

Abstract

In this thesis I present my research into the embodiment of sex through running. It is a study based upon the analysis of the front covers and letters pages of a running magazine and ten interviews. I adopt a paradigm of embodiment to explore the way that running, which I have conceptualised as a leisure-sport, can be viewed as contributing to a process that to some extent transformed the embodiment of both masculinity and femininity. I explore the contribution of ideas, bodies, the material world, landscapes and organisations to this process of embodiment. To maximise my exploration of the data I utilise three theoretical approaches, actor-network theory, a Foucauldian approach and realist theory. Through my analysis I identify the changing ideology underpinning the differentiation of men and women within running. I suggest that although this transforms ideology it reproduces hierarchy, valuing men more than women. This is based upon the naturalisation of differences between men and women utilising what Foucault (1982) called scientific objectivising techniques. Although running appears to offer equality to men and women and a technique that can help individuals overcome bodily deficiencies, they are ultimately assigned to categories which are themselves hierarchically evaluated. I suggest that the encouragement of women into the male arena of sports, mass participation, the incorporation of holistic health techniques and the location of running within a consumer culture also contributed to the transformation of what it meant to be “well” and the embodiment of middle-class masculinity simultaneously.

Chapter One

Introduction and Overview.

1.0 Introduction.

In this thesis I present my research on the embodiment of sex through running which was based on a magazine and interview study. The empirical area I focused upon is broadly termed long distance running but is also sometimes called jogging, and my main interest has been in its growth as a leisure activity and the changing forms of embodiment it promoted. It is difficult to get actual participation rates for running because it involves a wide group of people, some of whom have no formal “membership” of running culture. However, it seems reasonable to assume that running was at its height of popularity in the eighties, when there was the highest number of road races, but even after its decline it still had a reasonably successful participation rate. For example, nearly 35,000 entered the London Marathon in 1990 (Smith, S., 1998). The main participants are men, although there is significant proportion of women. Race entrants have been reported as approximately fifteen percent female (Walsh, 1992, Cited in Smith, 1998). Although as in most sports participation does decline with age, the majority of runners in races are often over thirty (Barrell, Holt and Mackean, 1990, cited in Smith , S. 1998).

I have used the term running throughout this thesis except where the term jogging is pertinent to my discussion. I have done this for simplicity and clarity and because the term runner increased in popularity over the period of study (Smith, 1998 and throughout) with those who participate. In this thesis I explore the way in which a particular leisure-sport, running, differentiates between men and women; and examine the broader implications of this division. I do this by analysing running in terms of its involvement in the embodiment of sex in contemporary culture. My theoretical approach to running is discussed in Chapter Two. In

this brief introductory chapter I outline how I came to study running and give a brief overview of my thesis as a whole in order to guide the reader through it.

1.1 Developing an Interest in the Empirical Field.

During my undergraduate studies in sociology and social anthropology, I had developed an academic interest in gender and theories of the body. I was not then, familiar with the literature on masculinity, but I was particularly intrigued by Henrietta Moore's (1988) proposal that feminist anthropology should study both masculinity and femininity. Initially I wished to study masculinity. I developed my interest in theories of the body from undergraduate studies in anthropology and the work of authors like Mary Douglas (1973), Turner (1984,1991,1992) and Scheper-Hughes and Locke (1987). During my preliminary research for this thesis I was particularly interested in authors who combined my interests and focused upon embodiment and sex (e.g. Butler, 1993; Bordo, 1993; Grosz, 1994).

These particular topics appealed to me partially because I am a woman and having a female appearance obviously impacts greatly on life experience. However, I think these literatures also interested me because I was a mature student when I read them and they resonated with particular experiences in my life. For example, for about six months I worked on a road works gang putting cats-eyes in the road. One day I was working with a gang of four on a motorway changing the rubber centres in some cats-eyes. I was working at the back of the group, alternately changing the "rubbers" and waving the oncoming traffic into the outside lane. Behind me I had a large lorry with flashing lights and a white arrow also directing the traffic into the other lane. There were three men working behind me. We all had donkey jackets on and reflective jackets. Nonetheless, one car instead of moving over into the outside lane drew right up to me and stopped to ask me what was wrong. This incident stuck in my mind because it seemed that despite all the cues this man had perceived me as a woman in distress,

rather than a road-worker. Incidents like this made it difficult for me to see myself as doing the job in the same way a man might. When I came to read the literature on gender and the body it seemed that it had the potential to help me address issues like this, which had troubled me when I was working. For example, how the material world is implicated in our perceiving male and female identity.

My working experience had also often found me, in another context, holding three-way conversations with builders when selling ceramic tiles. Builders often would not take “technical” advice about adhesives etc. from a woman. Consequently, if there were a male co-worker present who knew less than me, I would often have to relay the information to them so they could tell the builder. These exchanges had occasionally taken place with the three of us standing in a circle, which seemed very bizarre at the time. It was not just that I did not feel that I would be taken as seriously as my male co-workers, but because I embodied both masculine and feminine capabilities I could not see why I had to be treated as only female. This personal concern with how we come to make assumptions about peoples knowledge on the basis of their sex interested me.

Working in both of these jobs involved learning to move my body in ways I was unused to. I was partially insulted when the man above stopped to help me because I felt I had developed a style that had allowed me to blend in with the rest of the gang. I also felt working in the tile warehouse that I looked capable. The conscious and unconscious effort I made to develop masculine bodily styles and capabilities in my work contributed to my interest in embodiment. In other contexts I had also noticed how important bodily movements were. For example, in my early twenties I was very proud when I learned to walk through the streets of Istanbul without getting stopped by male strangers every few steps. Hence, in my personal life I had

gained some practical experience of the elements that co-produce the embodiment of sex (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of this). This also contributed to my interest in how much the body is subject to change, a key element of embodiment theory. The idea that personal change did not directly result in my being able to use my new capabilities effectively in public also raised issues which are addressed in the feminist literature on sport and leisure (e.g. Hunter and Whiston, 1992; Theberge, 1991; Hargreaves, 1994).

Following these two interests in gender and embodiment, as part of my undergraduate studies I had conducted a small participant observation research project in a Yoga class. I wished to examine the way that bodily knowledge which was based on an Eastern mode of thought translated into Western practice. I wanted to continue pursuing similar issues through my research for my thesis. Having discussed my interests with my supervisor he suggested a media based study of masculinity. I immediately bought all the newspapers for a week. I counted the pictures of men. It was a surprise to me then never having studied the sociology of sport or the masculinities literature, that approximately 80% of the pictures of men were in the sports pages. Sport I thought at that time was rather dull! However, this raised personal issues for me, which formed an important part of my motivation for doing this particular thesis. Why should I find sport repulsive when most of my childhood I had spent Saturday afternoons at local football matches with my father and as a teenager regularly visited Norwich City football ground? I was the only one of the three girls in my family and I sat up every Saturday night watching “Match of the Day” having animated discussions about football tactics and players. This helped me form the close relationship I developed with my father.

I was not alien to the enjoyment of sports and physical exercise through doing gymnastics when I was younger and being keen on exercise of the aerobics variety when older. Hence,

my initial hostility to the topic generated an interest that made me delve into the topics of sport and masculinity. At first I intended to study three sporting magazines (fishing, motorcycling and running) and examine how different forms of masculinity interrelated with these practices. Bourdieu (1988, p.161) had proposed that to perform certain bodily actions was to induce the feelings they express. He also stated that these tied into the class system and suggested that bodily movements and actions learned in sporting practice contributed to class status and cultural capital. These ideas were also abundant in the literature on sports and masculinity and, sports and class (e.g. Rigauer, 1981; Gruneau, 1983; Sugden, 1987; Messner and Sabo, 1990; Messner, 1992). Hence, I was interested in the idea that different sports would contribute to different types of masculinity. My eventual decision to study only one of these was based on two factors.

First, I wished to study these over a period of time stretching back to the late nineteen seventies. I was interested in continuity and changes over this period. Authors like Connell (1983, 1987), Hearn (1987), Messner and Sabo (1990), and Messner (1992) had suggested that masculinity might be changing over this period. When I began to do pilot studies in analysing this data I realised I would have too much data for a thesis. Second, I became interested in the way that masculinity and femininity are divided from one another, rather than in one of these concepts. Even when masculinity or femininity are discussed alone they assume an opposite. Looking at the running magazine I eventually chose to study I realised that maintaining this division was an important element of running. Hence, Messner and Sabo's (1990) claim that gender had become the key power relationship within sport seemed accurate. They suggested that at different times and places other power dynamics were key, for example, class and ethnicity. Sports were of interest to me particularly because studying them was very much about masculine and feminine bodily styles (Messner and Sabo, 1990; Scraton, 1987;

Theberge, 1987). Hence, my interests in embodiment and sex could be effectively studied through a close examination of them.

I chose running out of the three sports I had initially examined because it was a middle-class sport (Featherstone, 1991b; Savage et al, 1992; Smith, S., 1998). Middle-class versions of masculinity and femininity interested me. This was partially because I had been brought up and had mainly been employed in a “working-class” context prior to going to university. Working-class styles of masculinity and femininity seemed to me to be more obvious and “on the surface”. Middle-class versions of inequality between men and women seemed to be more obscure and in contemporary culture, to be hidden beneath a rhetoric of equality. Running was also interesting because it had this quality. In the magazines it encouraged men and women and people of different ages to participate. When I attended races however, there were actually very few women relative to men.

At the time I was thinking about studying sports my then partner had taken up running. I started looking at the magazines he was buying and decided that if I was going to do a media study of sports magazines like these would be an excellent thing to look at. In running magazines concern with the body is central.

My research questions were formulated from both personal and academic interest. I wanted to understand the social processes which both enabled and restricted the forms of embodiment that were promoted through contemporary leisure-sports like running. In order to this I had to learn about the culture itself and the form of embodiment it promoted.

1.2 Overview.

In the next chapter as well as examining why I viewed embodiment as the most appropriate paradigm for analysing running, I justify my studying sex rather than gender. I also explain why I have termed it a leisure-sport. The overall argument of my thesis is presented in the following order.

In Chapter Two I evaluate theories of sport and leisure in terms of the relationship they portray between the individual and the social. I do not begin with functionalist theories (e.g. Parker, 1983) but trace a development from Marxist theories (e.g. Rigauer, 1981 [1969]; Brohm, 1978) to perspectives on identity (e.g. Wheaton and Tomlinson, 1998) and embodiment (e.g. Theberge, 1987; 1991). This can be seen as a movement away from a socially determined individual, towards viewing individuals as having increasing autonomy from the social structure. I also trace sociological and anthropological theories of the body suggesting that they have followed a similar trend. In this chapter I develop my approach to embodiment drawing on theorists of the body and embodiment (e.g. Douglas, 1973; Crossley, 1995; Shilling, 1993) an analytical distinction which I describe, and actor-network theory (e.g. Callon and Latour, 1981; Latour, 1985, 1990, 1991; Callon, 1986, 1991; Starr, 1991; Law, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1998; Singleton and Michael, 1993; Mol and Law, 1994). The perspective I adopt sees embodiment as a heterogeneous process involving bodies, materials, ideas, and organisations which mutually act to construct the social (Latour, 1990). I draw upon Merleau-Ponty (1962) to suggest that processes of embodiment can never be studied in their entirety and are best analysed utilising several different theories. As stated above, I also argue that it is sex rather than gender that I am studying in looking at running because the sex/gender distinction is not appropriate to my data.

In Chapter Three I describe my methodology. I view the magazines I study and the words of my interviewees as part of the process of embodiment in contemporary culture. I provide justification for this in Chapter Two also. My discussion of the magazine is not limited to this chapter because in adopting three theoretical approaches the data is conceptualised differently through each. This is discussed in each empirical chapter. In Chapter Four I begin my analysis utilising an actor-network approach. I focus on the process of sex *differentiation*¹ (Strathern, 1997) within the magazine and interviews. I examine the way in which men and women of all ages were encouraged into running by suggesting that their bodies had similar needs. Within running bodies were *compared* and *divided* utilising knowledge specific to running. This created hierarchical relationships in which men's bodies were valued above women's and younger bodies more than older bodies. This I suggest transformed the ideological basis of sex differentiation in a process akin to what Marx described as *aufhebung* (Cited in Giddens, 1971, p.7). I also trace a growing individualisation of health care.

I adopt a Foucauldian approach in Chapter Five which draws particularly on one of Foucault's (1982) later works. In this I examine the *scientific objectivising techniques* that is, the major knowledges which underpin running and inform runners. The three I identify are sports sciences, biomedicine and transcendentalism or holistic health. I suggest that the onus is on the runner to select between these sometimes contradictory *discourses* further encouraging a process of individualisation. I situate running within broader culture relating it to changes in health care in contemporary Britain. I also discuss the *system of differentiation* that results from runner's interrelationships with landscapes. I draw attention to the way that different categories of runners have different relationships with these landscapes that pre-date and

¹ Throughout this thesis I have used italics where I have used words with a specific meaning. These are defined at the most appropriate point in my argument.

extend beyond running. In this Chapter I also explore the changing heterosexuality that is promoted through running.

In Chapter Six I examine the organisation of the races and the form of competition that developed partially from this organisation. I suggest that the race partially *emerged* from the involvement of sporting organisations, commercial companies, local government and charities. It is also a consequence of all the other elements of running which I described in previous chapters. I examine the elements that make up the race and both facilitate and encourage mass participation. For example, I suggest that it is *necessary* to have a non-traditional selection procedure if mass participation is to become possible. I discuss the consequences of the changing form of the race and competition within it. In adopting a realist approach in this chapter (and a paradigm of embodiment) I am able to relate the embodiment of running to the embodiment of middle-classness. I also examine the links between this and social inclusion. I explore the consequences of this for masculinity and femininity suggesting that it involves transformation in both of these concepts.

In Chapter Seven I summarise my overall argument and draw conclusions about the efficacy of my approach. I suggest that utilising three theoretical perspectives encourages a thorough exploration of the data. I discuss the limitations of sociological approaches to embodiment.

In pursuing my argument I have avoided repetition where possible. Where I have felt it might be useful I have restated elements in more than one place. I have utilised the pictures from the front covers of a magazine in my analysis. I have included some of these in my argument. I apologise for the “stickers” obscuring portions of some of these pictures. The particular magazines were only available for me to photocopy and scan in this condition.

Chapter Two

Sociological Perspectives on the Representation of Running.

2.0 Introduction

Running as it is practised in this country can be viewed as a boundary activity because it is at once: a sport based in masculine sporting culture; a leisure practice; a technique for preventative and rehabilitative medicine; and a technique for improving the aesthetics of the body. It also involves consumption; and unlike many leisure-sports attempted at the outset to incorporate as many men and women as possible. Consequently, there is a vast range of sociological literature which can be considered relevant to it. The sociology of sport and leisure, consumption, the sociology of health and illness, feminist approaches, masculinities and broader social theory can all contribute to an understanding of running. The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate how my approach, namely to view running as a process of embodiment allows me to analyse this process utilising different theoretical perspectives. I focus only on that literature I view as relevant to my three-strand argument. First, that adopting a paradigm of embodiment is a valid way to study the representation of the running body. Second, that it is sex rather than gender I am studying and that this requires a focus on a process of *differentiation* which involves both masculinity and femininity. Finally, that the representations of running that I am studying can be viewed within a paradigm of embodiment and as a part of this process rather than merely as reflections of it.

In pursuing my argument I begin by drawing on literature from the sociology of sport and leisure but in the construction of my perspective I focus mainly on what can broadly be called the sociology and anthropology of the body. I do this in the following order:

2.1 Running as a Boundary Activity. In this section I argue that running is a leisure-sport. That is, a leisure activity, a sport and an activity to promote well-being. I argue that these elements blend in specific ways within running which can therefore be viewed as promoting forms of embodiment which are specific to a consumer culture. I also suggest it is a boundary activity with regard to the way it attempted from the outset to incorporate both men and women. I argue that for this reason it is a particularly good site to examine the embodiment of sex in contemporary culture.

2.2 Running as a Process of Embodiment. Here I make my case that running can be viewed as an arena which promoted important processes of embodiment that incorporate various levels of the social in contradictory and concordant ways. This I suggest is a dialectical process which involves conscious and unconscious knowledge and actions on the part of individuals, bodily techniques, materials, intersubjectivity, power-knowledges and organisations which all constitute the embodiment of social processes. I enter this discussion after emphasising major trends in the sociology of sport and leisure literature and the sociology of the body. In doing this I illustrate that the concerns of the sociological and anthropological literature on the body can be viewed as moving from the body to embodiment (Frankenberg, 1998). These relate to theoretical trends which permeate theories of leisure and sport that to some extent are not discrete literatures but highly intertwined. I also suggest that global cultures, like running, 'hold together' through the material (such as magazines) which embody part of the process they seek to promote.

2.3 Sex and Gender. In this section I examine the way that sociological studies of contemporary leisure practices tend to focus on gender rather than sex. I discuss this in the context of literature which has contested the division between sex and gender (e.g. Theberge, 1987; Butler, 1993; Hood-Williams, 1995; 1996). I argue that it is sex rather than gender I am studying because the process of embodiment I examine relates to aspects of the body

usually located within biology and attributed to sex. I also suggest that running is an important site to examine the changing process of such a division because “jogging” can be viewed as being at the start of a process which saw a growth in the number of leisure activities designed to promote well-being. Hence, the way it differentiates the body is important.

2.4 Conclusion. I summarise my derived approach to representations of the sexed embodiment of running. Drawing on the idea of objectivity as proposed by Merleau-Ponty (1962) I suggest that the sexed embodiment of running can and should be studied from many existing sociological perspectives.

2.1 Running as a Boundary Activity.

I have viewed running as a boundary activity because the literature (and my subsequent research) suggested that this was the case. The physical action itself is a bodily movement which in public discourse (i.e. magazines, newspapers) is usually referred to as sporting or leisure practice. It is also a mode of transport and is carried out in a variety of locations, for different reasons and in numerous social settings. For example, running has been used as a punishment in schools, people run to get away from danger and when they are in a hurry. Hence, different social meanings are attached to a similar bodily technique.

In this research I focus on that form of running which first emerged during the nineteen sixties and seventies as jogging but soon became popularly known as running (the term I have adopted throughout this thesis). Its most renowned collective public form is the long distance road race known as the marathon (Berking and Neckel, 1993). However, other races, for example, 10km races, half-marathons and the fun run can also be subsumed under the same heading because they have a high degree of overlap and were considered part of the culture in the magazine which I studied. The individuals I interviewed had taken part in a range of these

races. Running also incorporates those who do not enter races but run for well-being.

Therefore, it is in itself a heterogeneous activity.

