and aggression with small penalties and faults. The goal of this research is to study the coexistence of fighting and hockey can help us learn how these two aspects of the game come together and make the sport what it is today. Ice hockey is a sport that inspires, motivates, excites, and connects millions of people globally. This research is dedicated to better understanding this speciality of the sport is for the overall education, data collection, and understanding of ice hockey. Participation in this project is greatly appreciated.

Your personal privacy – how we will store and use your personal data

We will only use your personal data for the purpose(s) specified in this information letter. We will process your personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act).

- People in connection with The University of Oslo who will have access to this project's information will be Dr. Camelia Dewan (Advisor of the student), and Dialyn Thelen (student).
- Security measures that will be taken to ensure persons safety will be strong passwords on computers, use of the university's email systems, University of Oslo's Google Suite, and digital encryption.
- Data will be stored on university's email systems, University of Oslo's Google Suite, and Dialyn Thelen's personal computer. The data will be kept for cross checking until January 1st, 2023.
- If filmed by myself, video and sound recordings will be stored in Dialyn Thelen's personal computer. Recording of video will be prevalent in understanding fighting technique and education. The data will be kept for cross checking until January 1st, 2023.

If applicable, the National Hockey League may also have access to the finished project.

There is a risk that you can be identified. If you consent to name, date of birth, video/sound recordings, photographs, or ethnicity, these items of information enhance the risk of identification.

Informants of this data will have access to the information letter and be able to give or deny consent to this research project. This includes storing your direct quotes, comments, sound recordings, visual recordings, and opinions. If you consent, I might publish the quotes in my publication. I will have your written consent before any data is used or stored.

3rd person or parties who are not given this information letter to consent will not be participating in this research. For example, fans in the stands of an NHL game.

Data gathering for this research project is focused on the relationship of fighting and ice hockey, and how both of these aspects are intertwined in an unofficial code of conduct and honor.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?

The project is scheduled to end on April 30th, 2022. Data will be kept secure until 2023, after it will be deleted on January 1st, 2023.

Your rights

So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data

- protest the processing

What gives us the right to process your personal data?

We will process your personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with the University of Oslo, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- University of Oslo via Dr. Camelia Dewan.
- Our Data Protection Officer: Hilde Spjelkavik Kveseth
- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by email: (personverntjenester@nsd.no) or by telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

Yours sincerely,

Project Leader

Dr. Camelia Dewan

Student

Dialyn Thelen

Consent form

Consent can be given in writing (including electronically) or orally. NB! You must be able to document/demonstrate that you have given information and gained consent from project participants i.e. from the people whose personal data you will be processing (data subjects). As a rule, we recommend written information and written consent.

- *For written consent on paper you can use this template*
- *For written consent which is collected electronically, you must chose a procedure that will allow you to demonstrate that you have gained explicit consent (read more on our website)*
- *If the context dictates that you should give oral information and gain oral consent (e.g. for research in oral cultures or with people who are illiterate) we recommend that you make a sound recording of the information and consent.*

If a parent/guardian will give consent on behalf of their child or someone without the capacity to consent, you must adjust this information accordingly. Remember that the name of the participant must be included.

Adjust the checkboxes in accordance with participation in your project. It is possible to use bullet points instead of checkboxes. However, if you intend to process special categories of personal data (sensitive personal data) and/or one of the last four points in the list below is applicable to your project, we recommend that you use checkboxes. This because of the requirement of explicit consent.

I have received and understood information about the project *Fighting in Ice Hockey* and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

- to participate in an interview
- to participate in participant observation
- to participate in social media – open forum
- to participate in social media – closed forum
- for my personal data to be processed in Canada, United States, and Norway
- for information about me/myself to be published in a way that I can be identified
- for my personal data to be stored after the end of the project until 2023
- for my health data, concerning one's physical, mental, healthcare services, and social conditions
- for an understanding that 3rd persons/parties are independent from this research

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. 2023.

(Signed by participant, date)

Consent Forms: Officials

Are you interested in taking part in the research project *“Fighting in Ice Hockey”*?

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main purpose is to. The purpose of this research is to better understand the aspects of fighting within professional ice hockey. In this letter we will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve. I will gather data such as: opinions, photos, comments, video, sound recordings, technique, experiences, and stories concerning to fighting in ice hockey.