Running can also be viewed as a boundary activity because unlike more traditional sports which preceded it, it made a concerted effort to draw in men and women and people of different ages (see throughout esp. Chapter 4). This can be seen as part of a trend which continued with the increasing popularity of “Californian” sports in Britain elsewhere. Sports in general divide according to sex and age. For example, there are separate competitions for men and women. Sport’s preoccupation with this division has led many sports and gender theorists to conclude that is an important site for the reproduction of gender relations (e.g.’s Hearn, 1987; Connell, 1983, 1987; Messner and Sabo 1990; Theberge, 1987, 1991) . In the period of study, running never achieved its aim of fully incorporating the women it hoped to attract. This is one of the areas covered by my research.

The boundaries between sport and leisure are themselves hard to draw and this is particularly the case as they have become increasingly embedded within a consumer culture. Many authors have documented the trend away from amateur and state-sponsored sporting activities towards globalized sports industries involving international capital, commercialisation and profit-driven organisations (Dunning and Sheard, 1979; Grunneau, 1983; Maguire, 1993; Rigauer, 1993; Ingham and Beamish, 1993). Leisure is following a similar trend with a changing balance between local authority and commercial provision and with local authority provision itself being increasingly farmed out to commercial companies (Hartmann-Tews and Parry, 1995). At the same time more commercial companies have entered sport and leisure and profit from the growing amount of time and

money people are willing to spend on it (Hartmann-Tews and Petry, 1995). Leisure and sports-related consumer products are increasingly aimed at the health and fitness market which is intricately entwined with sport and leisure practice (Gillick, 1984; Bordo, 1990; Hargreaves, 1994). Reflecting this situation, running has been implicated in the sociological literature in many arenas but outside of the sociology of sport there is rarely more than a passing comment made about it (For exceptions see, Berking and Neckel, 1993). It is often presented as something typical of a postmodern (Baudrillard, 1988), consumer orientated (Featherstone, 1993) and narcissistic culture.

Running can be viewed as a modern sport in Guttman's (1978) terms because elite athletes train for races, compete for the race and produce records. It is rationalised and bureaucratised by measuring distance and times to conform with both national and international standards and by equalising conditions of competition for those competing for the race and records (Guttman, 1978). The sociology of sports literature on running tends to focus on the elite end of athletics but there are exceptions (Campbell, Minton and Bond, 1998; Smith, G., 1998; Smith, S. 1998). There is a growing feminist literature in the sociology of sport which applies to running but little that has directly researched running (For an exception see Campbell et al, 1998). The most well-known work dealing specifically with running is by Dyer (1982) who examines the bodily attributes required to a successful runner and contests that this body is inherently masculine.

As suggested above running is more than a sport. Very few who enter races or indeed run for fitness are involved in competition to win races. For people who enter races their achievement is in finishing the race and in recording faster and faster times, not winning (Smith, S.L., 1998 and throughout). Many runners do not enter races and only run alone or with friends. For

these people it can be viewed as a leisure activity. There are as many definitions of leisure as there are perspectives (Wearing, 1998). Feminist authors note the particular difficulties with defining and distinguishing women's leisure time as the work-leisure nexus is complex. Indeed many women have difficulty in relating to the concept of leisure at all (Deem, 1986; Green, Hebron and Woodward, 1990). Some researchers have claimed that leisure is not necessarily defined by the activity but the meaning attached to it (Kelly, 1983; Deem, 1986; Wearing, 1998). It is usually thought to involve some freedom of choice (Deem, 1986; Green, Hebron and Woodward, 1990; Wearing, 1998) but the degree to which this is restricted by capitalism (see for example, Rojek, 1985, 1995) or influenced by gender hierarchies (e.g. Deem, 1986; Scratton, 1987; Green, Hebron and Woodward, 1990) is controversial.

Additionally, running has been viewed as a body technique (Bordo, 1990; Shilling, 1993, 1997) and is associated with contemporary consumer culture (Baudrillard, 1988; Mellor and Shilling, 1997) in a context where many have argued that it is consumption rather than production that characterises the social and its divisions (e.g. Douglas and Isherwood, 1980; Featherstone, 1983, 1991, 1990; Bauman, 1998a, 1998b). Hence, Bauman (1998a) suggests,

“ The passage from producer to consumer society has entailed many profound changes; arguably the most decisive among them is, however, the fashion in which people are groomed and trained to meet the demands of their social identities (that is, the fashion in which men and women are ‘integrated’ into the social order and given a place in it).

(ibid., p.25)

The fact that most people pay to enter races (even if the fee is nominal) involves them in consumer relations. Also becoming involved in running engages individuals in aspects of consumer culture that they may otherwise not have encountered. For example, sportswear,

running shoes, performance enhancing foods and running equipment. Within this framework, running can be viewed as an arena concerned with the consumption of commodities and meaning (and in this case activities) and the production of commodities and meanings which characterise social relations and that incorporate both people and things. Running has usually been seen as part of the distinguishing practices of the middle-classes (Savage et al 1992) in a time when there is a perceived breakdown of boundaries (Mellor and Shilling, 1997).

Consequently, although running is both a sport and leisure practice it is also characterised by growing commercialisation and commodification which combine these aspects in specific ways (Gillick, 1984; Bordo, 1990, 1993; Shilling, 1993; Mellor and Shilling, 1997).

Contemporary literature on the body and embodiment tends to refer to running, other leisure-sports and body cultures within this context which is tied up with changing forms of embodiment (e.g. Bordo 1990; Frank 1991; Shilling, 1993; Mellor and Shilling, 1997; Featherstone, 1993).

Running has also been used as a medical technique for rehabilitating heart patients (Gillick, 1984), and has been viewed as a method for achieving enlightenment (see Chapter 4).

Running's boundary nature defines it as an extremely flexible body technique that can be viewed as involving both the "banal associations" of rational productive systems and the "sensual solidarities" of consumer culture that Mellor and Shilling (1997) view as being twin tendencies of contemporary culture. Banal associations are those which relate to cognitive apprehension and rationality:

“dedicated to the instrumentally efficient pursuit of a goal without needing or being able to justify that goal.” (Weber, 1948 [1919] cited in Mellor and Shilling, 1997, p. 166)

The productive element of racing can be viewed in this way, as can the production of the race.

Sensual solidarities are those that:

“can loosely be described as *consumption*-orientated forms of sociality; bound up with corporeal absorption and immersion. They are based on the feelings, emotions and the effervescence which can derive from being with others (as opposed to simply discursively communicating with them).” (Mellor and Shilling, 1997, p.174)

This can be related to both the collective element of running (for example, in clubs), the being together of the race, and to the consumption of images through the magazine, which for many is part of their belonging to running culture. The consumption of the magazine can be viewed in this way because as Mellor and Shilling (1997) suggest the visual image has become a source of direct and unmediated sensory stimulation in contemporary culture. So for example, when we view a picture on a magazine of a slim body it can bring about desire for that body in the individual in the same way a picture of an exotic holiday can stimulate a desire to be “there”.

Eichberg (1989) presents one way of thinking about the boundary nature of running. He points out the generally varying nature of many activities usually categorised as sports or leisure practices. He prefers to apply the term "body culture" to sport or leisure practices because most activities are difficult to categorise discretely as either. He introduces a *trialectic* model, which he claims that sporting and leisure practices can be mapped onto. First there is the "pattern of achievement sport", concerned with the production of results, measurement and increased output. The people involved in constituting it are sports experts, top athletes, and sports scientists. It is carried out in uniform sporting stadiums. The second pattern is of fitness sport which promotes health and well being. The relevant experts are the medical profession and the pedagogues who are concerned with the correct way to live (including movement and eating). This type of body culture is believed to be carried out in areas with straight lines and clear views. The participants are subjected to *surveillance* of the

Foucauldian kind. Eichberg's (1989) third pattern is one of “body experience and sensuality”. The geographical location is out in the world of curved lines and out of sight of *surveillance*. There are no experts and activities such as juggling are thought to be typical. These form the three aspects of sports and leisure practices within which individual sports and individual instances of them are varyingly located. He claims his *trialectic* model of “body cultures” can help to understand both body culture and society suggesting these three identifiable patterns of body culture link to society in varying ways.

Although drawing on Eichberg's (1989) trialectic in both my analysis and my conception of running, I have chosen to utilise the term leisure-sport to differentiate running from a broader group of what can be termed body culture (such as tattooing or body piercing), and because my analysis suggests it is characterised primarily by its location two of Eichberg's categories, sporting and leisure cultures. Additionally, Eichberg's categorisation locates “bodily experience and sensuality” as a separate form which permeates aspects of his other two categories to varying degrees, or may itself be the primary form. This is a useful way of thinking of it for some purposes and to differentiate less structured activities from the more regulated. However, I adopt a paradigm of embodiment which rather than view bodily experience as a category which is sometimes there and sometimes not maintains that these constantly remain central.

In order to look at running as a form of embodiment it is worth examining the way in which the individual (body) and its experiences have been conceptualised in sport and leisure theory. Bodily experiences like running tend to be viewed within a range which at one end suggests they may be shaped by capitalist, patriarchal or consumer culture and the sports and leisure practices embedded within them (a false consciousness of the body) (e.g. Brohm, 1978; Clarke

and Chrichter, 1985), at the other, they are at least partially related to what people (including their bodies) want and need (Miller, 1987; Bordo, 1990; Featherstone 1991, 1991; Kelly, 1983). The tension between these two views will form part of my discussion on the embodiment of running, wherein I suggest that part of the value of an embodied approach is that it attempts to address this issue.

2.2 Running as a Process of Embodiment.

The developments in the sociologies of sport and leisure which I examine have tended to move from economic determinism (Rigauer, 1981 [1969]; Brohm, 1978) through ideas of hegemony and disciplinary practices which grant a degree of agency to individuals (e.g. Grunneau, 1983, 1993), to concepts of identity and embodiment in which individuals construct their own identities within the context of the social structure into which they are born (e.g. Wearing, 1992; Wearing and Wearing, 1992; Wheaton and Tomlinson, 1998). The sociology of the body or embodiment theory can be seen as developing from the body (e.g. Mauss, 1985 [1938], Douglas; 1973) to embodiment (e.g. Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Foucault, 1982; Frankenberg, 1988; Bordo, 1990, 1993; Butler, 1993; Crossley; 1995; Mellor and Shilling, 1997) (Frankenberg, 1998).² In this section I briefly trace these overall trends before examining my view of running as a process of embodiment.

The sociologies of sport and leisure have examined contemporary social practices like running in ways which interrogate the relationship between the individual and the social.³ The same

² I have slightly modified Frankenberg's (1998) development of theories of embodiment placing Foucault as a theorist of embodiment and in the final phase of the theories I chart. I do this because from my own interpretation of Foucault (1982), which draws on his later work, I apply this approach to the process of embodiment, illustrating how he can be interpreted and utilised as such. There have been varying interpretations of Foucault which could have him located at different points in this theorising.

³ I do not claim to cover all theoretical perspectives on sport and leisure in this discussion. The shortage of space in writing means that the theoretical perspectives I have chosen are not done justice. Critiques, by their nature often parody the works to which they refer, reducing their complexity in order to champion

can be said for the sociology and anthropology of the body. A major difference between the two is that in the former the body is often implicit and in the later the body is perceived as having a (or the) central role in the production, reproduction and transformation of social processes.

For early theorists of sport like Brohm (1978) and Rigauer (1981, [1969]) individual action, thoughts and ideas (or *praxis*) were structured by the economic. Hence, sporting practices prepared workers for their role in economic production and exploitation. In the sociology and anthropology of the body functionalism can be viewed as producing similarly determined human beings. For example, Mauss (1985 [1936]) and Douglas (1973) can be seen as conceptualising the body in terms of its reflecting the world. Hence, these two perspectives in different ways suggest that individual thoughts and action are produced by history and serve to reproduce the social order.⁴ For Brohm (1978) and Rigauer (1981 [1969]) this is a capitalist order with the major social division being class. Douglas (1973 [1970]) and Mauss (1985 [1936]) are both concerned to catalogue or describe different social contexts and the bodily practices within them.

Later theorists of sport and leisure draw on the concept of *hegemony* defined by Gramsci (1971) as:

"The "spontaneous" consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is "historically" caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production". (1971, p.12)

another position. In my analysis I attempt to adopt a positive approach to the works to which I refer, avoiding such an approach.

⁴ For Douglas (1976) there is some room for freedom in moving between various social situations. She also suggests that the language of the middle-classes (Bernstein's elaborated code) allows reflection that will ultimately enable people who can use this language to reflect on the social situation. She claims that this will lead them to avoid situations which are based on communication in the elaborated code and choose only those whereby people communicate through restricted codes, which in involving the whole body, the material surroundings and the whole context, without the need to use such abstract language, are in fact more communicative.

Hence, social life is orientated towards the dominant economic group but additionally involves some form of consenting action on the part of individuals. Williams (1977) suggests this results in:

“a whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole of living: our senses and assignments of energy, our shaping perceptions of our self and our world. It is a lived system of meanings and values-constitutive and constituting-which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming”. (1977, p.110)

The “masses” see the interests of the dominant group as ordinary, and in their day to day practices confirm them. However, hegemony, as used by contemporary sociologists of sport and leisure does not totally define individuals. For example, Grunneau (1983), writing about sports suggests that a study of hegemony should look at:

"(1) the nature of dominant, residual, and emergent cultural practices and interpretations, including the limits and pressures associated with each; and (2) how all of these practices, interpretations, limits, and pressures appear to be incorporated into the hegemonic process at any given historical moment". (1983, p.70)

Hence, it does not suggest total determination of the individual or indeed groups by the social structure. There is room for dissent and counter-cultures. It also opens up space for research to begin to consider the influence of other inequalities such as class and ethnicity on sport and leisure (Jarvie, 1993; Hargreaves, 1986, 1994). Through blending feminist perspectives, concepts such as hegemonic masculinity (e.g.'s Connell, 1983, 1987; Messner and Sabo, 1992; Messner, 1992;) and hegemonic definitions of femininity (e.g.'s Hargreaves, 1994;

Lowe, 1998), which are contested and formed in interaction with other forms of masculinity and femininity, could be analysed. However, they are always formed in relation to the dominant economic interests or dominant male interests. Hence, theorists refer to “the gender order” (Connell, 1983; Messner and Sabo, 1990)

Although hegemony theorists may see the potential for an overturning of the social order their own research tends to indicate that this is not the case. Hence, MacAloon (1992) an anthropologist has suggested focusing on the concept of hegemony may result in insufficient attention being paid to varying cultural practices. Instead he suggests sports like running should be studied through;

"intensive, long-term, and face-to-face participant observation in natural settings and the systematic recording of conceptions, discourses, relations and behaviours of the sports actors, agencies and communities selected" (MacAloon, 1992,p.107).

In theory drawing on the concept of hegemony should be in concordance with these ideals and this case has been made by some authors (Frankenberg, 1988; Tomlinson and Hargreaves, 1992). However, hegemony can be criticised for pre-disposing researchers to organise their findings around a single concept giving only one focus to analysis.

Other theorists have analysed sport and leisure around different central concepts. For example, figurational sociologists although a distinct school of thought (see for example, Dunning and Sheard, 1979; Dunning,1999; Elias and Dunning, 1986; Macguire, 1993) analyse sport and leisure in terms of its relationship to a single tendency, that of the “civilising process”. This historical process involves many things such as the rise in state control of violence and a decrease of tolerance of physical violence of individuals (e.g Dunning and

Sheard, 1979; Elias and Dunning, 1986; Dunning, 1999). Analyses of the civilising process always confirm its existence because like hegemony it is assumed at the outset.

The civilising process and hegemonic approaches begin to acknowledge that sporting practice like running emerges from complex social processes which involve movements by individuals and groups away from the tendencies they describe. Hence, it is possible to study why football hooliganism exists in opposition to the civilising process (Dunning et al, 1988) or the nature of anti-hegemonic cultures (e.g. Lowe, 1998). There are different factors influencing praxis.⁵ They also bring out the interplay between these various elements but they are always discussed in relation to a central tendency often ignoring other factors (MacAloon, 1992).

Approaches that focus on identity and embodiment tend to allow for more of this interplay and give greater attention to the role of agency, in terms of individuals and the hardware (i.e. the body) that enables and restricts social processes. Hence, the move is towards a more complex dialectical analysis.

The equivalent tendency in the sociology of the body can be seen in the work of Bourdieu (1984; 1988).⁶ He can be seen as providing an intermediate stage between the body and

⁵ Praxis is a term utilised by Marx and subject to many interpretations. Althusser (1981 [1969]) writes of this concept:

“...a historico-dialectical materialism of *praxis*: that is by a theory of the different and specific *levels of human practice*, (economic practice, political practice, ideological practice, scientific practice) in their characteristic articulations, based on the specific articulations of the unity of human society. In a work, Marx substituted for the ‘ideological’ and universal concept of Feuerbachian ‘practice’ a concrete conception of the specific differences that enables us to situate each particular practice in the specific differences of the social structure.” (p.70)

Hence, praxis is something that involves many levels of the social in dialectical relationships and involves the unity of ideas, beliefs, actions and social structures in peoples historically based but transformative human action, which is objectified in the world each then encounters. This constantly transforms both human environments and human consciousness. History therefore is viewed as a process of self-creation by people and involves all human activity and human thought. (Petrovic, 1981 [1957]).

⁶ There is considerable overlap between those identified as working in the area of the body and those writing about sport and leisure. For example, Bourdieu’s (1988) article is entitled “A program for the Sociology of Sport”, Elias’s (1978, 1983) work is broader than the sociology of sport and theories on the body often cite

embodiment. Bourdieu's concern is to classify different ways of knowing the body and to link this to a class based analysis. The body is partially constructed by practices passed on through interaction. However, the body itself also becomes socially informed, allowing it to produce and reproduce but also transform the signifiers of hierarchy. For example, which sport and leisure practices have high levels of prestige changes over time. This involves action on the part of individuals who are concerned to hierarchically distinguish themselves. Bourdieu (1984; 1993) also introduced the idea of cultural and social capital, providing areas of social hierarchy to some extent detached from the economic, with sport and leisure practices being sites where this was produced.

Hegemony, the civilising process, and Bourdieu, detach the individual to some extent from social structure, giving them some ability for self-determination but it is still restricted to “movement” within different elements of social structures individuals only have some ability to transform what constitutes them. So for example, the middle classes constantly look for new goods and activities to distinguish them from the class below whose practices ultimately imitate theirs. The theoretical development in the sociology of the body like social theories of sport and leisure tends towards a growing complexity in social structures and with individuals being viewed as having some freedom within that.

The next move I wish to chart in sport in leisure is to theoreticians who focus on identity and embodiment (e.g. Wearing, 1992, 1998; Tomlinson and Wheaton, 1998). Some theorists such as Tomlinson have developed their ideas over the years to move between the categories I

him as one of the earlier writers on the body. In addition to this there is a Bourdieu influenced trend in the sociology of sport (see for example Hargreaves, John, 1986; Shilling, 1991; Grunneau, 1993) and Foucauldian inspired work particularly in feminist approaches to sport and leisure (e.g. Wearing, 1992; Wearing and Wearing, 1992; Theberge, 1991). I organise them in this way because part of my task in this chapter is to distinguish works and trends in sociology, which is internally referential in its analysis and

impose. Identity theory and theories of embodiment are developments from all of the above (and more) but can be viewed as partly rooted in Foucauldian influenced post-structuralist and feminist approaches (e.g. Butler, 1993; Shildrick, 1997) and theories of consumer culture. Additionally they often incorporate the symbolic interactionism of Goffman and Mead (e.g. Wearing, 1992; Crossley, 1995). Identity theorists rarely deny the existence of structuring factors but they note that it takes individual agency to produce, reproduce and potentially transform these structures. Hence, Wearing writes of her own (Wearing, 1992) research: “I would claim that the incorporation in this research of the microsocial concepts of Mead’s ‘I’ and ‘me’ and poststructural concepts of subjectivity, resistance and power within a macrosocial framework of gender power allows for leisure to be seen as a process in which there is a creative balance between agency and structure, freedom and constraint.” (Wearing, 1998, p.53)

Identity research acknowledges the different experiences both of social groups and individuals. So for example, within this paradigm it is possible to analyse the different experiences of gay men, white working-class women and middle-class women and to consider the intersections between the powers which structure daily lives for these groups. It also becomes possible to acknowledge that individual biography will make various aspects of a person’s identity important at different times and will influence personal development in diverse ways. It also allows the individual the ability to transform the social environment and create from the various elements of the social new ways of being. The body in identity focused research however is often presented as something upon which the social inscribes and its active role is often neglected.

development.

The difference between identity theorists and those who adopt a paradigm of embodiment is that the later view the body as being central to both structural influences and the potential of agency. It is the material form involved in enabling and restricting agency (e.g. Theberge, 1987, 1991; Vertinsky, 1994; Aalten, 1997). There has been little research that has adopted an embodied approach in this sense to sport and leisure practice. As stated above, this is different to work on the body which purely acknowledges the way the social inscribes on the body.

The equivalent theoretical movement in theories of the body is found in the work of Merleau-Ponty (1962), Bordo, (1990, 1993) Csordas (1990), Grosz, (1994) Butler (1993), Shilling (1993), Crossley (1995) and Shilling and Mellor (1997) who can be viewed as contributing to a conscious paradigm of embodiment which emerged from anthropology. As stated earlier, the overall direction of theories of the body can be typified as from the body to embodiment (Frankenberg, 1998). For Merleau-Ponty (1962) the body can be viewed as simultaneously creating itself and the world in a very broad sense. Also for Shilling and Mellor (1997) the body and the world are mutually self-creating. Hence, the move is towards a processual approach to embodiment. There have been many feminist contributions to this form of theorising. For example, Butler, (1993) and Martin, (1989) can be viewed as working within a paradigm of embodiment. These contributions are discussed in the subsequent section.

Having briefly outlined the theoretical trends I go on to illustrate how the paradigm of embodiment I utilise addresses some of the issues these theoretical perspectives raise. The particular focus is the way in which structuring factors and agency interrelate within a paradigm of embodiment.

2.2 (i) A “Paradigm” for Examining the Embodiment of Running?

In this section I am going to argue that running is a bodily technique, a social process and a form of embodiment. It is a process through which bodies become socially informed and gain competencies which they can utilise in future social action. I also suggest that running culture can be explored and analysed utilising a paradigm of embodiment (for discussions of embodiment as a paradigm see Scheper-Hughes and Lock, 1987; Csordas 1990). I do this by discussing the way in which running culture is created, perpetuated and contested by heterogeneous bodies, materials and cultural landscapes. Running I suggest is a late-modern leisure-sport which is embedded within particular social relations and is associated with specific forms of embodiment (Mellor and Shilling, 1997). I argue that the social processes which make up the embodiment of running are visible at various levels of the social. For example, organisations, individuals, materials and landscapes which are themselves constituting of, and constituted by, the past also act in orientation toward a future. I then outline the components of running which need to be considered in order to adopt an embodied approach. I suggest the boundaries drawn in analysis around the different levels of the social and the components of running do not emerge from the data themselves but vary according to the theoretical conceptions utilised.

2.2 (ii) Running as a Bodily Technique: Bodies, Materials and Landscapes.

Running as I have illustrated (and continue to do so throughout this thesis) is a heterogeneous activity and therefore can be viewed as intricately linked to various processes of late-modern culture. The theoretical trends I outlined above are not just related to developments in sociology but also to changes in contemporary society whereby it is increasingly difficult for individuals to locate themselves in terms of unitary social identities like class-based, gender-

based, and ethnicity-based identities. For example, feminist theory has been fragmented by challenges to what is perceived as theorising which generalises from the experiences of white middle-class women to women of different ethnic groups and working-class women (Barrett, 1987; Moore, 1988). It is also more difficult for social structures to be identified by looking at individual biographies as the intersections between various elements are often more important for any given individual than a singular identity in lives which have themselves become fragmented and in which aspects of identity become important in context rather than being necessarily all pervasive (Poovey, 1988). Some authors have gone so far as to say that such unitary categories are a thing of the past. If this were the case then it would be difficult to attribute meaning to an activity like running. Baudrillard (1988) describes runners thus: Nothing evokes the end of the world more than a man running straight ahead on a beach, swathed in the sounds of his walkman, cocooned in the solitary sacrifice of his energy, indifferent even to his catastrophes since he expects destruction to come only as the fruit of his own efforts, for exhausting the energy of a body that has in his own eyes become useless. ... The jogger commits suicide by running up and down the beach. ... (Baudrillard, 1988)

indicating that for him runners signify a loss of meaning in American culture.

In contradiction to this many researchers into sport and leisure have focused upon the limits of social change and the continuity of social categories such as class and gender. For example, Lowe's (1998) study of hegemonic processes in female body-building can be viewed as a charting of the dialectic between the women's ability to develop muscles, ideals of hegemonic femininity and economic interests. As a result of this dialectical process women body-builders in preparing for competition transcend ideal feminine bodies outside of this field but are

restricted to the extent that this ideal remains relatively unchallenged and in place. This ideal then impacts upon the regulations of body-building restricting the future muscle building of women. Hence, there is continuity of gender stereotyping through a sport which involves some degree of transcendence. There is much feminist work on the continuity of gender divisions (e.g. Hargreaves, 1994; Lowe, 1998). In addition to this researchers have found class still emerges from a range of social practices including forms of employment, cultural and social practices and resources (e.g. Savage et al, 1992, Devine, 1998). Running has been typified as one of the consumption practices that contribute to the constitution of a section of the middle-classes (Berking and Neckel, 1993; Savage et al, 1992). Hence, although running is a late-modern leisure sport it can be viewed as being constitutive of social processes which have some degree of durability.

By adopting a paradigm of embodiment it is possible to examine both stability and change in running. Social processes are transmitted through day to day interaction in activities like running, behaviour is learned (explaining some degree of continuity) but also become bodily techniques which individuals have available to constitute their repertoire of future possible actions. Crossley (1995) draws on Goffman (1963, 1972) to bring out the idea of continuity and change. Hence he claims that social action:

“is not simply action which is conditioned by a social past (tradition); it is action which orients to a social present and future. Indeed, social action is precisely the link between past, present and future.” (Crossley, 1995, p.135)

Hence, bodies do not learn to act straightforwardly in particular ways but they learn competencies which they adapt to specific situations and in doing so transform their

environment. Running therefore can be viewed as a body competency which is utilised in social context allowing for both continuity and change. However, this raises issues around the body's ability to learn. Why are they not all as competent as one another and why are they not subject to a faster rate of change? Why are there not more fast runners amongst those who train and why do all runners who train a specific amount not achieve the same goals? Embodying social competencies like running must be subject to some forms of restriction.

The body although amenable to some degrees and forms of change is not infinitely malleable and its ability to change can be viewed as culturally specific (Featherstone, 1993; Shilling and Mellor, 1997). Developments in surgery, cosmetic surgery and in birthing technologies for example, make contemporary bodies particularly adaptable (e.g. Davis, K., 1995, 1997). Bodies have some qualities which are common to them all and less changeable at this point in time. For example, they are born, they grow and they age. There is also much we do not understand about the way bodies learn from one another (Bourdieu, 1988). As Bourdieu (1988) suggests, if we understood why one person can learn a bodily technique (such as bowling a cricket ball) from somebody illustrating it, when another just cannot do it, we would understand a lot more about social life and social structures. Many body techniques are learned unconsciously. For example, we are not aware of learning how to walk. Several authors point to the role of the proprioceptive system in bodily learning (e.g.'s Schepers-Hughes and Lock, 1987; Crossley, 1995) that Sacks (1985) views as the sixth sense which allows our bodies to know where they are located in space. We are only aware of this sense when it breaks down (Sacks, 1985). Thus much of what is learned about how to move our bodies is not currently easily amenable to conscious manipulation. The implication of this is that past learning of bodily movements and postures will effect future possibilities for people

learning to run. Hence, gendered ways of moving are likely to influence individual runners and the processes which emerge from their actions.

Having said this, Bordo (1993) and other contemporary feminists suggest that through conscious effort women can and do alter their bodily actions. For example, by rejecting stereotypical forms of femininity. Also, Campbell et al (1998) found that women training for a marathon reported improved self-confidence. Similar instances have been reported in relation to women's involvement in other sporting and leisure activities (e.g. Currie, 1996, cited in Wearing, 1998; Tomlinson and Wheaton, 1998). Hence, change extended from leisure to other areas of women's lives with less conscious effort. If individual action is both constituted by and constitutive of the social then bodies both facilitate and limit social change. Bodies themselves in this view, are historically formed and consistently modified through social life but also offer resistance. Hence, I draw on Battersby (1993) to suggest that runners bodies can be viewed as semi-permeable membranes partially but not totally malleable through social encounters with running.

Running bodies can also be seen as facilitating and restricting processes of embodiment in that they always utilise techniques in relationship to other people and a material environment. In Haraway's (1991) terms bodies are always in extensions. Other people and the material environment both restrict and enable, and can act to, transform bodily techniques (e.g. Shilling, 1993; Singleton and Michael, 1993; Crossley, 1995; Shilling and Mellor, 1997). Douglas (1973) noted the ways in which not only bodily movements but also language, clothing and mannerisms varied according to social context, suggesting that there is concordance between the type of social grouping and the etiquette of the body. For her, social encounters are symbolic communicative systems in which every aspect of the social

situation works to produce the same meaning. Douglas (1973) arguably has an overdetermined view of the individual (Frankenberg, 1998) and does not allow for the complexity of both contradiction, irony and the misreading of social situations. She also has little to say about the historically constituted and socially informed body described above. However, her work does make the point, as do Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) through their conception of the social body, that bodily actions (including running) are performed in contexts which include other people, language, clothing, material objects and physical environments which both enable and constrain the possibilities.

The materials which help constitute running and co-produce the meaning of embodiment are important particularly in view of the specific role they play in contemporary consumer culture. As suggested earlier, some theorists have suggested that culture and social life are becoming fragmented but this is to the extent that it is impossible to read social meaning from cultural objects any more (Baudrillard, 1983). Training shoes provide a good example of this viewpoint. These shoes are usually made and marketed as being for sport and leisure pursuits and are important in constituting the identity of the contemporary runner. However, people wear them to the pub, children wear them to school and women wear them to go shopping. They are appropriated by individuals and groups (e.g. Willis, 1998) in various ways which in some ways undermines a straightforward reading of them (Baudrillard, 1983). These different users of material items produce their own meanings from the goods they buy.

This idea may be viewed as undermining those theories of consumer culture which suggest that it is (at least partially) through the distinguishing practices of consumers that social groups emerge (e.g. Douglas and Isherwood, 1979; Bourdieu, 1984, 1993; Savage et al

1992). However, the production of meaning through cycles of production and consumption, is arguably part of an analysis of contemporary culture, which although more complex still has some continuity. Contradiction, and the use of irony in the creation of meaning, is historically constituted and constitutive of future meaning which can lead to some confusion. However, things are always in a broader social context which includes humans. These elements are related and this restricts the range of possible meanings and future action.

The meaning of some things can be viewed as more durable than others (Law, 1986; Latour, 1990; Callon, 1991). For example, if a motorcycle were standing unattended most people would probably still assume that it belonged to a man. If and when this does not become the case then it can be seen as an indication that categories have changed and this is something for analysis. In fact those materials which we assign masculine or feminine status have proliferated with the growth in the number of consumer goods. This results in contradictory and ironic tendencies of, at once, making women as a group more visible and hence more unitary and, on the other hand, dividing women into more and more separately identifiable groups. As the same process permeates masculinity such goods create the possibility for more overlap with and difference from femininity (Evans and Thornton, 1989). For example, in marketing Armani perfumes, males and females who look similar are used to sell male and female versions of the same “fragrance”, both emphasising difference and creating similarity. The durability of the meaning of some things means that they can be involved in the co-productions of diverse masculinities and femininities. This further suggests that the vast range of material goods results in an increasingly complex co-production of masculinities and femininities that involves both bodies and things.

Eichberg (1989) and other authors such as Bale (1993, 1994) note how the physical environment is part of a sport. Hence, Bale (1994) utilises the term *cultural landscape*, noting how the changing landscapes of sports constitute fundamental differences in events. So for example, a world-class 100 metre race cannot be imagined or held without a standardised race track, electronic starting blocks and a stadium for spectators. These landscapes are historically formed and informed in their ability to constitute an event. Eichberg (1995, above) claims that different categories of leisure-sports are typically carried out in different environments again indicating the role of the landscape in constituting an event. Gender theorists (for example, Green, Hebron and Woodward, 1990) have often pointed out how leisure spaces act to exclude women from leisure activities. For example, women without cars are unlikely to visit leisure centres if they have to wait alone for a bus late at night, or walk in unlit areas. Hence, I draw on these theorists and actor-network theory to suggest that both the material world and physical environment act, for the purpose of analysis at least in constituting, dividing and potentially transforming the social. Like bodies themselves they both facilitate the processes of embodiment I study and restrict its possibilities. The difference between people and things therefore is a matter of their materiality.

Interaction with the people and things of the immediate environment involves unconscious actions of the body (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Goffman, 1969; Crossley, 1995; Csordas, 1990). Hence, Csordas (1990) makes the point that human action is not reflected upon but is only made conscious through the action itself. Hence, runners negotiate their way through a crowded street without having rationally, reflectively or consciously sorted out a route through (Crossley, 1995). This further substantiates the idea that the relationship

between individuals and other people and things in the environment can be viewed as constituting running as a process of embodiment. The social processes involved in embodiment do not exist prior to their being they become through competencies of people and things which produce unconscious social action at the level of bodily movements, which as Crossley (1995) points out is a moral order. A break down of the ability to do this makes social life relatively untenable.

Seen from this viewpoint, a woman or man is not so simply by virtue of their bodies, although these play a role. Theories of embodiment “bring back the body” rather than ignoring it. So for example, the fact that children are small does influence their social interaction. However, bodies are not pre-categorised but become members of categories through their interrelationships with other people and things. For example, women are only women as we understand them, because they act in particular ways towards other women and men, wear particular clothes, have specific bodily styles and interact with the material environment in specific ways (Haraway, 1991; Butler, 1993). Hence, Haraway (1985) calls for women to utilise computer technology to tackle inequality with men. In the same way, participating in sports like running (a male body technique produced through processes of embodiment) can be viewed as challenging gender divisions. Haraway (1991) uses the cyborg to conceptualise this idea that bodies do not end at the skin. She sees the body, as variously incorporating different elements of the social and material world in mutual creation of the social. Hence, whereas Battersby (1993) draws attention to the permeability of the body, Haraway (1991) introduces the idea that the body defies its physical boundaries. Hence, these ideas put together to suggest that bodies and other elements of the social may variously constitute the embodiment of running making

boundary drawing an issue for analysis and blurring subject object distinctions in way that Csordas (1990) see as desirable for a paradigm of embodiment.

Actor-network theory's idea that materials "act" also raises questions about the boundaries we draw in analysis. As stated above, for actor-network theorists materials act and should be analysed in the same way as human actors (see Law, 1992 for a useful discussion of this).⁷ The material qualities of objects themselves help constitute the social but are themselves constituted by their previous involvement in the social.⁸ So for example, the motorcycle is built in such a way that when encountered by a human it shapes the way that humans act towards it. Its historical association with masculinity effects its potential to act in the future. Its design is such that it requires a backward and over movement of the leg to mount it. The ability to perform this movement successfully depends on the bodily skills of a given individual and will rest on their previous experience with such objects. It can be said that it is more likely (but obviously not exclusively so) a male will have acquired the skills to mount a motorcycle in a socially acceptable manner. Hence, the historically informed object and the historically informed body constitute the social encounter and produce social divisions in simultaneous action with one another. Material objects can in the same way as bodies be viewed as variously permeated by and penetrating the social.

The materials from which objects are made, like the physiology of the body also constitute the social encounter and the social divisions produced there in (Starr, 1991). Hence, the weight of the motorbike and the relative size of who ever attempts to get onto the bike also

⁷ This perspective is more fully explained in Chapter Four where I have utilised it in my analysis.

⁸ The term "social" is used by Tiel and Latour (1995) to refer to "associations" established between humans and non humans (p.1).

contribute to the results of any interrelationship between the two. Subject-object distinctions like structure and agency are very difficult to dissolve. However, the benefit of the approach I advocate is that subject-object divisions are blurred. Things only become such through co-production. Through this they locate both historically constituted subjectivities and agencies which come into existence, in all elements, only through action.

It is possible to surmise from my discussion so far, that running is a bodily technique and, at the same time, a process of embodiment. For individuals being actively involved in running culture, is simultaneously both the production, reproduction and transformation of social processes which are a result of interactive relationships between, bodies, the material world (Crossley, 1995) and the cultural landscapes of sports (Bale, 1994).

Individual action can be viewed as having elements of stability and change because historically informed and socially learned techniques are utilised in social contexts. These last are also constituted by the material world (formed similarly) including the cultural landscapes of sport. However, what my analysis of social action by people and things also suggests is that running needs to be studied historically and broadly in order to study a process of embodiment. The different life histories of people and things, in terms of their mutual contact, will constitute them as heterogeneous elements and give them varying bodily skills and competencies. In the next section I explore the ways in which the social processes of embodiment have been conceptualised differentially at different historic moments.

2.2 (iii) Structuring the Runner: Knowledge and Power.

According to Foucault (1979; 1984; 1988) and those working in a Foucauldian tradition, (e.g. Theberge, 1987, 1991; Butler, 1993) bodily techniques are informed by knowledges. These knowledges are communicated through *discourses* apparent in the words of texts and

speech. By looking historically at running from this point of view it would be possible to discover the knowledges which underpin running and the way this has varied over the period of study. Written and spoken words like other materials are also the consequence of past actions in a social world but in their speaking or writing take on an orientation towards the future. Language itself is therefore, like bodies, a determinant and creator of social action.