Purpose of the project

The sport of ice hockey has a long relationship with unsportsman like fighting in the National Hockey League. Fighting is viewed as part of the sport and cultural of hockey. Small penalties are given to players for fighting in hockey, while other sports have large fines and suspensions. Studying the coexistence of fighting and hockey can help us learn how these two aspects of the game come together and make hockey what it is today.

Research questions that need answers: Why does fighting occur in hockey? Why is fighting allowed in hockey? Are there unspoken rules of fighting in ice hockey? When is it acceptable to fight, and when is it not? What is hockey culture?

The research gained from this project is for a Master of Art thesis, with the goal of obtaining a master’s degree from the University of Oslo.

Data collected will be used in teaching, other research projects, and public speaking possibly with the National Hockey League (NHL).

Who is responsible for the research project?

University of Oslo is the institution responsible for the project.

Why are you being asked to participate?

Hockey Officials have information, experiences and opinions that are vital to the understanding of fighting in professional ice hockey. These interlocutors will be asked for their insights for this topic.

Connections made to your contact are either from family, friends, or other acquaintances who shared your contact information with me. Online users who post in open forums may be asked to join this research too. All information is for research associated with the Master’s thesis. No contact information will be shared.

What does participation involve for you?

Participation requires your thoughts, experiences and opinions. Please be honest and authentic with sharing your views. The interview consists of a set of questions, and your comments may be added at the end of the questions. Photos, videos, sound recordings, stories, and direct comments you share can be recorded with your consent. Learning how one uses technique, skill, advice, and reasoning to officiate fighting in hockey is valuable data for this research project. Only data stated in this information letter will be requested from the subject, any requests for data that you do not consent to will not be asked.

Observations are part of the study, I may watch you skate, practice, work, and officiate. Answers and opinions will be recorded by pen/paper and electronically. If filmed, a personal iPhone X or GoPro Hero 9 will be used for recording.

What does participation involve for me?

I will ask questions, make comments, ask about technique. I might ask you to show me something or explain something in greater detail to me. With permission I will use your quotes and ask more about them. I will ask you questions and ask for further explanations. I might ask to record your statements and demonstrations for review and further study. I will be responsible for data collection, storage, and interpretation. I will be presenting on data gathered and write a thesis on said subject.

Participation is voluntary

Participation in the project is voluntary. If you chose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about you will then be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences for you if you chose not to participate or later decide to withdraw. Please use contact information in this letter to contact me if you choose to withdraw. 3rd person/party have the right to protest the processing.

The sport of ice hockey has a unique history of fighting and aggression with small penalties and faults. The goal of this research is to study the coexistence of fighting and hockey can help us learn how these two aspects of the game come together and make the sport what it is today. Ice hockey is a sport that inspires, motivates, excites, and connects millions of people globally. This research is dedicated to better understanding this speciality of the sport is for the overall education, data collection, and understanding of ice hockey. Participation in this project is greatly appreciated.

Your personal privacy – how we will store and use your personal data

We will only use your personal data for the purpose(s) specified in this information letter. We will process your personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act).

- People in connection with The University of Oslo who will have access to this project's information will be Dr. Camelia Dewan (Advisor of the student), and Dialyn Thelen (student).
- Security measures that will be taken to ensure persons safety will be strong passwords on computers, use of the university's email systems, University of Oslo's Google Suite, and digital encryption.
- Data will be stored on university's email systems, University of Oslo's Google Suite, and Dialyn Thelen's personal computer. The data will be kept for cross checking until January 1st, 2023.
- If filmed by myself, video and sound recordings will be stored in Dialyn Thelen's personal computer. Recording of video will be prevalent in understanding fighting technique and education. The data will be kept for cross checking until January 1st, 2023.

If applicable, the National Hockey League may also have access to the finished project.

There is a risk that you can be identified. If you consent to name, date of birth, video/sound recordings, photographs, or ethnicity, these items of information enhance the risk of identification.

Data sources from social media such as Facebook, Instagram, Reddit, Twitter, and YouTube will consist of quotes, links, photos, videos, screenshots, posts, and comments referencing data to fighting in ice hockey. Below are listed specific of each social media website:

Facebook: Open/closed forums, photos, links, direct quotes, screenshots, and posts. I will follow you on this platform. Quotes may be used in publication of research.