Knowledge can be viewed as being, not only in language, but also in many other material forms. Law (1992) writing from an actor-network perspective makes the following statement with regard to "knowledge";

"Knowledge," then, is embodied in a variety of material forms. But where does it come from? The actor-network answer is that it is the end product of a lot of hard work in which heterogeneous bits and pieces-test tubes, reagents, organisms, skilled hands, scanning electron microscopes, radiation monitors, other scientists, articles, computer terminals, and all the rest-that would like to make off on their own are juxtaposed into a patterned network which overcomes their resistance". (ibid. p.381)

From a Foucauldian perspective all action is underpinned by knowledge, running therefore can also be said to be the consequence of such "hard work" which, in this view and the one I have adopted, extends from being a mere textual phenomena to a range of materially grounded events. Hence, in studying the embodiment of running in the magazine I am not just studying a reflection of running culture but solidified forms of past actions which themselves are orientated towards the future.

In contemporary society much of the action of humans is based upon self-knowledge which involves reflexively incorporating socially acquired knowledges into individual action (Giddens, 1991). For Foucault (1982) *discourses*, internalised within individuals, become *subjectivities*. Individuals are thus subject to historically created *discourses* and to their own self-knowledge. The latter involves their subjective interpretation and choice of the knowledges which the social has to offer. This view has been seen as positing an overly rational individual. These knowledges or more accurately power-knowledges are crucial in enabling individuals to act at all. Hence, it is suggested that bodies require social knowledge and that at least some of this is consciously chosen. In the memory of individuals accounts of running will consequently reveal power-knowledges. This is not to disregard the idea above, which according to some is shared by Foucault (Frazer, 1989), that socially acquired embodied knowledge is also constituted by unconscious actions.

The dependence of the individual on the range of *subjectivities* on offer through things, ideas and practices they come into contact with (and through which they as humans with bodies have the ability to transform the social) also results in a social that reveals structures. These structures have varying consequences for the individual and groups which can be both positive and negative. These inequalities can be studied by examining the dividing practices apparent through an analysis of *discourses*.

Power for Foucault (1979) is all pervasive and from its effects (the visible outcome of this power) coherent strategies can be discovered. These will be found in more or less coherent form:

“domination is organised in a more or less coherent and unitary strategy; that the dispersed, heteromorphous and local procedures of power are readjusted, reinforced and

transformed by these global strategies, and all this with numerous phenomena of inertia, dislocation and resistance; that one must not therefore accept a primary and massive fact of domination (a binary structure with on one side the “dominating” and on the other, the “dominated”) but rather a multiform production of relations of domination which are partially integratable into the strategies of the whole” (Foucault, 1979,p.55).

Therefore, they are from this view, not determined by the economic, the political or any other single organising principle. They are various and negotiated in relationships between individuals and organisations. The actor-network theory quoted above provides a similar perspective. From Foucault’s (1979,1980, 1982, 1984, 1988) standpoint and that of actor-network theorists (Latour, 1985, 1990, 1991) both individuals and organisations can be studied in the same way. From studying their effects at different points in time *networks* or *strategies of power* that both inform and form *discourses* (including materials) are revealed. The magazine arguably contains such effects.

I suggested earlier that many researchers have found leisure and sports pursuits like running as contributing to hegemonic processes (Clarke and Crichter, 1985; Grunneau, 1983, 1993; Hargreaves, 1986, 1994). These are seen as determined by interrelationships with the economic and with patriarchy. The question is raised as to whether adopting a Foucauldian and an actor-network approach precludes such a view that the social is structured around such divisions. In my view, it does not, because the strategies of power and networks which emerge from and become the effects of power in the actions of the components of the social, might also be based around class and gender. The materialisation of social relations into organisational and material forms in fact creates categories (see for example Star, 1991). The major difference is that analysis is not organised around

concepts predisposed by the mode of analysis. Knowledge and embodiment permeates everything. In Foucault's (1982) view studying individuals and organisations and "what they want" is part of a study of *strategies of power*, although the overall strategies that emerge are viewed as beyond the intention of individuals and organisations. Hence, if class and sex are the focus it is possible to see strategies as resulting in divisions, between social classes and sexes.

Foucault (1979) however claims to reject the dialectical materialism⁹ of marxist thought.

Hence, he suggests of political struggles based on this form of thought:

"how is it that since the nineteenth century the specific problems of struggle and its strategy have so constantly tended to be dissolved into the meagre logic of contradiction? There are a whole series of reasons for that which it will be necessary one day to attempt to analyse? It is necessary to think struggle and its forms, objectives, means and processes according to a logic which will be freed from the sterilising constraints of the dialectic." (Foucault, 1979, p. 56)

What his own form of analysis enables is a study of other *strategies of power* such as those related to sexualities, ethnicities and age. As stated earlier, Foucault's work has greatly influenced post-structuralist studies which deal with these social divisions. By utilising this view in my own analysis I have attempted to uncover the various divisions. Although my main focus has been on sex, adopting this type of position has enabled me to see how this intersects with class, age and to a lesser degree heterosexuality in running culture. In the magazine it is only white ethnicity that is apparent, other forms only being present through exclusionary practices.

In my view complicating social divisions in this way does not preclude the analysis of dialectical materialism. Sayer (1992) produces a dialectical materialist method that is

⁹ For a definition of dialectical materialism see Chapter Six.

based on the idea of *causal powers*¹⁰ and *causal liabilities* to describe the struggles between different knowledges, actions and goals etc. in the production of the social.¹¹ The term *emergent powers* is used to describe the effects of struggles (i.e. what results from their different combinations which is greater than their separateness). This is in many ways based on the idea of contradiction but analysis does not have to be organised around the economic. Different levels of the social including embodied action can be made up of any number of *causal powers* and *causal liabilities*. The direction of such change does not have to be assumed at the outset. Additionally it does not, in my view, restrict such analysis to the influences of economic structures and the terms *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* can be applied to sex, age and ethnicity.

According to Bourdieu (1984, 1993) social classes emerge from the way in which people from different social groups tend to be involved in specific practices through which they develop a *habitus* appropriate to that class. So for example, the argument would be that the middle classes are more likely to run because it is an arena, in which bodily techniques which convert into social and bodily capital in a broader field, are developed (e.g. Berking and Neckel, 1993). However, global cultures like running spread throughout the world at speeds impossible to communicate face to face. Hence, habitus have to be dependent on more than this type of communication. Global culture is spread through a variety of sources: visual images, written texts and the internet etc.. For running to exist as a form of embodiment in this culture it requires such materials to act as part of this process. Since magazines are available for purchase by anyone, it seems, at least at first sight, difficult to maintain that class and gender could be determinants. However, studies and sales statistics

¹⁰ Throughout this thesis I have used italics where I have used conceptual terms which have particular meanings which are defined within it.

¹¹ This perspective is described in greater depth in Chapter Six, wherein it is utilised to analyse the sexed

indicate that magazines sell only to particular social groups (McRobbie, 1991). Consumer culture social groups, as I have already argued, emerge from interrelating with specific forms of material culture.

Crossley (1995) raises the issue of distance and embodiment with reference to danger. He claims that Goffman acknowledges that the size of the space over which we pay attention to or perceive danger varies. Crossley however, wonders what happens to our perceptual powers for danger if it arises from something physically distant like a nuclear weapon. Surprisingly, perhaps, he does not pose the related question of what happens when the cultures to which we belong are diffuse and big. Bauman (1992) and Maffesoli (1991) utilise the terms tribes and neo-tribes to describe such loosely bound associations between individuals through consumer-related cultures. Mellor and Shilling's (1997) "sensual solidarities" and "banal rationalities" suggest that connecting with these is an embodied process. Reading a magazine involves physical activity, cognition or rationality and emotional responses for example, in desiring particular consumer goods or a particular body.

Marx's idea of the *fetishism of commodity* in which the:

"products of labour become commodities, social things whose qualities are at the same time perceptible and imperceptible by the senses. ... There is a definite social relation between men that assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things. ... This I call the fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour, so soon as they are produced as commodities" (Marx, quoted in McLellan, 1980)

embodiment of running.

This refers to process in through which commodities become freed from the meaning which would be attached to them through an understanding of the production process. They have other cultural meanings attached to them which can manipulate the consumer (Horkheimer and Adorno 1974, cited in Featherstone, 1990), stimulate desire through advertising (Hennion and Meadel, 1989) and leave people concerned with relations between things rather than people. Runners can be viewed as being involved in such a process because they focus upon running as a commodity relation. For example, they value the chance to take part in prestigious races like the London Marathon or the Berlin Marathon. However, through fetishism of commodities “potential bodies” are also advertised to individuals through lifestyle products like running (Bordo, 1993; Whannel, 1998). Hence the term body fetishism for which dissatisfaction with current body and desire for another is necessary. Running, as will be seen, can be viewed as being caught up in this process.

In this section I have tried to argue that running is an integral part of the processes of embodiment which is specific to contemporary times and late-modernity. This involves both people and things including magazines and the environment, it is both informed and created by knowledges which materialise in and through all these elements. I have suggested that the boundaries between things and subject/object relations become blurred through my view. However, in the concluding section of this chapter I will suggest that rather than existing in the world subject/object relationships are differentially imposed by different concepts, and boundaries between things are similarly defined. Hence, I suggest the utilisation of different concepts to study running. An analysis of the embodiment of running includes attempting to

define the relationships between bodies (and their parts), things and organisations which an embodied view suggests constitute social processes. Part of my analysis and my discussion in this thesis will interrogate whether the world can still be seen as stratified utilising such an approach, since what I have said so far suggests that it cannot. I next go on to explain why sex not gender is to be the focal point of this analysis.

2.3 Sex and Gender

The late nineteen eighties and the nineteen nineties saw a proliferation of literature which questioned the sex/gender divide (e.g. Moore, 1988; Bordo, 1990, 1993; Theberge, 1991; Butler, 1993; Grosz, 1994; Hood-Williams, 1995, 1996) established within sociology by Oakley (1972). This separated sex which was conceptualised as the physiological differences between men and women, from gender which was viewed as the cultural elaboration of these differences. This was criticised for several reasons. Some pointed out the fragility of physiological, hormonal and chromosomal evidence as a basis of positing overriding biological differences between two groups, men and women (e.g Hood-Williams, 1996; Hubbard, 1996) drawing on the historical, spatial and social specificity of such a division (e.g. Martin, 1989; Laquer, 1990; Hirschauer and Mol, 1995). For example, Laquer (1990) and Hood-Williams (1996) state that it is only relatively recently (post-enlightenment) that a dimorphic view of anatomy became accepted. Fausto-Sterling (1993) evaluated the anomalies involved in defining men and women according to chromosomes and suggested there should be five known sexes and that there were probably more (cited in Hubbard, 1996). It is arguably only the focus on proving difference (or more accurately finding the essence of manhood) that resulted in the view of:

“the reproductive organs (that) shifted from perceiving them as places along a single highway to being foundations of incommensurable difference. Modern genetics allowed for a seemingly more sophisticated account of sex, than that open to the naked eye, in its discussion of chromosomal

difference. But it checks back to what it already knows in order to confirm that which it seeks to discover.” (Hood-Williams, 1996)

Consequently, feminist writers have begun to explore the way in which biology and other sciences providing the knowledges through which we define, inform and act upon and with our bodies have been underpinned by ideologies and practices which devalue women and have negative social consequences for them (Orbach, 1979; Martin, 1989; Bordo, 1993; Butler, 1993). So for example, Martin (1991) examines the way in which medical texts present women’s reproductive systems as passive and deteriorating and men’s as active and productive.

In the feminist sociology of sport and leisure the major trends, as in broader feminist sociology, have been away from conceptualising women as a whole group towards a more complex analysis. More recent feminist work attempts to take into account the different experiences of women of different classes, ethnicities, sexualities and ages (Hargreaves, 1994; hooks, 1994; Holmberg, 1998). There has also been a growing feminist literature or pro-feminist literature about and often by men which has attempted to analyse the varying effects of gender divisions on different groups of men (see for example, Brod, 1987 (ed.)). The return to a focus on the socially constructed underpinnings of sex divisions can be viewed as a move away from these more complex models because they most often treat men and women as two separate and universal groups.

Models which divide men and women into sexes, although presented as universal, are always used within specific social contexts, of which running is one. The complexity of this view comes from the array of social contexts in which men’s and women’s bodies are differentiated and through which different elements of the body are brought into play in order to produce two groups. In this thesis I focus not only on social difference but also to how the sciences which

underpin running divide men and women in a dichotomous fashion. This draws on elements of the body (for example, lung size) which are often thought of as sex differences. To acknowledge this point and to draw attention to the idea that:

“Illich’s remark that **both sex and gender** are social relations with only tenuous connections to anatomy.” (Hood-Williams, 1996)

is correct, I utilise the term sex instead of gender in this thesis.

The post-structuralist turn in sociology saw a growth in the range of feminist literature on identity; sex and gender; and the body (e.g. Butler, 1990). This initially led to what some viewed as a disappearance of the body as a discursive or ideological construct. For example, identity theory is often accused of ignoring the material restrictions to taking on the range of identities on offer through the social this includes the economic and the body. The literature which explores the construction of bodies through discourse it is also often suggested, ignores the materiality of the body. For example, Butler’s (1993) book addressed the materiality of the body because many had seen this as lacking in her previous analysis (Butler, 1993).¹²

Later feminist work has adopted an approach which can be termed embodiment because it has tried to incorporate the materiality of the body and analyse the mutually constitutive nature of bodies and the social. Hence, Grosz (1994) calls for a corporeal feminism and analyses the interrelationship between and mutual creation of a pre-existing culturally inscribed body and the materiality of the body which is never fully contained by the social. In the approach I have outlined above I also draw attention to the intervention of the body in the social.

Leisure-sports are particularly important sites to analyse the embodiment of sex because the divisions which I examine are not solely about reproduction. Biological divisions between men and women often focus on the reproduction. Additionally, feminist theorists have often

argued that patriarchy, defined briefly as the system by which men as a group maintain overall power in relation to women, has its basis in reproductive relations. These are often defined very broadly (For example, see Hearn, 1987). However, most women at any given time are either too young, too old or simply choosing not to reproduce (Hood-Williams, 1996). In addition more women are choosing not to have children and those that do have more control over when they have them. Hence, patriarchy could be viewed as a more difficult arrangement for contemporary western culture to maintain. It is therefore interesting to examine an arena which appears on the surface at least to encourage women to compete with men equally and look at how the sexes are divided from one another.

In addition to this theorists of masculinity (e.g Hearn, 1987; Messner and Sabo, 1990; Morgan, 1992) have suggested that in a context where men no longer do physical work, or go to war and have increasingly lost their role as the breadwinner of families, sport is a potential source of retaining ideals of masculinity. I have already suggested that sport is somewhat preoccupied with retaining the division between men and women and part of this is the sex tests that exist primarily to prevent those who appear as women but are men using a superior physique to cheat in female races. Drug tests have also focused on the idea that both men and women might use steroids resulting in an enhanced masculinity which will give an advantage. Hence, masculinity is seen as a key feature of sporting success. This view remains despite much evidence to the contrary. For example, women's success at sports makes the fastest women runners faster than nearly all the men in the world. Hence, it is important to examine why women were originally encouraged into such a masculine arena as running.

¹² Butler stated that this was the criticism levelled at her earlier book Gender Trouble (1990).

In addition to the above, women's entry into elite and leisure-sports has received attention from feminists and has produced varying responses. Some leisure theorists have highlighted the benefits of more productive and life enhancing activities like poetry writing (McNeill and Coulson, 1994 cited in Wearing, 1998). However, others have viewed women being involved in leisure-sports as both indication of and a resource for positive and more physical ways of being. Hence, Pink (1996) proposes that women being involved in bull-fighting in Spain, suggests at a broader social level different relationships between women and their bodies and different possibilities for women. Sport may be seen as a key site for examining sex.

In this section I have argued that I am studying sex rather than gender because this is historically and culturally specific, varying in different social arenas within a given culture. I have suggested that running is an important site for examining sex because it is in a context of changing masculinity and femininity. This involves decreasing social sources of masculinity for men. In addition women, most of whom are not currently reproducing, also spend smaller parts of their lives having and raising children. The reproduction of children by women is often seen as the source of male/female inequality and in this context I have suggested that other areas of culture might become increasingly important sites for dividing the sexes. Leisure-sports like running are pertinent because they have been viewed as sources of masculinity and have been controversial in feminist theorising. Hence, in my study of running I seek to examine the embodiment of sex in and through running.

2.4 Conclusion

In my discussion I have tried to illustrate that running can be viewed as an activity through which sex becomes embodied. In order to study this process of embodiment with an adequate theoretical perspective, several requirements can be identified. A theoretical perspective must be able to view running as a process of embodiment. That is, it needs to be able to take into

account the mutually constitutive relationship between the body and the social. This needs to incorporate an analysis of all the materials involved in embodiment, including bodies themselves, their material context, the knowledges which underpin this process, the organisations of running and the magazines which I suggest are all part of this mutually constitutive process. An analysis of the relationship between these different elements is also required. An important part of this is the way in which analytical boundaries are drawn around elements of the data. I have proposed a body which can both extend beyond the skin and a social which permeates bodily boundaries. I have also suggested similar relationships between other elements of the social world (including the material).

Drawing on Merleau-Ponty's (1962) idea that it is never possible to take up sufficient positions to have total perception I decided to utilise three theoretical perspectives rather than one. I identified actor-network theory, a Foucauldian approach and realist theory as three suitable perspectives which most approximately suited my purpose. I have separately applied each of these theories and present my analysis using each in three individual chapters. In each of these I explain how I came to choose the particular theory and which aspects of my analysis they were most suited to. My application of these theories also explores the way in which they differently impose boundaries around "objects" for analysis giving different perspectives on subject/object relations. Before I move on to my analysis of the data, I first describe my methodology.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

3.0 Introduction

Running is a body technique in Mauss's (1985 [1938]) sense and an important process of embodiment in the broadest sense. Although a research project of this kind is presented as a completed statement, this completed statement is merely a temporary endpoint. The problem of a methodology chapter is therefore to show how the research process and the processes I analyse intertwine. In the last chapter I defined embodiment to mean a social process which incorporates the physical body and postulates the body and the social as mutually dependant elements of the world, neither being able to exist without the other. Hence, the body becomes a key player in the analysis of social processes; as the bearer of social processes; as acting to shape those social processes in an enabling and restrictive manner; and as itself being shaped by the social which it both facilitates and inhibits. The body and the social are conceptualised as having fluid relations and with elements of each permeating the other in a mutually reinforcing, self-creative and transformative fashion (see Chapter 2). Like other processes of self-creation the general nature of embodiment always depends upon an analysis of the particular and the particular focus I found most interesting was sex which in this case could not be discussed without reference to age and class. Although, Csordas (1990) and others presented the concept of embodiment as a new paradigm, this can be seen as a transcendence rather than a replacement of Geertz's (1993(1973)) stated aims for anthropology, which require thick description of the particular, followed by an analysis of its significance for the understanding of the social.

One of the difficulties that I had to address in choosing to study running was how to make much of what was already familiar to me, unfamiliar. The running I studied was British and therefore there was a considerable degree of overlap between my own beliefs and practices and those of runners, even though I am not a runner. For example, my attitudes to health are not dissimilar to some of those portrayed in the magazine and in the

interviews. This is by virtue of my occupying a particular social position within the same culture. The boundaries between runners and non-runners are harder to conceptualise than those between the researcher and their work. The problems for researchers studying “at home” in making the familiar strange are well documented by anthropologists (e.g. Powdermaker, 1967). Whilst studying I had to adopt a frame of mind whereby not only runners, but many of my own experiences could be viewed as strange, and one in which I could not take my own thought processes and practices for granted.

In addition to my need to make the familiar strange, I looked at processes, which had taken place across much of the world and spread back over a long period that is conventionally taken back to Ancient Greece (Guttmann, 1996). I wished only to consider its more recent history but still, the methodological issue was to analyse a situation that it was impossible to study directly due to its spread across space and time. Paradoxically, as mentioned above, I was also intimately tied up with and embedded within the processes, which I set out to analyse. As a result of these conditions I decided to look at the letter pages and the front covers of a monthly jogging and running magazine over the period of fifteen years.

Examining the development of ideas and ways of being that I take for granted through the magazine I felt would be (and found to be), beneficial in terms of making the familiar strange. Looking at magazine material that was written in the time period I wished to study and which brought together things happening in different places and times was a way of overcoming the time and space difficulties I had anticipated. I also carried out interviews with ten runners.¹³ This was a minor test to show how elements of processes

¹³ I did attend six races some to inform my research and some as an audience for my then partner. On two occasions (at the Potteries Marathon) I took notes. However, it was not part of my formal

apparent within the magazine also permeate people's lives. Both of these elements of data are a part of running culture, but my representation of them is of course mediated by my understanding of them. The problem of representation is a common problem that is both methodological and political (see for example, Berger, 1972; Goffman, 1979; Hargreaves, 1994; Blount and Cunningham, 1996; Bale, 1993; Bale and Sang, 1996) and this is one of the issues I address later in this chapter.

The magazine I studied began in nineteen seventy-nine and I elected to study the magazine for complete years, at five yearly intervals, beginning with the first issue in April 1979. I analysed complete years to allow for a seasonal fluctuation in content. I studied at five yearly intervals in order to assess the degree of change there had been over this period without studying every year. There was the possibility of changes in the intervening years but since there appeared to be a linear development by looking over five years (and having glanced at the years in between) this seemed not to be the case. Short-lived developments were not significant to the general trend of my analysis. Hence, the method can be considered successful for tracking major changes. This chapter provides a justification for the choice of the data collected; a description of, and justification for, the methods I used to analyse this data; and the beginning of an interrogation of the way in which my theoretical and conceptual concerns, effected my methodology which is continued throughout.

methodology for this project. My observations have however, formed a backdrop to my analysis. I also tried running for brief periods throughout the time of my research. I was never persistent enough to get to a stage where I enjoyed running, although I did not greatly dislike it either. I found my combined family and work commitments made it virtually impossible for me to sustain a level of running that would have enabled me to get to the point of it being easy enough to enjoy. However, it may have been that for me, this point would never have been reached.

My theoretical and conceptual concerns arise from a general question about the relationship between the theoretical and the empirical. They are brought into greater focus by my utilising three theories, actor-network theory (ANT), a Foucauldian approach and realist theory, to look at my data. These all conceptualise the empirical, and the continuously developing relationship between the conceptual realm and empirical realm differently. These relationships are interrogated and analysed throughout this thesis. In this chapter I justify the study of embodiment using my methodological approach.

The chapter is structured in the following way.

3.1 Background Concerns. I highlight a major issue which underpins my discussion of the research process, the degree of neutrality possible in research of this nature.

3.2 Choosing the Data. I describe my rationale for choosing the data I have utilised both in terms of theory and the subject matter whilst justifying their combination as a valid way of studying the embodiment of a diffuse cultural form such as running.

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis. I describe and evaluate the methodologies I used for data collection and analysis and discuss how the utilisation of three different theoretical approaches impacted upon the methodology.

3.4 Conclusion. I outline the benefits of and identify some of the difficulties associated with, my methodology for studying embodiment and raise issues for future research. I suggest that my combination of theories and data allowed for a thorough analysis of the data, by slightly altering my focus and what I selected from the data.

3.1 Background Concerns

Throughout this chapter there is a central question which arises from my theoretical concerns, the issue of what it is I need to know about “the world” to address those things

that I view as central to this thesis, and how adequately my methodology enables me to do this. Questions such as “what can we learn about embodiment by looking at magazine data?” are crucial in assessing the validity of my methodology. The success of my methodology is not best judged according to whether it enables me to have access to and analyse of all the available data but, by the degree to which it allows me to get at those aspects of the data significant to my theoretical and conceptual concerns. For example, the data needs to be relevant to the concepts of sex and embodiment and enable me to incorporate into my research findings, aspects of the empirical world revealed through my study of it, but not necessarily anticipated at the outset. I also feel it is important to acknowledge that I, the social researcher, am embedded within the processes of embodiment which I study (McRobbie, 1991) and this has influenced my selection, interpretation and utilisation of the theory. Theory does not apply itself to the world and the relationship between theory, data and the researcher is important if sociological “story-telling” is to be more than proving theories or expressing personal points of view. The degree of neutrality that is possible in apprehending and analysing data is an issue which I explore when I outline the way in which I chose the data.

3.2 Choosing the Data

In this section, I present my rationale for choosing to study specific aspects of running culture and suggest that they provide data relevant to running culture which also enables an analysis of their interaction with broader culture and the process of embodiment. I then outline how I came to select the particular magazine I studied, which began its life as *Jogging Magazine* in April 1979, quickly became *Running* (after fifteen issues) and then finally was called *Runner's World*, an international magazine published in several different

national versions. I follow this with a brief discussion of why I decided to carry out ten interviews and how I selected my respondents for interviewing.

3.2 (i) Insiders and Outsiders: How Can You Study Embodiment by Analysing Magazines and Interviewing?

The diffuse, fragmentary and unfinished nature of running culture and embodiment has made the magazine a good source of study because it incorporated so many different runners, events, ideas and material objects. The interviews have provided good supplementary data because they provide evidence that social processes brought to light by my analysis of the magazine data are also present in people's accounts of their running. The interviews give examples of the incorporation of these processes by individuals into a variety of different lifestyles. I suggest that the combined data provide information not only about the internal workings of running culture but has enabled me to examine the implicit and explicit social context and the relationship of running to the social more broadly. I do this by drawing on Foucault's ideas regarding the constitutive nature of *discourse* and *intertextuality* (see Foucault, 1991; Fairclough, 1992) while taking in to account some of Fairclough's critique (1992 pp37-61) and development of these ideas. I also draw on actor network theory's view of the materiality of the social.

Some authors argue that to study the embodiment of running, physically entering the culture and participating in it would be the best form of data upon which to base analysis (MacAloon, 1992). In the sociology of sport the validity of the research has sometimes been built around the way in which the person has been, or is, a participant in whatever sport is being studied (e.g. Messner and Sabo, 1990). The value of this is claimed to be that this not only gives insider status to the researcher but means that they have themselves an embodied knowledge of the sport which is not available to the non-participant. This

certainly has its value and there have been excellent studies conducted in this way.¹⁴

However, the nature of embodiment within late-modern culture makes insider and outsider status hard to define. As mentioned above, I suspected at the outset of my research and have found throughout my study, that I am already an “insider” with respect to many aspects of running culture as I share some of its values and ideals. Although I do not define myself as a runner I am a partial insider due to these connections. In many ways I am part of the same overall process of embodiment with which running is related. This arises from the nature of late modern cultures and the way embodiment works.

Insider and outsider status is hard to define because of the way running culture is formed and because of its lack of boundedness. Runners can be viewed as belonging to a neo-tribe, as described by Maffesoli (1991) or a tribe as referred to by Bauman (1992) in the sense that running shares the same membership criteria. There are no gate-keepers (at least at the non-elite end) and individuals are self-elected runners. This results in members differently constituting the criteria for belonging (Smith, S.L. (1998) also see throughout) and these criteria are often contradictory. Sporting cultures have been analysed in ways which, suggest that non-participants can be considered part of the culture. For example, Tomlinson and Wheaton’s (1998) study of windsurfing culture incorporated the “girlfriends” who did not windsurf, as part of that culture and as having an influence on the positioning others within it. The boundaries around who is part of any culture are difficult to draw.

Running culture has overlapping ideals and ideas about how bodies should be and look with many different sporting, leisure, health, consumption and body cultures. For

¹⁴ For example, Wheaton, of Tomlinson and Wheaton (1998) is herself a

example, the desirability of slimness and tonedness is not restricted to running but permeates culture more broadly (Borodo, 1990, 1993; Hargreaves, 1994). As a partial insider with regard to these values I am admittedly a resistant one.¹⁵ It was hard for runners to define themselves as totally inside they talked about other runners as “they” rather than “us” and did not always share the same sense of belonging that the magazine portrayed. The use of a magazine, which tries to bring together these fragmentary groups to attract as wide an audience as possible was a good source of study for this reason.

The magazine was also a good source of data because it drew on common and overlapping issues and bodily concerns for those who did not, as yet, run in order to attract people to the magazine and the activity. The concept of *intertextuality* is important here, because in attempting to introduce a new activity it is necessary to relate to concerns which people in broader society already have (Gillick, 1984; Hennion and Meadel, 1989; Davison et al. 1991). Consequently, the magazine becomes a good resource for examining the bodily concerns, which the editors believed people had in each of the years studied. These are not only implicit in the texts, for example, in the assumption that people are heterosexual, but are addressed very explicitly as in the perceived anxiety people have about ageing bodies.

A magazine study is one possible way of overcoming the problems associated with studying a culture which is fragmentary in terms of it being distributed across space, and being relatively unbounded. However, running is also dispersed in the sense that it has existed over a

wind-surfer.

¹⁵ For example, personally I work to reject the idea that slimness equals attractiveness, but find it hard to do so, because it so permeates our culture and belief system. Similarly, on one level I do not believe that pushing your body to marathon limits is about keeping the body fit but experience feelings of fitness when pushing my own body to its (much lesser) limits in different activities. Eight years of involvement in gymnastics as a child along with popular cultural imagery and ideals may

relatively long time period. The impossibility of being simultaneously in different times could be problematic in studying running culture. Running as a culture (then termed jogging) started in this country during the late nineteen sixties and early nineteen seventies. As I have attempted to investigate the development of the culture and the particular forms of embodiment it encouraged it is important to have data which crosses and addresses this time and space issue. The existence of this particular magazine over a substantial period of time enables a “looking back”. Of course, I, the social researcher can only study from my “now” position, or more accurately my series of now positions, which is continuously transformed by my research and my life circumstances (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1989, O’Connell Davison and Layder, 1994; Birch, 1998). However, I am considering data written at the time of the events which I am studying. The magazine data is of a qualitatively different nature from that which was gained from interviewing people who gave retrospective accounts sometimes over the same time period. Interview data relies on the reconstructions of running that respondents produce “now” as being important “then” (Seidman, 1991). The magazine front covers and letter pages arguably bring up issues considered pertinent to running at the particular time being studied.

To summarise, runners subscribe to different elements of the culture and often hold contradictory views. They all run, but to different standards and they are involved in the culture to varying degrees. Running culture draws on and interrelates with other late-modern leisure cultures (see for example, Featherstone, 1991b) and is diffuse and relatively unbounded. My desire to study the development of running culture requires me to look back over time. Having both magazine and interview based study has enabled me to do this in two ways. A magazine that was inclusive and tried to cater for as much of this

have influenced this.

diffuse group as possible is a good source of data because it allows for a broader picture than interview data alone. In many ways the magazine contributes to the unboundedness of the culture in its attempts to *enrol* as many runners as possible but it is enabled to do this due to the nature of embodiment in late modern Britain (Mellor and Shilling, 1997). The interview data provides some insight into how this culture permeates the lives of individuals.

3.2 (ii) Embodied Research

In this section I wish to address three issues. First I wish to continue my justification of the study of embodiment through an analysis of magazines and interviews which I began in the last chapter. Second, I wish to examine the way that the researcher being part of the process of embodiment impacts upon the research. Finally I want to raise the question of whom research on embodiment is for?

Feminist research into women is often viewed as being “for women” (e.g. McRobbie, 1991). Feminist or pro-feminist research on men is often presented as being “for men” and “women” (e.g. Hearn, 1987; Christian, 1994). However, as many feminists point out research cannot represent the views of all women as women themselves are differentiated by class, ethnicity and age, among other things (see for example, Harding, 1986) and the same observations can be made about men. In this thesis I have researched into a process of sex *differentiation* which takes place within one area of contemporary culture, running. I have also tried to inform about the values within that culture and their relationship to the social more generally revealing a context in which women’s bodies and older bodies become devalued within a specific arena and link this to broader trends. It is for anybody who is interested in questioning the values we attach to categories of people and who

wishes to challenge the basis of those categories. I do not wish to reinstate the categories as the purpose of my research.

In abandoning the assumption that there are two (or more) mutually exclusive groups one of whose interests will be reflected in the research it does not mean that my research is not feminist. An assumption that there is a detachment of signs from the signified (i.e. processes associated with sex from male and female bodies) may be viewed as a common theme in research into the cultures of late modernity. However, if all that is associated with femininity is devalued in arenas which already favour men, this obviously has negative consequences for a group who are defined as women. However, the value of much feminism, particularly feminist anthropology and of feminist studies of masculinity is that they draw attention to the idea that lack of social value does not necessarily equate with ultimate worth. Indeed many try to challenge the value of academic culture (Hooks, 1994). Feminist studies of men often point out that men are missing out on much that is good about the female human experience in contemporary cultures, as well as acting in ways which undermines female human experience (e.g. Morgan, 1992; Christian, 1994). The moves here suggest that feminist research should benefit all men and women. This makes it inclusive, but the mutually exclusive categories remain. What I wish to suggest is that although this categorisation is an important element of the data, my analysis seeks to challenge this categorisation as an appropriate way in which to divide the social.¹⁶

¹⁶ Hence, I am not suggesting that male and female do not exist and that research should never focus on issues and circumstances that are particular to one particular group, but that my own approach seeks to move away from this and examine what values this sex differentiation attaches to male and female. This type of research necessarily duplicates the categories themselves but in doing so I seek to challenge the validity of values which contribute to their existence.

The processual view of embodiment I have adopted, and the ideas I have utilised in Chapter two suggest that research that seeks to conflate sex and gender (Butler 1993; Hirschauer and Mol, 1995) question absolute categorisation because the segregation of the two concepts sex and gender and the two sex system are conceptually inadequate tools for analysis. It is paradoxical that my research that is based on this assumption can do nothing but examine the two “sex” system, which is there. My hope is that it does this in such a way that it begins to challenge it. Without the security of this categorisation the political appears to become more personal. Like McRobbie (1991, p.75) I believe what influenced my study is my academic and intellectual development but also my personal life. Once looked at my personal life, like that of most people, does not fit neatly into pre-categorised boxes (Star, 1991). I have therefore had to think carefully about my own relationships to the categories I am studying as well as those of the elements of the data. My views and my reflexive approach do not increase the personal nature of my research but brings out the interaction between the empirical, the theoretical and the researcher, attempting to make explicit what is usually hidden.

Embodiment is an elusive thing to study, attempting to “bring back the body” into social research and theorising, in a context where disciplinary boundaries have long defined “the body” as belonging to other disciplines, such as, biology, physiology, neurology and psychology, is difficult. However, sociology and anthropology bring their own valuable perspectives to the body focusing on the ways the bodies and the social interrelate. As stated in the previous chapter, social processes are viewed as both permeating bodies (and other material objects) and as being permeated by bodies making bodies and our views of them sites of sociological research (Haraway, 1984, 1994; Battersby, 1993; Grosz, 1994). Consequently, studying embodiment involves re-examining many of the social processes

that sociologists have traditionally studied, such as class, sex and ageing processes. The theoretical perspectives I have adopted locate these social processes in people, things and ideas; and not necessarily residing within a named group of people but it is often the case that they do. For example, feminine behaviour can be enacted by somebody classified as male but this behaviour may still remain categorised as feminine and be socially devalued. The interaction between a process of embodiment and the materials in which it is found is complex. For example, in sports masculine behaviours and bodily attributes have often been used to denigrate the women who possess them. This has been the case with female body-builders (Lowe, 1998). It is particularly difficult when the terms and their material form work so consistently as one, making their combination appear inevitable.

Femininity may be described or covertly referred to in a magazine or encoded in a material object and the focus of study then becomes the processes and concepts associated with femininity and masculinity. Underpinning this study is the idea that the social processes I have studied, are potentially present in every element of the data. Although aspects of femininity *may* largely reside within females this is a topic of study rather than an assumption of the research at the outset. As I was looking for significant transformation in the process of differentiation of sex this was important. This element of my study made a reflexive approach to research and analysis particularly desirable. For example, from my analysis of the front covers it appeared that the women runners bodies became more masculine over the time period studied. That is less body fat on the hips and bust. Although the change in itself was fairly self-evident the social meaning of this transformation requires considerable interpretation and sensitivity to your own ideals and prejudices. The view I ended up with drew on previous research (e.g. Hargreaves, 1994), the data, the theories I myself applied to the data and my own personal viewpoint.

The magazine's selling of consumer goods and events contributes to my argument that it is a good source of study to examine the materiality of sex. The study itself confirms the theoretical analysis provided in the last chapter and makes the point that bodies are not just of themselves divided but are *differentiated* through processes which are situated in things like magazines. For example, through my analysis of the magazine I learned much about the way the races were organised in terms of sex and age *differentiation* processes. The relevance of the content of the interviews to this argument is that they also show how materials, practices, knowledges and ideas are incorporated into daily lives.

I suggested earlier that there was a strong but controversial current of feeling in social science that there was something about the embodied knowledge or experience of being a runner, a man or a woman that enables a researcher to get at the world more completely. As suggested in the previous chapter Bourdieu (1988) proposes that if we knew more about this later form of knowledge and how it is learned and communicated we would know a lot more about social life. This is not the same as participant observation or the ethnographic method of anthropologists as described by Geertz (1984, 1993) because anthropologists do not usually expect to become part of a culture but merely live surrounded by it. The actual bodily experience of being there is viewed as important but it is perhaps the interaction between shared and not shared aspects of embodiment which incorporates culture and values that makes the experience important. I have approached my research with an anthropological spirit. I have no complete affiliation with my respondents because I do not share many of their life experiences. Also, I have not become a regular runner. Although arguably I have some affiliation in that in my own life I see regular physical exercise as an important part of feeling "well".