Instagram: Photos, videos, links, direct quotes, screenshots, and posts. I will follow you on this platform. Quotes may be used in publication of research.

Reddit: Photos, videos, links, direct quotes, screenshots, and posts. I will follow you on this platform. Quotes may be used in publication of research.

Twitter: Photos, videos, links, direct quotes, screenshots, and posts. I will follow you on this platform. Quotes may be used in publication of research.

YouTube: Videos, links, direct quotes, screenshots, and posts. I will follow you on this platform. Quotes may be used in publication of research.

I will view your public profiles on these websites. This includes game highlights, games, and other public comments or interviews. Informants of this data will have access to the information letter and be able to give or deny consent to this research project. If you consent, I will follow/add you on said social media platform and gather data about you. This includes storing your direct quotes, comments, and opinions. If you consent, I might publish the quotes in my publication. I will have your written consent before any data is used or stored.

Data gathering for this research project is focused on the relationship of fighting and ice hockey, and how both of these aspects are intertwined in an unofficial code of conduct and honor.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?

The project is scheduled to end on April 30th, 2022. Data will be kept secure until 2023, after it will be deleted on January 1st, 2023.

Your rights

So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data
- protest the processing

What gives us the right to process your personal data?

We will process your personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with the University of Oslo, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- University of Oslo via Dr. Camelia Dewan.
- Our Data Protection Officer: Hilde Spjelkavik Kveseth
- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by email: (personverntjenester@nsd.no) or by telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

Yours sincerely,

Project Leader

Dr. Camelia Dewan

Student

Dialyn Thelen

Consent form

Consent can be given in writing (including electronically) or orally. NB! You must be able to document/demonstrate that you have given information and gained consent from project participants i.e. from the people whose personal data you will be processing (data subjects). As a rule, we recommend written information and written consent.

- *For written consent on paper you can use this template*
- *For written consent which is collected electronically, you must chose a procedure that will allow you to demonstrate that you have gained explicit consent (read more on our website)*

- *If the context dictates that you should give oral information and gain oral consent (e.g. for research in oral cultures or with people who are illiterate) we recommend that you make a sound recording of the information and consent.*

If a parent/guardian will give consent on behalf of their child or someone without the capacity to consent, you must adjust this information accordingly. Remember that the name of the participant must be included.

Adjust the checkboxes in accordance with participation in your project. It is possible to use bullet points instead of checkboxes. However, if you intend to process special categories of personal data (sensitive personal data) and/or one of the last four points in the list below is applicable to your project, we recommend that you use checkboxes. This because of the requirement of explicit consent.

I have received and understood information about the project *Fighting in Ice Hockey* and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

- to participate in an interview
- to participate in participant observation
- to participate in social media – open forum
- to participate in social media – closed forum
- for my personal data to be processed in Canada, United States, and Norway
- for information about me/myself to be published in a way that I can be identified
- for my personal data to be stored after the end of the project until 2023
- for my health data, concerning one’s physical, mental, healthcare services, and social conditions
- for an understanding that 3rd persons/parties are independent from this research

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. 2023.

(Signed by participant, date)

Consent Forms: Online Users

Are you interested in taking part in the research project *“Fighting in Ice Hockey”*?

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main purpose is to. The purpose of this research is to better understand the aspects of fighting within professional ice hockey. In this letter we will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve. I will gather data such as: opinions, photos, comments, video, sound recordings, technique, experiences, and stories concerning to fighting in ice hockey.

Purpose of the project

The sport of ice hockey has a long relationship with unsportsman like fighting in the National Hockey League. Fighting is viewed as part of the sport and cultural of hockey. Small penalties are given to players for fighting in hockey, while other sports have large fines and suspensions. Studying the coexistence of fighting and hockey can help us learn how these two aspects of the game come together and make hockey what it is today.

Research questions that need answers: Why does fighting occur in hockey? Why is fighting allowed in hockey? Are there unspoken rules of fighting in ice hockey? When is it acceptable to fight, and when is it not? What is hockey culture?

The research gained from this project is for a Master of Art thesis, with the goal of obtaining a master’s degree from the University of Oslo.

Data collected will be used in teaching, other research projects, and public speaking possibly with the National Hockey League (NHL).

Who is responsible for the research project?