Anthropologists and feminists in general have paid great attention to the idea that the researcher's sex, ethnicity and age effect what aspects of cultures they have access to in the course of their fieldwork (Moore, 1988; O'Connell Davidson and Layder, 1994). In the context of other cultures this is often viewed as the restriction placed upon the researcher by the culture itself that will not allow certain categories of people contact with other categories of people (Moore, 1988). Anthropologists at home face a different set of problems because of the shared culture and lack of difference and the question becomes how to make the familiar, unfamiliar, as we have seen. Issues of similarity and difference are also referred to in research into class in sociology (Standing, 1998). Advice is given about how to "study up", and how to "study down". All of this draws attention to important aspects of the research process, but often assumes that the researcher occupies single and known position(s) in relation to the material and group of people being studied (Ribbens, 1998). The restrictions I faced in this respect with regard to the interviews were not about cultural taboos on my access to people but were subtle and related to the many categories to which I am assigned and to the way I perceive my interviewees. In interviewing men and women I moved between points of difference and similarity. For example, a male interviewee stated that one of the things he liked most about running with a club was the way in which he felt he could encourage people who were struggling to complete a distance by slowing down and running by their side. I identified with this because it is an ideal I strive for in different areas of my life in various ways. He then stated that running prevented colds and minor illnesses. I found this hard to identify with (Interviewee J).

According to the idea of embodiment, the processes, which inform interaction are not fully conscious to us. For example, it was perfectly ordinary for men to speak to me about running given my position as researcher. However, the things revealed to me may well have been shaped by, my being a woman, a non-runner, a person of a particular age relative to them and many other things. In my research I found that people interviewed and who wrote about themselves in the letters did not straightforwardly act as “typical” men or women. There were letters from women some of whose practices and ideas I judged as more “masculine” than mine and other letter writers and others who wrote of practices seemed more feminine than was generally the case. For example, one woman respondent ran in the countryside alone, a practice which was much more typical of men. However, she also talked about the way her running was very much fitted around the demands of her husband and children (Interviewee, A.). Similarly, the man above described cooperative and supportive behaviour that I perceived as more feminine and less competitive than that of women who I interviewed and my own at times.

The forms of embodiment associated with any particular historical period are thought to differ. It has been suggested, late modernity provides us with the opportunity, more than in other eras, to come into contact with different categories of people, things and cultures (e.g. Mellor and Shilling, 1997). It is therefore possible we are subject to greater degrees of personal change and incorporate an increasing variety of social processes. We create identity through different forms of body culture which make it more likely that similarity and difference are experienced in relation to all categories in sociological and anthropological studies. For example, many of us move between being relatively working-class and relatively middle-class depending on our context. I interviewed men whose

employment, accent and posture suggested they were working-class but who expressed ideas associated with the new-middle class in their answers to my questions. Similarly, I can be considered relatively old, or relatively young depending upon my company and this is often related to perceived age rather than chronological age. If I am a woman who is the main wage-earner in a family I experience many of the problems more traditionally associated with men, and may be perceived as more masculine than some women and men. Category membership is after all a relational process whose embodiment is always incomplete (Shilling, 1992) and my interviewees illustrated this throughout their conversation with me.¹⁷

For me as a researcher (and a person) this view of embodiment has informed my approach to the methodology. I believe that my thinking about my own relationship to the people I have interviewed, the materials, words and ideas I have analysed, and the theories I have utilised has been an ongoing relational process. I have deliberately tried not to definitively categorise myself others at the outset of the research, although a total achievement of this is not possible, given the unconscious nature of much of this process.¹⁸ Beginning with a magazine study has, I believe, helped this reflexive attitude. It allowed me to analyse a

¹⁷ Categorisation can be more or less durable. For example, sex is assigned at birth and it takes a lot of effort on the part of individuals and groups to actively change or challenge their own membership of the categories male or female. It also takes considerable effort to challenge the appropriateness of these categories and the social consequences of belonging to one or the other.

¹⁸ This involves an attempted suspension of belief because both in terms of myself, those I interviewed and the magazine data, people are already pre-categorised, particularly in terms of their being a man or a woman. However, as bearers and active contributors to social processes they may, for the purposes of this research be anything.

material form of running culture that embodied part of running culture in a reflexive manner.¹⁹

The view of embodiment portrayed above, legitimises its study through magazine and interview data. The analysis of such social processes and their materiality challenges the location of conceptual categories and also questions the political role of research that operates within a paradigm of embodiment. I suggested that such research can remain political without assuming that the consequences of the social processes analysed are the same for members of any given group. My working within a framework of embodiment, has led to constant analysis of the always unfinished relationship between me, the data and the conceptual ideas I have utilised. In the next section I outline how I selected the particular magazine I studied.

3.2(iii) Choosing The Magazine and the Elements to Study

Magazine based research and the purposeful searching out of interviewees from different categories can help overcome some of the difficulties associated with the study of a diffuse cultural form. The magazine I chose was based upon a compromise between certain elements I required for my study. In order to study the recent history of the development of running culture in Britain, I needed a magazine that had started relatively early in running's "career" in this country, but which had continued up until the nineteen nineties. The magazine I eventually settled on began in nineteen seventy-nine a little later than I

¹⁹ This is a double-edged sword to some degree because the interactive feedback is also analytically useful. However, I think by interviewing and doing a magazine study two kinds of reflexivity were incorporated. One in which I analysed my own position vis a vis a magazine which interacted with me and another in which the interactivity of the interview situation influenced my interpretation.

would have liked but other criteria also influenced my choice. As my interest was in the development of leisure running I wanted a magazine, which was aimed across the running market. It was the incorporation of joggers into running culture, and how that transformed the existing athletic culture, which interested me once I started to look at a range of running magazines. The magazine was a medium through which running was “sold” to the British public, consequently the messages being put out were clearly overt (Barthes, 1975) and in the initial period were aimed at *enrolling* people new to the activity. The magazine had to have a reasonable circulation, the magazine I choose had a circulation which was sufficient to sustain its existence over the period of study and that made it Britain’s best selling running magazine by the end of the period (see covers of *Runner’s World*, 1994-1995).

The magazine changed both its title and ownership over the period of study, but had a sense of continuity in terms of the way it portrayed itself to its readership and in its staffing. These title changes are significant to the development of running I have studied. The change from *Jogging* to *Running Magazine* which happened after its first year of publication, came over a period when the magazines focus moved from jogging for fitness to road racing which was itself gaining popularity. When *Running Magazine* became *Runner’s World*, long distance mass races were a fully established global phenomena with major races in many international cities throughout the globe (Bale, 1993; Berking and Neckel, 1993) as well as other less urban environments.

The magazine I chose was selected because it attempted to appeal across a broad spectrum of runners, from beginners to more serious athletes. It also made an overt effort to appeal to adults of different ages. There were other running magazines which attempt to do

something similar but they had not been in publication for as long so they did not cover the period of time I wished to analyse. Equally there were magazines which had been in circulation longer but were aimed at athletes rather than the less serious runners and therefore did not fulfil my criteria, for example, *Athletics Weekly*.

The letter pages were selected because they contained the edited views of a broad spectrum of runners. Initially, the letters to the magazine were fairly equally divided between those that expressed the concerns of more serious or experienced runners and the beginners and less seriously committed (see Chapter Four). The page was flagged as the place where a wide range of runners had the chance to express their opinions. In the nineteen seventy-nine to nineteen eighty-four magazines the letter pages were headed with encouraging words like “Your chance to sound off on any running topic”. By nineteen eighty-nine the encouraging words had disappeared but readers were enticed to write with a prize consisting of a pair of training shoes (see Chapter Five). It is arguably here that current issues for runners and running were discussed. However, the selection and editing was done by the magazine editors. These were partially defined by the readers, but with the editors having overall control. It is apparent from my study of the magazine that the editors’ control, was also modified by the advertisers and the organisations with which they had links. The content of the letters page emerged from the concerns of various groups (see Chapter 5 for a fuller discussion of this).

The front covers were selected because part of their purpose is to give out very overt messages, which would attract this broad spectrum of runners and would be runners. In addition to this the front covers had also to please the advertisers whose goods were also utilised to attract a readership. The magazine had a glossy cover that was laid out in a

typical British magazine fashion and featured a large picture (see Chapter Five) usually of a runner.²⁰ The front covers were chosen because they incorporated visual representations of runners their clothing and environments. These were present in the words of the letter pages but the pictorial evidence has a qualitative difference (see Sayer, 1992 for discussion of qualitative difference and actor-network theory throughout). It was visually stimulating and the messages are encoded in a different format. In addition the front cover flagged, with snappy catch phrases, or through reference to pertinent issues, articles that were inside the magazine. Again these were designed to attract runners of all standards and those whom the magazine hoped would take up running. Consequently, it was a good source for examining those things it believed would attract both existing and would be runners. It had to convince existing non-runners that it would benefit them to take up the activity and hence had to tap into what it believed were the current concerns of people in general.

Combining these two elements of the magazine data was fruitful because they were independently good sources of data, but also due to the effectiveness of their combination. Only the content of the letter pages and front covers of the magazine studied was analysed. The method was not however a straightforward content analysis in a quantitative sense. Its production was only referred to where this was made explicit by aspects of the content. The consumption and interpretation of the magazine, by its readership, was unknown to me. Like Fairclough (1992) I think that ideally all of these aspects of the magazine would be studied and the institutional contexts, which frame it. However, this would be an

although these are both active their materiality and the forms of communication are different

²⁰ This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five of this thesis.

impossible task for one researcher and the content which I studied served best for examining processes of embodiment.

The theoretical perspectives adopted have helped direct my attention to aspects of the institutional and broader social context, which the magazine both overtly referred to and covertly depended upon. This was uncovered through a *discourse* and a representational analysis of the aspects of the magazine I studied, which I did because like McRobbie (1991: p.75) I believed that the magazines could be viewed as “a system of messages, a signifying system and a bearer of a certain ideology”, in this case an ideology which “deals with the construction” of the ideal middle-class individual in late modern Britain. This ideology is not uniform and contains many conflicting messages, which come in both words and pictures. The magazine’s strategy of trying to appeal to a diverse readership made this more apparent. The choice of two types of data has allowed for an analysis of these messages put over in qualitatively different ways, but in both cases in a context where the magazine is overtly trying to relate to and attract a readership.

Fairclough (1992) suggests that fully comprehensive studies of *discourse* are rarely possible and that the research carried out is often shaped by the research question. In my case I believe that questions about the meaning and consequences of the embodiment of running culture were addressed well through my study of the magazine data. However, this was supplemented by the interviews to increase my understanding of the field of research as a whole.

3.2(iv) Deciding to Interview

I decided to supplement my magazine study with ten unstructured interviews with runners for three reasons. First, to see if the messages I identified within the elements of the

magazine were also evident in runner's talk about what they say they do and believe. Second, to explore how ideas about running and its practices were assimilated with existing beliefs and bodily practices of runners, who are always more than runners, hold many different beliefs and have varying lifestyles. Third, I wanted to see whether these runners embodied the social processes I was interested in. I decided that ten qualitative interviews would be adequate for my purposes because the time restriction would not allow for a representative sample from which it would be possible to make generalisations about "all runners". Instead, I was interested in the qualitative data the interviews would produce about the way in which bodily practices were tied up with the embodiment of sex. My sampling technique was a snowballing technique which led to my interviewing seven men and three women. As many more men than women run (see Chapter One) it seemed fair to have a sample that was biased in terms of men. The interviewing technique, context and background data to these interviews is outlined below.

The interviewees were not selected on the basis that they had read the magazine I studied, although, most were aware (if somewhat vaguely) of its existence. This did not concern me because I did not want to ask about the consumption of the magazine but about people's involvement in, and relationship with running. I was interested in the way that running as an activity brought with it a whole range of beliefs, ideas and practices that are linked to the embodiment of social processes. My thesis is concerned with exploring the link between theorising about embodiment and the social practices, materials and beliefs which constitute running, a diffuse and fragmentary cultural form. I do not believe that analysing fragments of that culture detracts from the validity of the picture it starts to build up, as any picture of something so vast will always be partial.

Like Miller (1997) I do not view my combination of methods as triangulation because the purpose is “not to discover indisputable facts about a single social reality”. However, contrary to Miller (1997) I have not used my different methods primarily to link the sociological perspectives I have utilised, but to explore the sociological perspectives and the empirical field simultaneously.

In utilising the three types of data, I do not wish to suggest that the objects to which the interview material and the magazine data refer are identical; and that therefore my mixture of methods provides proof of the objective world to which they each refer. I assume a qualitative difference between the different forms of data (Sayer, 1992) and utilised the combination of methods and theories with a view to increasing insight (Miller, 1997) into what the runners interviewed and the magazine call running, and what sociologists call embodiment and sex. I adopt a realist perspective in assuming that the contents of the magazine, the words spoken by the interviews and the conceptual and theoretical practices of sociologists are real and transformative processes (Althusser, 1969). I further explore this idea and the relationship between the empirical field and sociological theorising throughout because it is an important methodological issue. However, next I describe the process of analysing the data.

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis

In this section I first describe the way in which I analysed the letter pages. I then go on to discuss the way in which I interpreted the pictorial representations on the front covers and the front covers as a whole. Finally, I describe the interviews and their analysis.

3.3 (i) Interpreting the Letters

The method I have used to analyse and interpret the letters can be described by the broad term *discourse* analysis which covers a range of analytical styles (Punch, 1998). The letter pages can be viewed as a *discourse* that creates its own documentary “reality” about running (Atkinson and Coffey, 1997). In doing so it interrelates with other documentary sources both within the magazine and outside of it. For example, with official documents and also with other letters on the page and in previous editions. This creates a documentary reality which is a distinctive level of running culture (Atkinson and Coffey, 1997) and is a form of *intertextuality*, in which one text draws upon, relates to and transforms other texts. Texts are both shaped by the outside world and may act back upon it. Therefore, in actor-network theory terms they are given actor status and are imbued with power. *Intertextuality* can also be viewed as involving, materials, people, ideas organisations and events (Fairclough, 1992). Hence, although the letters are a level of running that is distinct from any other element of the *network* (in ANT terms) the concept of *intertextuality* inextricably ties them to other aspects of the network. So in analysing the letters I had a broad focus, and examined the letters for the way in which they constructed the world of running and the process of embodiment it entailed.

In my analysis of the letters the task was to interpret the letters in such a way that I looked not at the language as such, although the middle-class style was important, but what it was used for and in what context and to what ends. The letters were not broken down into sentences, but into meaningful chunks or what Barthes (1975) terms *lexia*. These can consist of a few words, a sentence or several sentences. They are those chunks of the letters which are:

“... the best possible space in which we can observe meanings; its dimension, empirically determined, estimated, will depend on the density of connotations, variable according to the moments of the text...”.
(Barthes, 1975, p.13)

According to Barthes (1975) each *lexia* should have at least three or four possible meanings.

This was certainly the case with my *lexia*. For example,

When many of us took to the roads, the A.A.A. did not want to know, but once their organization realised that money was available, then permits became necessary - why? An easy income for nothing. What does the A.A.A. give in exchange for the permit fee? Nothing. Regularly I read of poorly-organised permit races with short or long courses, incorrect finishing and recording procedures and so on...." (April, 1984, 2)

This statement could be taken to mean that every runner including A.A.A. affiliated runners wished for races to not be permitted by the A.A.A.. It could alternatively be taken as testimony as the complete inefficiency of the A.A.A. and as part of a broader challenge to their ability to measure and time races efficiently. However, the way I interpreted each *lexia* was influenced heavily by the theoretical perspectives and concepts I adopted to analyse the letters. In the chapter where I utilised this *lexia* I was looking for the various *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* that influenced the development of the race. Consequently, I was looking for other *lexia* which both supported and contradicted this idea and led to my not seeing it as a totally representative statement. When an interpretation of one *lexia* is dependent on its inter-relationship with other elements of the data a *lexia* may entail fragments from several elements of the letters. The letter above was bound *intertextually* with other elements of the letters page which indicated that this view was modified by the editors who responded with a more positive view of the A.A.A.. Its *intertextuality* with other elements of the magazine indicated that many of those involved in the production of the magazine were also involved with the A.A.A.. In addition previous research into the topic and my own developing views indicated that what emerged as road racing was not sufficiently challenging to organised running for the A.A.A. and other organised sporting institutions to be over turned. The interaction between these three things narrowed down the range of possible interpretations and give validity to my own.

My approach was qualitative and I did not count the number of statements on any of the

topics I considered important, even so, *lexia* that were important aspects of the data tended to have other *lexia* which validated my interpretation of any particular one. Where I have selected quotations from the letters they are quotes whose meaning is either repeated or validated elsewhere. The chunks of text initially identified were grouped around themes. So for example, a recurring theme in the early letters was one around health and fitness and chunks of text referring to this were extracted and photocopies of the highlighted *lexia* were put into a folder. This group was then further broken down into smaller groups such as those concerned with; fat, pulses, hearts, lungs, consumption habits, cigarette smoking and running. These were then examined for the way that the particular *problematization* of the body portrayed in the magazine materialised sex differentiation. Similarly, for my Foucauldian analysis I had identified from the letters that runners divided themselves hierarchically through relationships with the landscape. Hence, I examined the letters for statements, which referred to landscapes. It was then possible to interpret *lexia* to see how *dividing practices*, which incorporated landscapes were related to processes of embodiment. A similar approach was adopted in my realist analysis.

My analysis was a mixture of two types described by Punch (1998). First, it was of a type that is common in the sociology of knowledge where the letters were analysed to see how the ideas were presented to validate what was being said. Second, I was following a tradition based in European social philosophy which shows:

“how institutions, practices and even the individual person can be understood as produced through the workings of a set of discourses.” (Punch, 1998, p.227)

This was the case even when I was not using a Foucauldian approach upon which these ideas are based. Actor-network theory and the realist approach I adopted use different terminology but the overall view is not dissimilar. The ways in which running is viewed as being produced within each theoretical framework is described within the respective substantive chapters.

The *intertextual* nature of the letters meant that although I was dealing with a single material form of running analysis revealed that they incorporated different material aspects of the social, through the words. For example, they included discussions of organisations. The theoretical perspectives I adopted relate these different levels in distinctive ways and hence each focused my attention on different aspects of the letters. This meant that what *lexia* became meaningful to me varied with each approach because the elements of the data related differently and the letters relationship to the social was also distinct. Again, this is analysed within the substantive chapters.

I made a decision as to which theoretical perspective would be most suited to covering particular elements of the data. This was partially influenced by their previous usage. actor-network theory has been used to good effect by Singleton and Michael, (1993) and Hirschauer and Mol (1995), to show how the categories, anaemic and not anaemic, and male and female, are created in heterogeneous ways across time and space. After I began my study Strathern (1997) used the approach to illustrate how the sexes are differentiated, confirming that my decision to use this theoretical perspective to look at the way the sexes are differentiated in the letter pages was appropriate. Also influencing my decision as to what data to incorporate into particular theoretical analysis was the fact that certain time periods of the magazine became more and less relevant. For example, in my realist analysis, the middle period was particularly important because the races were growing in popularity and their form was constantly debated within the letters.

Although each of my analyses of the letters involved a distinctive theoretical approach, they cannot be entirely isolated from one another. Partially because as with most

theoretical approaches there is considerable overlap but also because findings from one part of the study informed the other. The results of my analysis utilising each approach is presented in the relevant chapter and it is there also that the success of each one is evaluated. I now turn to describe my representational analysis of the front covers. Like the letters this involved breaking the pictures down into “meaningful chunks” and emphasising some parts of the data at expense of others.

3.3 (ii) Analysing the Front Covers

Analysing the front covers involved both word and picture analysis. The words were analysed in the same way as the letters. Their meanings were perhaps less ambiguous than those of the letters because in producing the front covers to attract people the meaning had to be clearly accessible to the relevant population (an implied readership, Atkinson and Coffey, 1997), who would be passing the magazine on a newspaper shelf. On the other hand ambiguity was used as an active strategy in which headline topics act to draw people to reading the magazine as has been found to be the case with newspaper headlines (Watson, 1997). For example, the caption “How the Over-Forties can age backwards by Bruce Tulloh” (*Jogging Magazine*, March 1979, front cover) is quite unambiguously referring to an article in the magazine which is going to address the issue of reversing the ageing process. However, it does raise questions for the reader who will hopefully (from the magazines point of view) want to buy the magazine to find out how it can be done. It is also contentious because it is questionable whether the ageing process can be reversed. Additionally, it is based upon the assumption that potential readers would want to do this. Readers who are already interested in running may be attracted by the name Bruce Tulloh, or alternatively they may wish to know who he is. Therefore although the words on the front cover almost always have a degree of clarity that

helps the potential reader to know what type of articles the magazine contains, the ambiguity can help attract.

The messages given on the front cover are, like the letters, viewed as ideological. In the example in the above paragraph the assumption that people will want to reverse the ageing process is ideological because it values youth and denigrates old age at the same time. The ideology is based upon what the magazine editors believe is acceptable and desirable to a potential readership. Issue one flags articles that link: jogging, slimming and fun runs; jogging and competitive athletics with an article on Steve Ovett; jogging for health with some celebrities of the time; jogging and the ageing process; and, glamour and jogging fitness. These links are made through a mixture of words and pictures (see fig. 3.1). In order to draw out relevant links the theoretical concepts were important in extracting significant data.

The pictures were also treated as ideological and existing in a realm of representation that was separate from the activity of running but that was also part of running culture as a whole. As Fyfe and Law (1988) suggest:

“A depiction is never just an illustration. It is the material representation, the apparently stabilised product of a process of work. And it is the site for the construction and depiction of social difference. To understand a visualisation is thus to inquire into its provenance and into the social work that it does. It is to note its principles of exclusion and inclusion, to detect the roles that it makes available, to understand the way in which they are distributed, and to decode the hierarchies and differences that it naturalises. And it is also to analyse the ways in which authorship is constructed or concealed and the sense of audience is released.” (p.1)

As with the letters the elements of the pictures were broken down into meaningful units whose coherence was partially bought into being through the theoretical perspectives and concepts I utilised. These units like the *lexia* could vary. For example, they could entail an arm position, a whole body, the positioning of people and things within a front cover, the colours used or a facial expression. The units could spread across only one front cover or may have been drawn from several magazines over the same year, from a comparison of two different years or the

whole of the front covers for the period of analysis. Sometimes the words and pictures worked together to produce a complete unit of meaning. The aspects of the front covers, which were drawn together in units meaningful to analysis, were not necessarily concordant and sometimes the contradiction forms an explicit part of the meaning.

Fig. 3.1 Issue One of The Magazine.

Having an overview of the front covers, and units of meaning that could incorporate a whole year was useful in helping both to draw out new themes that had not been uncovered in the letters and as further elucidation of some of the themes raised by the letters. An example of a theme made more explicit by the front covers, was the link between jogging and male sexual performance whereby, articles within the magazine were flagged (April, 1979; June 1979; and January 1980). This was less apparent within the letters but resulted in my re-examining their content to explore this idea. Also, having units of meaning that spread across the whole period of study helped me identify both stability and change.

As with the letters the front covers were interpreted utilising the concepts from each theoretical perspective. In focusing on sex I was like Goffman (1979) looking for the ways in which men and women were presented differently (see also Davis, L. 1997; Pinfold, 1998; Whannel, 1998). The way my analysis worked in practice is best seen through an illustrative example in which I use an ANT approach.

I examined the *problematization(s)*²¹ of the body, which focused upon its fitness or well-being and which were promoted by the magazine. There were several elements to fitness, and food consumption was one of them. The changing attitude towards food and its role in the constitution of running fitness was brought out through an analysis of the front covers. Units of meaning which constituted my ANT analysis of food were constructed by drawing upon front covers from the first and last year of study and words and pictures were incorporated into this unit. On the front covers of *Jogging Magazine*, which made up the first year, food was almost always talked about in the context of slimming. For example, according to the front covers (and substantiated within) issues from the first year contained the following articles

“Your beginner’s guide to Jogging, Slimming & Fun Runs” (March, 1979); “Six slim-guides for those who hate dieting” (May 1979); “The model who jogs to keep her figure” and “Super salads for summer slimmers” (July, 1979); and “Fact: jogging will help you lose weight” (November, 1979). These are all articles that suggest a combination of, cutting down on food intake and or changing the type of food you ate, plus jogging will help you loose fat, which seems to be presented as the overall goal.

The articles about food in the period nineteen-ninety four to nineteen-ninety five, focused upon food as a means to enhance performance. Example articles flagged by the front covers included “Magic Garlic: Why it’s the miracle food that will breathe life into your running” (June, 1994), “Fast Food For Quicker Running: 15 surprisingly healthy foods” (April, 1994), and “Nutrition for Real Men: 10 tips that could save your life”, (January, 1995). Food became presented as a means to enhancing running performance. The increased running performance is presented as the goal and body fat is only talked about in relation to this overall goal. Hence, there are articles such as, “Putting on the Pounds: Don’t panic – your running needn’t suffer!” (March, 1995), and “The Heavier Runner’s Guide: *Training schedules *Diet tips *Shoe advice *Injury prevention”(December, 1994). This changes the *problematization* of the body and its fitness offered by the magazine. The pictures on the front covers also have changing content which contribute to this trend of changing the embodiment of running. The bodies on the front for women and men alter shape. In this way the network as a whole seems to alter the relationship between fitness, food, fat and running. Hence, from this evidence I identified a *network* created from various elements of the front covers (and other data) which altered the relationship between fitness, food, fat and running.

²¹ This concept is defined in Chapter Four.

There were other elements to my analysis of this trend through the front covers but this will suffice as an example. In drawing together different elements of the front covers and utilising my ANT perspective, meaningful units were made.

3.3 (iii) Analysing the Front Covers: a Brief Summary

As stated above analysing the front covers did not only involve drawing on the theoretical perspectives. The concepts of embodiment and sex were also crucial in constructing the units into which the pictures were broken down and the way in which elements of the data was linked. So for example, in looking at what the magazine deemed “fitness” the process of sex differentiation was examined. Therefore, when I looked at the role of body fat I examined how the concepts of men and women were created through their differential relationship to the views and practices presented in the magazine. When I was examining the races the notion of competition within running was central and influenced the data selection and interpretation. I now describe my interview methodology.

3.3 (iv) Interviewing and Analysing the Interview Data.

The interview data, once collected, was transcribed and broken down into *lexia* in the same way as the letters. Again this was influenced by each of the theoretical perspectives in the relevant part of the analysis. Consequently, I refer the reader to the section above for my methodology in how the data was analysed. This section therefore focuses on how the interview data was conceptualised and how interviews were conducted.

3.3 (v) The Sampling Procedure and Surface Data

As stated above, a snowballing technique with a small sample of interviewees (ten in this case) cannot be classified as a representative sample of the category “runners” or of any sub-

categories within the group (i.e. men, women) (Robson and Foster, 1989). My purpose in these interviews was merely to see if the concepts and ideas that I had identified through my analysis of the magazine, were relevant to people who ran when they were interviewed in a relatively non-directive way. Semi-structured interviews were also appropriate for my purpose because I had runners of varying standards whose major concerns with regard to their running could not easily be anticipated beforehand. Although there were topics I wanted to ask about I also wanted to be able to follow issues raised by the interviewee. So, for example, one interviewee talked mainly about running in relations to her desire to maintain weight and confidence (interviewee G), two others focused upon their feelings about races and training (interviewees A and H). The interviews were conducted after most of my analysis of the magazine was complete. Like Plummer (1995) I conceptualised interviews as a social encounter in which data about (but also of) running culture is generated. It was the qualitative nature of the data produced through the interview situation and how this related to the magazine data that interested me most.

The snowballing technique I used had two starting points. One group began with contacting a local running club and after interviewing each person I asked for another contact, my only specification being that they ran. This route produced five male interviewees. Another group began at the university at which I am based and began with a male interviewee who did not belong to a running club. I then asked for a female contact. This was successful and this and my subsequent request led to two more female contacts, followed by another male interviewee. These two routes provided access to runners who did and did not belong to clubs. In asking for referrals I attempted to influence the age range by selecting according to age from the lists of possible contacts given to me by each runner. I was usually given two or three names with some details of their running involvement. I did not always select those that

were most centrally involved in running because my interest was in a broad range of runners. My seven male interviewees were aged 42(C), 22(D), 19(E), 26(F) 34(H), 35(I) and 48(J). My three female interviewees were 35(A), 26(B) and 29(G). The letters after the ages will from here on in be used to refer to these interviewees. My female runners did therefore not cover such a wide age range. However, they had a fairly broad spectrum of experience from a fitness runner, to someone who regularly won local long distance races and who helped organise races. The male interviewees were also variously experienced. One of the males had been fairly elite in that he had been selected for the English cross country team at one stage in his career when he was doing quite well on the national scene. At the other end of the spectrum was one runner who largely ran alone for fitness and had only once entered a race. The length of experience varied from one year to eighteen years. This mix was advantageous from my point of view and was partially a result of having two trails in my snowballing procedure. The variation in “surface data” of the interviewees was only interesting and relevant in a qualitative sense because, as stated above, they cannot be considered as representative of runners as a whole. However, in adopting a perspective in which interviewer and interviewees create data through an interactive social situation, the interviewees various life experiences form part of the material from which data can be created. This variation is considered important in that runners of different ages, sexes and levels of experience are likely to draw different material into this creative process, hence broadening potential. However, it also indicates that similar processes that were identified in these different individuals are present in people that vary in many other respects.

3.3 (vi) Generating the Interview Data

It is relatively common in post-modern approaches to social research, to see interviews as a creative process in which new data about running is generated rather than as providing a

window to a real past. However, this does not make the way in which the interviews are conducted any less important (O'Connell Davidson and Layder, 1994). What it is possible to create in interviews depends on the past experience of both the interviewer and interviewee (Ribbens, 1998), as well as what takes place in the situated encounter of the interview (Plummer, 1995). The need to carefully consider the context of the interviews, the way questions are asked, and how to manage the relationship are still important if interviewees are able to bring their past experience into this creative process to best effect. Hence, the impact of the setting, the type of questions asked and the relationship between my interviewees and I are considered next.

My preference was to conduct the interviews in territory the interviewees considered their own I felt this would make them feel more at ease and to help counteract the power balance between interviewer and interviewee (Seidman, 1991). The majority (six), of the interviews were carried out in the homes of the interviewees. Three were conducted in the place of work of those interviewed (three in a university, one in a car sales garage). One interview took place in my own office but this was with another academic who seemed reasonably comfortable in that environment. In each case there was only the two of us present during the interview as I did not want any observers, who in the homes of the interviewees were usually related, to affect what was said or to distract the conversation. This was particularly relevant when, as in three cases other family members were runners. When the interviews took place in the homes of the interviewees, the other family members usually came and talked with me and the interviewee both prior to the interview and after it. In all cases these turned out to be a continuation of the conversations we had during the interview. Where I interviewed people in their work offices the after interview discussion also seemed to focus upon what was said in the interview. These were sometimes revealing conversations. For

example, a woman who I interviewed had a husband who occasionally ran and they disagreed about the position of women in running. Another running couple discussed their different views on running. Two males who shared a house discussed discrepancies in their versions of events that had happened in the past. I could not ethically use this data as this was outside of the interview. However, I did feel that it indicated a certain level of comfort with me because they did not seem concerned that I was party to this situation.

I was concerned before I started interviewing that people would not want to talk to me and may find my presence in their home, usually at night, intrusive. However, both in work offices and at home my interviewees talked reasonably openly. I tried to make the interviewees at ease during the pre-interview conversations when we were with others and when we were alone. Following, the research ethics of some feminists (e.g. see Miller, 1998), I wished to be fairly revealing of myself and my intentions during the conversation prior to the interview to in order to balance the power relations between myself and the interviewee. I did not wish to disclose my feelings about and my analysis of running however, because I felt this might interfere with what was said. The idea of self-revelation is difficult with a topic like running which most interviewees tended to see as fairly innocuous and as revealing very little that they were concerned about being in the public arena. So for example, three of my male interviewees (who were part of the same snowballing chain and knew each other) said they would like to be acknowledged by name in my thesis. However, some of the conversations were of a more personal nature and involved negative views of the interviewees body or information about painful periods in the interviewees personal life. For example:

“I really feel bad ... when all I could really think about was running. I had a girlfriend we had been together a long time, at that time and I treated her really badly ... in the end she said I had to choose between her and running ... I just couldn't care really about anything but running though,. I treated nearly everybody around me badly. ...” (Interviewee H)

The data which is of a more sensitive nature does not appear in this thesis because it turned out to be outside its range.

I began my conversations with interviewees with topics unrelated to the research. For example, about how easy or difficult I had found it to find the house or the place of work, the weather and other common topics of conversation. In seven of the cases I was offered a cup of tea or coffee and this helped to break the ice. Having interviews in their home seemed to put some of the onus on them to make me feel at ease too. Hence, the situation became one in which we co-operated to a greater degree in making one another comfortable. The other three interviewees were relaxed and chatty upon my arrival and seemed keen to move on to the interview. They were in their work places (and in one case in mine) and may have felt more under pressure to get on. However, they provided me with fairly lengthy interviews of approximately one hour, which does not really confirm this view. They also remained and talked to me for a while after the interview. The offering of a drink may therefore have indicated a degree of anxiety or could have been more about the custom of offering hospitality to visitors. Despite the relaxed atmosphere, when I switched the tape recorder on to tape the interview there was a degree of awkwardness to begin with that dissipated as the conversation continued and we both forgot the tape recorder was there, as was suggested by Seidman (1991). My attention was partially distracted from time to time as I was concerned to make sure that I turned the tape over at the appropriate time but I tried hard not to let this interfere.

The physical context of the interview did seem to effect its content. Apart from the idea that when people are relaxed they are more likely to be able to communicate with you, when people were in their own homes they often used items in the room as props. So for example, interviewees A and H pointed to their prizes that were in the room where the interview was

conducted. In addition interviewees A, B, D, E, H and J described the areas over which they ran and which were near to the place of the interview. My understanding of their answers, in these cases depended upon my knowing the area to a certain degree, which I did. So when two of the female interviewees were talking about running in unlighted and unpopulated areas my understanding of what they were saying, was enhanced by my knowing these areas and therefore, the degree of darkness and remoteness they encountered. Where I did not have immediate knowledge of the area that was talked about I had to ask the interviewee to describe the physical environment in more detail. However, even when I did know a place a degree of probing was required to understand why they did or did not like running in particular places.

Despite my concern about interviewees not wanting to talk to me, my main difficulty was in drawing the interviews to a close. I wanted the interviews to be relatively unstructured because I wanted each to discuss the aspects of their running they felt were important. I did have a list of topics that I used, to partially structure the interviews, particularly when the answers to the questions were fairly short, as they were in one interview. I think this was due to a speech style and a shyness that I found difficult to overcome despite adopting different strategies. My list was amended slightly as I proceeded with the interviews as different issues were raised. This list is presented in Appendix I. I have also included in this Appendix sample transcriptions of two of my interviews to illustrate the interview process.

I waited until I reached a comfortable rapport with each of my interviewees before I started interviewing and recording. My questions were not pre-worded because I wanted to use questions that were both appropriate to the interviewees and the specific contexts in which I asked the questions. This was often effected by the pre-interview conversation so the

interviews started in different ways and covered different areas. For example, with one interview I opened with the question:

Me: So when and why did you start running?

F: About a year ago. Just over a year ago. Mainly because its boring really. Like the nights are dark. I was in a long term relationship until like the middle of last year. When that finished there was all these things I wanted to do.

In another a slightly different opening:

Me: What sort of running do you do?

A. As I say I don't really like running around town. Mainly because of the traffic and all that. I like the countryside far more, I enjoy the feeling of freedom I can get in the countryside.

These first questions were determined by the pre-interview conversations which inevitably turned to running.

Sometimes I had to ask interviewees to go back and describe for me again, things stated in the pre-interview conversation. In the pre-interview conversation I would try to put over the same information to my interviewees, so I would give a pre-amble immediately prior to the interview before I turned the tape recorder on, which although not pre-worded covered the same themes. These themes are presented in Appendix II. I had not screened my interviewees for social class but in terms of employment, the majority of them were employed as professionals or semi-professionals. The remaining three worked in factories, two on the production line and one as a fitter. Their style of language did largely vary with patterns of employment but these were not entirely concordant.

The interviewees reply to each question would influence the question I asked next. I ticked off the topics on my check list which were covered by their answers and I would add things I wanted them to clarify if it was not an appropriate point to intervene. This was not because I rigorously followed the list but because of my anxiety that interviewees would run out of things to say. The interviewees required different questions to feel comfortable enough to

produce answers that were considered comprehensive enough. Hence, the creative process of generating data is heavily influenced by the interviewers desire to generate data relevant to the topics of study. In addition however, the interviewees raised issues, which I wished to pursue. My style of interviewing was on the whole non-confrontational, empathetic, and encouraging of the interviewees (Farganis, 1989). This was helped by my liking and feeling comfortable with each of the people I interviewed. I wished them to be as creative as possible in the use of their own life histories. However, occasionally I would ask questions which were interpreted as confrontational. For example, a male interviewee (D) was asked why he thought more men than women took part in races. He stated that he had not noticed this to be the case. I pointed out some evidence to back up my claim, from a race he had entered and he seemed a little threatened at first. However, after looking at me quite hard, he then reflected upon what I had said and came up with a fairly well considered answer.

As stated at the start of this section once the interviews had been transcribed they were analysed in much the same way as the letters.

3.4 Conclusion

This discussion of methodology is continued throughout because I go on to conceptualise the data utilising my three theoretical approaches. To summarise what I have said so far I utilised three elements of data two of which (the letter pages and the front covers) were drawn from the same magazine and sampled in the same way. The transcribed interviews and the letter pages were analysed in the same ways, by dividing them into *lexia* (Barthes, 1975, 1985) and conducting a discourse analysis. The selection and analysis of these *lexia* were influenced by my theoretical and conceptual concerns and my own development. The front covers were also broken down into meaningful units. For all elements of the data this could transcend the individual page or interview. My interviews were unstructured in order to accommodate the

different types of runners that constituted by snowball sample and to allow runners to focus on what they thought was important about their running, as well as concerns raised by my research.