University of Oslo is the institution responsible for the project.

Why are you being asked to participate?

Online Users have information, experiences and opinions that are vital to the understanding of fighting in professional ice hockey. These interlocutors will be asked for their insights for this topic.

Online users who post in open forums may be asked to join this research too. All information is for research associated with the Master’s thesis. No contact information will be shared.

What does participation involve for you?

Participation requires your thoughts, experiences and opinions. Please be honest and authentic with sharing your views. The interview consists of a set of questions, and your comments may be added at the end of the questions. Photos, videos, screenshots, sound recordings, stories, and direct comments you share can be recorded with your consent. Learning how one uses technique, skill, advice, and reasoning to fight in hockey is valuable data for this research project. Only data stated in this information letter will be requested from the subject, any requests for data that you do not consent to will not be asked.

Answers and opinions will be recorded by pen/paper and electronically. If filmed, a personal iPhone X or GoPro Hero 9 will be used for recording.

What does participation involve for me?

I will ask questions, make comments, ask about technique. I might ask you to show me something or explain something in greater detail to me. With permission I will use your quotes and ask more about them. I will ask you questions and ask for further explanations. I might ask to record your statements and demonstrations for review and further study. I will be responsible for data collection, storage, and interpretation. I will be presenting on data gathered and write a thesis on said subject.

Participation is voluntary

Participation in the project is voluntary. If you chose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about you will then be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences for you if you chose not to participate or later decide to withdraw. Please use contact information in this letter to contact me if you choose to withdraw. 3rd person/party have the right to protest the processing.

The sport of ice hockey has a unique history of fighting and aggression with small penalties and faults. The goal of this research is to study the coexistence of fighting and hockey can help us learn how these two aspects of the game come together and make the sport what it is today. Ice hockey is a sport that inspires, motivates, excites, and connects millions of people globally. This research is dedicated to better understanding this speciality of the sport is for the overall education, data collection, and understanding of ice hockey. Participation in this project is greatly appreciated.

Your personal privacy – how we will store and use your personal data

We will only use your personal data for the purpose(s) specified in this information letter. We will process your personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act).

- People in connection with The University of Oslo who will have access to this project's information will be Dr. Camelia Dewan (Advisor of the student), and Dialyn Thelen (student).

- Security measures that will be taken to ensure persons safety will be strong passwords on computers, use of the university's email systems, University of Oslo's Google Suite, and digital encryption.
- Data will be stored on university's email systems, University of Oslo's Google Suite, and Dialyn Thelen's personal computer. The data will be kept for cross checking until January 1st, 2023.
- If filmed by myself, video and sound recordings will be stored in Dialyn Thelen's personal computer. Recording of video will be prevalent in understanding fighting technique and education. The data will be kept for cross checking until January 1st, 2023.

If applicable, the National Hockey League may also have access to the finished project.

There is a risk that you can be identified. If you consent to name, date of birth, video/sound recordings, photographs, or ethnicity, these items of information enhance the risk of identification.

Data sources from social media such as Facebook, Instagram, Reddit, Twitter, and YouTube will consist of quotes, links, photos, videos, screenshots, posts, and comments referencing data to fighting in ice hockey. Below are listed specific of each social media website:

Facebook: Open/closed forums, photos, links, direct quotes, screenshots, and posts. I will follow you on this platform. Quotes may be used in publication of research.

Instagram: Photos, videos, links, direct quotes, screenshots, and posts. I will follow you on this platform. Quotes may be used in publication of research.

Reddit: Photos, videos, links, direct quotes, screenshots, and posts. I will follow you on this platform. Quotes may be used in publication of research.

Twitter: Photos, videos, links, direct quotes, screenshots, and posts. I will follow you on this platform. Quotes may be used in publication of research.

YouTube: Videos, links, direct quotes, screenshots, and posts. I will follow you on this platform. Quotes may be used in publication of research.

I will view your public profiles on these websites. Informants of this data will have access to the information letter and be able to give or deny consent to this research project. The purpose to gather information across digital platforms is to have access to a broader population of hockey enthusiasts. If you consent, I will follow/add you on said social media platform and gather data about your participation in online forums discussing violence in hockey. This includes storing your direct quotes, comments, and opinions. If you consent, I might publish the quotes in my publication. I will have your written consent before any data is used or stored.

Data gathering for this research project is focused on the relationship of fighting and ice hockey, and how both of these aspects are intertwined in an unofficial code of conduct and honor.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?

The project is scheduled to end on April 30th, 2022. Data will be kept secure until 2023, after it will be deleted on January 1st, 2023.

Your rights

So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data
- protest the processing

What gives us the right to process your personal data?

We will process your personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with the University of Oslo, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- University of Oslo via Dr. Camelia Dewan.
- Our Data Protection Officer: Hilde Spjelkavik Kveseth
- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by email: personverntjenester@nsd.no or by telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

Yours sincerely,

Project Leader

Dr. Camelia Dewan

Student

Dialyn Thelen

Consent form

Consent can be given in writing (including electronically) or orally. NB! You must be able to document/demonstrate that you have given information and gained consent from project participants i.e. from the people whose personal data you will be processing (data subjects). As a rule, we recommend written information and written consent.

- *For written consent on paper you can use this template*
- *For written consent which is collected electronically, you must chose a procedure that will allow you to demonstrate that you have gained explicit consent (read more on our website)*
- *If the context dictates that you should give oral information and gain oral consent (e.g. for research in oral cultures or with people who are illiterate) we recommend that you make a sound recording of the information and consent.*

If a parent/guardian will give consent on behalf of their child or someone without the capacity to consent, you must adjust this information accordingly. Remember that the name of the participant must be included.

Adjust the checkboxes in accordance with participation in your project. It is possible to use bullet points instead of checkboxes. However, if you intend to process special categories of personal data (sensitive personal data) and/or one of the last four points in the list below is applicable to your project, we recommend that you use checkboxes. This because of the requirement of explicit consent.

I have received and understood information about the project *Fighting in Ice Hockey* and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

- to participate in an interview
- to participate in participant observation
- to participate in social media – open forum
- to participate in social media – closed forum
- for my personal data to be processed in Canada, United States, and Norway
- for information about me/myself to be published in a way that I can be identified
- for my personal data to be stored after the end of the project until 2023
- for my health data, concerning one's physical, mental, healthcare services, and social conditions
- for an understanding that 3rd persons/parties are independent from this research

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. 2023.

(Signed by participant, date)

Consent Forms: Players

Are you interested in taking part in the research project *“Fighting in Ice Hockey”*?

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main purpose is to. The purpose of this research is to better understand the aspects of fighting within professional ice hockey. In this letter we will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve. I will gather data such as: opinions, photos, comments, video, sound recordings, technique, experiences, and stories concerning to fighting in ice hockey.

Purpose of the project

The sport of ice hockey has a long relationship with unsportsman like fighting in the National Hockey League. Fighting is viewed as part of the sport and cultural of hockey. Small penalties are given to players for fighting in hockey, while other sports have large fines and suspensions. Studying the coexistence of fighting and hockey can help us learn how these two aspects of the game come together and make hockey what it is today.

Research questions that need answers: Why does fighting occur in hockey? Why is fighting allowed in hockey? Are there unspoken rules of fighting in ice hockey? When is it acceptable to fight, and when is it not? What is hockey culture?

The research gained from this project is for a Master of Art thesis, with the goal of obtaining a master’s degree from the University of Oslo.

Data collected will be used in teaching, other research projects, and public speaking possibly with the National Hockey League (NHL).

Who is responsible for the research project?

University of Oslo is the institution responsible for the project.

Why are you being asked to participate?

Hockey players have information, experiences and opinions that are vital to the understanding of fighting in professional ice hockey. These interlocutors will be asked for their insights for this topic.

Connections made to your contact are either from family, friends, or other acquaintances who shared your contact information with me. Online users who post in open forums may be asked to join this research too. All information is for research associated with the Master’s thesis. No contact information will be shared.

What does participation involve for you?

Participation requires your thoughts, experiences and opinions. Please be honest and authentic with sharing your views. The interview consists of a set of questions, and your comments may be added at the end of the questions. Photos, videos, sound recordings, stories, and direct comments you share can be recorded with your consent. Learning how one uses technique, skill, advice, and reasoning to fight in hockey is valuable data for this research project. Only data stated in this information letter will be requested from the subject, any requests for data that you do not consent to will not be asked.

Observations are part of the study, I may watch you skate, practice, or play. Answers and opinions will be recorded by pen/paper and electronically. If filmed, a personal iPhone X or GoPro Hero 9 will be used for recording.

What does participation involve for me?

I will ask questions, make comments, ask about technique. I might ask you to show me something or explain something in greater detail to me. With permission I will use your quotes and ask more about them. I will ask you questions and ask for further explanations. I might ask to record your statements and demonstrations for review and further study. I will be responsible for data collection, storage, and interpretation. I will be presenting on data gathered and write a thesis on said subject.

Participation is voluntary

Participation in the project is voluntary. If you chose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about you will then be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences for you if you chose not to participate or later decide to withdraw. Please use contact information in this letter to contact me if you choose to withdraw. 3rd person/party have the right to protest the processing.

The sport of ice hockey has a unique history of fighting and aggression with small penalties and faults. The goal of this research is to study the coexistence of fighting and hockey can help us learn how these two aspects of the game come together and make the sport what it is today. Ice hockey is a sport that inspires, motivates, excites, and connects millions of people globally. This research is dedicated to better understanding this speciality of the sport is for the overall education, data collection, and understanding of ice hockey. Participation in this project is greatly appreciated.

Your personal privacy – how we will store and use your personal data

We will only use your personal data for the purpose(s) specified in this information letter. We will process your personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act).

- People in connection with The University of Oslo who will have access to this project's information will be Dr. Camelia Dewan (Advisor of the student), and Dialyn Thelen (student).
- Security measures that will be taken to ensure persons safety will be strong passwords on computers, use of the university's email systems, University of Oslo's Google Suite, and digital encryption.
- Data will be stored on university's email systems, University of Oslo's Google Suite, and Dialyn Thelen's personal computer. The data will be kept for cross checking until January 1st, 2023.
- If filmed by myself, video and sound recordings will be stored in Dialyn Thelen's personal computer. Recording of video will be prevalent in understanding fighting technique and education. The data will be kept for cross checking until January 1st, 2023.

If applicable, the National Hockey League may also have access to the finished project.

There is a risk that you can be identified. If you consent to name, date of birth, video/sound recordings, photographs, or ethnicity, these items of information enhance the risk of identification.

Data sources from social media such as Facebook, Instagram, Reddit, Twitter, and YouTube will consist of quotes, links, photos, videos, screenshots, posts, and comments referencing data to fighting in ice hockey. Below are listed specific of each social media website:

Facebook: Open/closed forums, photos, links, direct quotes, screenshots, and posts. I will follow you on this platform. Quotes may be used in publication of research.

Instagram: Photos, videos, links, direct quotes, screenshots, and posts. I will follow you on this platform. Quotes may be used in publication of research.

Reddit: Photos, videos, links, direct quotes, screenshots, and posts. I will follow you on this platform. Quotes may be used in publication of research.

Twitter: Photos, videos, links, direct quotes, screenshots, and posts. I will follow you on this platform. Quotes may be used in publication of research.

YouTube: Videos, links, direct quotes, screenshots, and posts. I will follow you on this platform. Quotes may be used in publication of research.

I will view your public profiles on these websites. This includes game highlights, games, and other public comments or interviews. Informants of this data will have access to the information letter and be able to give or deny consent to this research project. The purpose to gather information across digital platforms is to have access to a broader population of hockey enthusiasts. If you consent, I will follow/add you on said social media platform and gather data about your participation in online forums discussing violence in hockey. This includes storing your direct quotes, comments, and opinions. If you consent, I might publish the quotes in my publication. I will have your written consent before any data is used or stored.

Data gathering for this research project is focused on the relationship of fighting and ice hockey, and how both of these aspects are intertwined in an unofficial code of conduct and honor.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?

The project is scheduled to end on April 30th, 2022. Data will be kept secure until 2023, after it will be deleted on January 1st, 2023.

Your rights

So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data
- protest the processing

What gives us the right to process your personal data?

We will process your personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with the University of Oslo, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- University of Oslo via Dr. Camelia Dewan.
- Our Data Protection Officer: Hilde Spjelkavik Kveseth
- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by email: (personvertjenester@nsd.no) or by telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

Yours sincerely,

Project Leader

Dr. Camelia Dewan

Student

Dialyn Thelen

Consent form

Consent can be given in writing (including electronically) or orally. NB! You must be able to document/demonstrate that you have given information and gained consent from project participants i.e. from the people whose personal data you will be processing (data subjects). As a rule, we recommend written information and written consent.

- *For written consent on paper you can use this template*
- *For written consent which is collected electronically, you must chose a procedure that will allow you to demonstrate that you have gained explicit consent (read more on our website)*

- *If the context dictates that you should give oral information and gain oral consent (e.g. for research in oral cultures or with people who are illiterate) we recommend that you make a sound recording of the information and consent.*

If a parent/guardian will give consent on behalf of their child or someone without the capacity to consent, you must adjust this information accordingly. Remember that the name of the participant must be included.

Adjust the checkboxes in accordance with participation in your project. It is possible to use bullet points instead of checkboxes. However, if you intend to process special categories of personal data (sensitive personal data) and/or one of the last four points in the list below is applicable to your project, we recommend that you use checkboxes. This because of the requirement of explicit consent.

I have received and understood information about the project *Fighting in Ice Hockey* and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

- to participate in an interview
- to participate in participant observation
- to participate in social media – open forum
- to participate in social media – closed forum
- for my personal data to be processed in Canada, United States, and Norway
- for information about me/myself to be published in a way that I can be identified
- for my personal data to be stored after the end of the project until 2023
- for my health data, concerning one’s physical, mental, healthcare services, and social conditions
- for an understanding that 3rd persons/parties are independent from this research

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. 2023.

(Signed by participant, date)

Questions for Fans

Fighting in Ice Hockey - Dialyn Thelen - Master Thesis – University of Oslo

Questions for: Hockey fans

1. Why does fighting occur in hockey?
2. Why do you watch hockey?
3. What makes fighting and hockey so intertwined?
4. Does hockey need fighting to occur in its games?
5. What makes someone good at fighting?
6. Do players regulate themselves with fighting?
7. When you watch hockey, and a fight occurs, what do you first think of?
8. Should specific players have the role as an “enforcer/goon”?
9. Do you have any further questions or comments for me?

Questions for Officials

Fighting in Ice Hockey - Dialyn Thelen - Master Thesis – University of Oslo

Questions for: Hockey officials

1. Why does fighting occur in hockey?
2. Why is fighting allowed in the National Hockey League (NHL) but banned at the Olympics and collegiate?
3. Who encourages fighting in ice hockey: The players, fans, or officials?
4. How do referees judge when a fight is over?
5. What signs do you look for before a fight begins?
6. How does one break up a fight?
7. Do coaches tell their players to fight, or do players do this themselves?
8. How do announcers narrate a fight?
9. Do you have any further questions or comments for me?

Questions for Online Users

Fighting in Ice Hockey - Dialyn Thelen - Master Thesis – University of Oslo

Questions for: Online Users

1. Why does fighting occur in ice hockey?
2. Why do you watch hockey?
3. What makes fighting and hockey so intertwined?
4. Does hockey need fighting to occur in its games?
5. When you watch hockey, and a fight occurs, what do you first think of?
6. Why do you follow hockey online?
7. Why do you make comments about hockey online?
8. Do you feel like you are connected to other hockey fans online?
9. Do you have any further questions or comments for me?

Questions for Players

Fighting in Ice Hockey - Dialyn Thelen - Master Thesis – University of Oslo

Questions for: Hockey players

1. How long have you been playing hockey?
2. What position do you play in hockey?
3. Why does fighting occur in hockey so frequently?
4. Are there unspoken rules of fighting in ice hockey?
5. What is “The Code” of fighting in hockey?
6. How does one become an enforcer and a “goon”?
7. Have you ever participated in a fight?
8. What experiences do you have from fighting or witnessing a fight?
9. Do you have any further questions or comments for me?

Contact Slips Requests for Interviews

Dialyn Thelen

University of Oslo – Master's student

+1 651-955-6591

dialyn@theleninc.com

I am studying fighting in hockey for my Social Anthropology Master's degree at University of Oslo, Norway. I am trying to talk to as many hockey players, fans, and officials as possible to know more about this subject! If you are interested, please contact me! Thank you!

(If you partake in an interview, I will send you a consent form to complete, all information will be used for academic purposes only. For full transparency, I am NOT flirting with you.)