I suggested in the introduction that the degree of neutrality possible and that was achieved was important in assessing the value of my research. I have argued that neutrality is not really possible, but that my research emerges as a result of an interaction between the theories I have utilised, the data and my emergent and developing self. A view of this from a realist perspective is discussed in Chapter Six.

These three elements of the data have not been viewed as a form of triangulation. They each belong and relate to the field of running in a different way but they have enabled me to look at the processes involved in the embodiment of running. I have argued throughout this thesis that the same processes are constituted by these different forms of data. I believe that the magazine was a good source of study because although not providing that broad sweep statistical data that large scale surveys do, they do bring together things that have happened across space and time and have allowed me to study the process of embodiment I seek to elucidate. I would have liked to have been able to study the production process and the audience effects of the magazine which I believe would have given a more comprehensive view. However, the data I have is rich and was in itself difficult to manage in a thesis. Had my interviews been more structured I could have gathered more standardised data, but they served the purpose of clarifying that the processes I identified in the magazine were also happening through people. In the following three chapters I present the analysis of the data gleaned through my methodology.

Chapter Four. Jogging and Running: Transforming Borders and Embodying Sex.

4.0 Introduction.

"To make a large number of competitors and compatriots depart from their usual ways, many ethnographers both had to go further and longer out of *their* usual ways, and then come *back*. The constraints imposed by convincing people, going out and coming back, are such that this can be achieved only if everything about the savage life is transformed into immutable mobiles that are easily readable and presentable." (Latour, 1990, p39)

"With all the air getting into my lungs I found it easy to give up my foul 30-cigarettes-a-day habit by breathing deeply instead of puffing on the horrible weed, and, lo and behold, your second issue has an article on giving up smoking! ... Gone is the fatigue. I now feel alive, and it's all down to you, jogging. Keep up the good work." (June, 1979, 1)

Runners presented themselves as individuals who, like the rest of the population, had wavered from the path of good living and had not been adequate custodians of their own bodies. Like Latour's "ethnographers" the magazine provided runners with easily understood motifs, such as fat, cigarettes and alcohol, and an activity, running, which would help them understand what was "right" about running and what was "wrong" with not running. In this chapter I focus on the *problematization*²² of the body promoted by the magazine, which I view as contributing to a reconstitution of the boundaries of embodied sex. This was partially achieved by convincing people that they had been misled and had fallen into immoral ways that were detrimental to their well-being. For running to be a boundary activity and become a sport, a leisure activity and a practice to promote well-being²³ it had to position itself to appeal to a broad range of runners. To attract men and women it had to convince both that running was beneficial for them without compromising either the masculinity or femininity of those involved. It also had to convince different age groups that running was appropriate for them. Successfully *enrolling* men and women of different

²² Where I have used terms that are specific to actor-network theory which are to be elaborated later in this chapter, I have put them in italics to indicate there is a specific usage.

²³ I have used the concept well-being because the magazine seems to be enrolling people to reconstitute their definitions of health and fitness. This involved an acceptance of the idea that being healthy is not simply an absence of disease.

ages to running praxis involved them accepting a redefinition of the boundaries between sexed and aged embodiment. This chapter focuses on description and analysis of the *mechanisms* involved in this redefinition of the body.²⁴

In order to develop my argument I use mainly the early data from the magazine (when it was called, *Jogging Magazine*). This was the period when *enroling* runners was paramount if running was to grow into an established leisure-sport and old ideas about the health and fitness of the body were to be challenged. The magazine worked hard to convince a broad range of readers, not accustomed to this form of exercise, that running was an activity that could benefit them. Running was sold as a form of body culture that was attractive to a wide range of people, rather than as a sport that would offer glory for a few. My analysis of data from other periods, and the interview data, brings out important changes and continuities.

In order to produce my analysis I have transformed the data into identifiable networks. To present these complex and contradictory networks in a coherent fashion I have divided the chapter into the following sections:

4.1) **Actor-Network Theory and the Embodiment of Running.** This outlines the main reasons why I selected ANT for my analysis.

4.2) **The Actor-Network Approach.** This contains a brief description of the terms employed in this chapter which draw on ANT.

²⁴ This chapter only examines some of the mechanisms involved; it excludes the clothing and running environment which are also constitutive of the network and the hierarchy. For a discussion of the term mechanisms see Chapter 6.

4.3) **Conceptualising the Data with ANT: Magazines and Interviews.**

This focuses on the way I have conceptualised the magazine and interview data utilising actor-network theory.

4.4) **Reconceptualising Fitness.** This examines the praxis the magazine was attempting to enrol readers to participate in, and the interviewees participation in this *network*.

4.5) **Assessing the Actor-Network Approach: Embodying the Network, Embodying Hierarchy.** Here, the implications and limitations of using this theoretical approach will be assessed.

4.1 Actor Network Theory and The Embodiment of Running

Actor-network theories (ANT's) ability to conceptualise embodiment as a process was an important reason for selecting it as a theoretical approach. The ANT perspective which I adopt here focuses upon the *networks* that contribute to the process of embodiment in contemporary running culture. This includes those *networks* which contain the body and its parts. This allows for an analysis of embodiment in which the body and the social are not distinct but part of the same process. ANT also enables an analysis of how embodiment of sex is achieved through the heterogeneous materials that make up running (exemplary ANT authors who, I suggest, write about embodiment include Hirschauer and Mol, (1995); Singleton and Michael (1993)). I have also outlined in chapter two how I have used the term sex in this thesis because *differentiation* in running involves elements of the body which are usually viewed as constitutive of sex differences. The distinctiveness of ANT is its rejection of the idea that it is just living people who can be classified as acting in the social (e.g.'s Latour, (1985, 1987, 1988, 1990), Callon, M. (1986), Law, (1986, 1994). It incorporates 'dead labour' or things as actors.

I selected ANT therefore, because it suggested ways in which the albeit shifting concerns of the *network* as a whole are embodied in its nodal actors, both material and human. This allows for a conceptualisation of sex at once as permeating individual bodies and at the same time extending beyond individual body and group boundaries, facilitating identification between previously disparate groups and individuals. This is a necessary part of the social, if transformation is possible. Old divisions and boundaries are drawn upon and simultaneously transformed creating new distinctions between individuals and groups. I argue that this re-creation of similarity and difference resulted in a re-formation of sex and age *differentiation*, which altered the embodiment of sex and age in fundamental ways. Marx used the term *aufhebung* to describe the way in which religion would be abolished, preserved and transcended, i.e. to describe dialectical change (Giddens, 1971, p.7). In the conclusion to this chapter I shall suggest that this is what running did to embodied sex and age.

The process of transformation which I identify, invited women to run and to shape their bodies according to what had been a masculine ideal. It was not just men and women involved in sports who were expected to develop lean and muscular bodies for sporting achievement. Well-being, fitness and physical attractiveness for all ages and for both men and women became synonymous with, and was symbolised by, the sporting body. Evaluating women's bodies in terms of those which have achieved fast running speeds encourages a devaluation of those elements of women's bodies which are arguably linked to childbirth and childbearing. Breasts and thighs become "dead weight" and something to be exercised away; negative components of the body which women are morally responsible for. In addition, signs of ageing such as additional body fat, were also to be worked upon and eradicated through running. Encouraging everybody to run involved *enrolling* all individuals into a *problematization* of the body which valorised a body type most typical of the young male in

contemporary culture. High levels of activity were valued and the ease and difficulty of participation for different groups was not part of the evaluation of their achievements at running. At the same time as new associations resulted in men, women and people of different ages being evaluated on the same basis, old boundaries were drawn upon, elaborated and preserved through the categorisation of runners. It is this process which I term following Marx, *aufhebung*.

In conceptualising this process of transformation I have drawn heavily upon Strathern's (1997) article which is itself influenced by actor network theory. It suggests that gender²⁵ *differentiation* is conceptualised and analysed in two different ways: *comparison* and *division*. *Comparison* is viewed as the usual mode of Euro-American thought about gender, which is analysed in terms of the degree of difference between male and female. Hence, males and females are compared against some conceptualised norm (which may itself be more male or female) and are found to be more one than the other. This is an additive process in which component parts of individuals and groups may be analysed and judged for their degree of masculinity and femininity. For both women and men participating in sporting activities the effects of this are contradictory (Hargreaves, 1994; Theberge, 1987, 1991; Messner and Sabo, 1990; Christian, 1994).²⁶ The second mode of analysis and conceptualisation of gender *differentiation*, *division* is identified from cultures where people are viewed as androgynous wholes which have to be divided in order to separate the sexes off from one another (Strathern, 1997). The work that goes on in these cultures is concerned with reproducing the same division (between male and female) as opposed to creating comparisons. However, Strathern also points out that

²⁵ I have used the term gender with reference to Strathern because this is the concept she utilises.

²⁶ Hargreaves (1994) suggest that once women's bodies do become more like mens (i.e. more muscular) then female muscle becomes sexualised and devalued. Successful sportswomen are often viewed as masculinised

“already built into the idea of comparison are the very ideas about the construction of division, such as that of gender....” (ibid. p.61).

I use these ideas to argue that in order to transform the boundaries of embodied sex in running, people are in certain respects reconstituted as androgynous wholes in order to create new processes of division and *differentiation*. At the same time old *comparisons* remain and are elaborated upon preserving the divisions and preventing radical transformation.

I also chose ANT as a mode of analysis because theorists utilising this approach referred to the body and conceptualised it as being part of a process of *differentiation*, which involved things and ideas as well as humans. Divisions between the sexes are produced in spatially and temporarily different locations (Mol and Hirshenauer, 1995). For example, Mol and Hirshenauer (1995) suggest that the averaging of the hormonal differences between men and women that takes place in scientific laboratories is part of an overall process that creates sex differences. Similarly, the legalistic definitions of male and female contribute to the process of sex differentiation. Without the laboratory and the legal system sex differences would not exist in the same way. With ANT therefore, it was possible to examine the embodiment of running as a process which involves the enrolment of heterogeneous materials which are spatially and temporally divided.²⁷ All elements of the social including people, things and ideas are treated in a non-hierarchical way and as actors for the purpose of analysis (Law, 1992, 1994). In the case of running this involves clothing, landscapes, ideas, bodily parts, bodily activities, the magazine and many other elements. These are all viewed as components of the embodiment of running which is both a hybrid process and involved in the creation and transformation of hybrid phenomena.

and “dubious” females and become subject to testing procedures.

²⁷ At the start of my thesis writing on sport which utilised this approach was apparently non-existent. However, during this period there have been two unpublished studies have come to my attention, one on cycling Enticott (1998) and one on home exercise machines Mckormack (1998).

I felt that ANT was also capable of analysing the different levels of the social. ANT is often accused of making the world “flat” and of treating large organisations in the same way as individual actors when they are clearly different (Law, 1998). Hence, it can be viewed as a theory that is incapable of conceptualising different levels of the social. Strathern (1996) suggests that ANT analysis should involve examining where and how networks are cut. The social is involved in producing its own levels and the points at which networks are cut can be identified through analysis. She suggests that in social life ownership often cuts networks creating actual and analytical distinction between elements of the social. For example, running shoes are developed and produced by scientists, designers, product managers, and labour working in different parts of the world. However, at some point they become Nike or Reebok shoes. This cuts ownership claims from all those involved in their production, and locates the ownership of product and design with a company. Hence, old *networks* are cut at this point and new ones begin as the product goes out onto the market place. Should the social, therefore, be conceptualised as being stratified? This is not an actor-network question because the hierarchical nature of *networks* is not really an issue for these theorists. However, it is an issue I have raised with reference to the other theories I have utilised, because there are important differences in the materialisation and the power effects of different aspects of the social. Through my analysis I have addressed the issue of whether or not these differences should be conceptualised as stratified.

Actor-network theory therefore was selected because it could conceptualise *differentiation* and embodiment in a processual manner and take into account the material hybridity of the world. It also enables an analysis of the multiplicity of locations in which the embodiment of running

is produced. It facilitates an analysis of transformation and change and I believe provides a means of conceptualising different levels of the social. I now go on to describe how the data was conceptualised utilising ANT.

4.2 The Actor-Network Approach.

ANT is a post-structural approach derived from semiotics, often called a sociology of translation or *enrolment* (Callon, 1986; Law 1998). In order for people to become *enroled* in the running network the *actors* defined by the *network* had to accept that running would benefit them. The *enrolment* of sufficient *allies* and the successful establishment of running *networks* involved a process of *translation*. This has four elements *problematization*, *interessement*, *enrolment* and the *mobilisation of allies* (Callon, 1986).

4.2 (i) Problematization.

Problematization refers to the way in which interested groups attempt to define the *actors*, and the relationship between them (Callon, 1986). They define their identity and "what they want". In running, the *actors* involved are organisations, individuals, bodily parts, bodily practices including running, lifestyle activities, and the magazine.²⁸ Hearts, pulses, body fat, lifestyle, levels of activity, food intake, alcohol intake, cigarette inhalation, and jogging and running all have relationships that are created, contested and perpetuated in the magazine. The magazine has several *problematizations* of the relationship between running and the body which are often contradictory, but it achieves a form of durability regardless. The magazine cannot simply impose definitions because elements, themselves *actors*, are always in danger of not

²⁸ Haraway (1994, p.65) points out that the term actor usually refers to the dominant, or the hero (usually male) and prefers the term actant (sometimes used by actor network theorists). The terms *actant* and *ally* are sometimes difficult to distinguish. When a network *enrols* an *actor*, in its absence and it has little choice in the matter, it is used as an *ally* rather than being an *actor*. However, even when we are talking of things aspects of their materiality may act to prevent the network being successful if they do not comply. For example, if blood pressure acts against the networks claims and does not drop through improving running the *network* may fail.

acting in accordance with their assigned role in the *network* (Callon, 1986). If heart rates refuse to drop and fat will not disappear when people take up running, then the *network* will fall apart. If they are re-defined by another more powerful *network*, which undermines the *problematization* provided by running, the *network* is also in danger of failing.

4.2 (ii) Interessement.

Interessement, the second aspect of *translation* refers to:

"Groups of actions by which an entity ... attempts to impose and stabilize the identity of the other actors it defines through its problematization. Different devices are used to implement these actions." (Callon, 1986, p.207)

The magazine can be considered in its entirety as a device of *interessement*. It attempts to draw together and illustrate the relationships between the *actors* the *network* seeks to define, providing evidence that they respond in ways the *network* suggests. Consequently, *enrolment* and the *mobilisation of allies* are more likely to occur.

When the magazine is analysed in terms of its constituent parts it can be viewed as several "entities". The letter pages and the front covers and the words and pictures that make them up being the case in point. Each element (i.e. word or picture) can be viewed as an entity or an *actor* in its own right or as part of a bigger entity (a whole letter or a whole page).

Contradictory *problematizations* of the body presented in the magazine meant that devices of *interessement* which were useful to all *problematizations* were particularly important and as I illustrate later the appearance of the body was one of these.

4.2(iii) Enrolment.

Enrolment:

"designates the device by which a set of interrelated roles is defined and attributed to actors who accept them. ... To describe enrolment is thus to describe the group of multilateral negotiations, trials of

strength and tricks that accompany the intersements and enable them to succeed." (Callon, 1986, p.211)

Hence, *enrolment* is the process by which the connection between running and well-being is established and maintained. The concept of *durability* is also important here. *Networks* are always in danger of falling apart and need repetitive work to remain stable. However, they can, once established, become more *durable*. If the heart is to stay enroled running needs to establish itself in the face of other activities which also claim to keep it healthy. These need to be managed and kept at bay. The magazine as part of running culture needs to convince as many people as possible that bodily parts and bodies (as a whole) act and feel bad if you do not run, and good if you do.

4.2(iv) The Mobilisation of Allies.

The *mobilisation of allies* refers to the idea that the spokesperson must be viewed as representative. In the case of the magazine, this is of a broad group of runners. In order to maintain its position it had carefully to negotiate and to alter its role in accordance with the groups it represented, dropping things that might threaten its credibility with various groups. It also employed a range of different "experts" who added to its apparent representativeness.

The words and pictures of the letters and the front covers, do not illustrate *translation* as four separate phases, which correctly reflect ANT's view that they are ongoing processes.

Controversies occur and sometimes these are resolved within the existing *problematization*.

At other times the *problematization* changes in response to the controversy. The process is continuous and although certain aspects of the *network* become *punctualised* and more durable, there is always danger that the achievement of stability will be disrupted.

4.2 (v) Punctualisation.

Within an ANT perspective, running can be viewed as a *Punctualisation*. Running and some of its component parts come to stand for a whole range of, usually invisible, *networks*. Hence, over time running comes to stand for healthy hearts and healthy lifestyles. The *networks*, which associate these with running, become gradually invisible as the meaning of running is taken for granted. There is, however, a considerable amount of work put into holding these invisible *networks* in place. For example, the numerous pictures of runners who appear to embody fitness to run, health and aesthetic purity are part of this work.

4.2 (vi) Immutable Mobiles.

ANT has made much of the importance of *immutable mobiles* in the creation of “knowledge” (eg. Latour, 1985, Law, 1986, 1998, Callon, 1996, Mol and Mesman, 1996). An *immutable mobile* is something that can be transported through time and space in a form that is understandable to those it is transported to. Hence it can be anything, a bodily technique, an idea, or a measuring device. These all help to create, maintain and transform the *network*. In "scientific culture" the invention of the printing press is viewed as an important *immutable mobile* because it allowed for diverse materials (i.e. the work of other scientists) from distant places to be gathered together and viewed by one person at the same time (Latour, 1990 p.32).

The magazine can be conceived of as an *immutable mobile* that gathered together a range of diverse materials for intending and existing runners. However, in order to be acceptable to its intended audience, which involved a broad spectrum of runners, the advice, techniques and ideas within had to be highly flexible. Hence, a range of loosely bound *immutable mobiles* were offered, which still maintain the network even if *actors* do not entirely accept specifically defined places within it (Singleton and Michael, 1993). For example, it does not matter if the motivation to run is to maintain or lose weight, to compete in a marathon, or for the sociability of belonging to a club. *Actors* may even resist certain aspects of their definition by the

network. Provided sufficient number of people keep running, particular body techniques are practised, equipment is bought and races occur, the *network* is maintained.

In this section I have outlined the major ANT terms and concepts I have utilised in my analysis. I have used these to trace a changing process of sex and age differentiation, which I argue can be seen through an examination of running culture. Next, I illustrate how I conceptualised my data using ANT.

4.3 Conceptualising the Data with ANT: Magazines and Interviews.

The magazine is an *actor* whose mass production and dissemination, facilitates the communication of information about running to people. Information is made readily available facilitating the growth and maintenance of running *networks*. Race diaries were included in the magazine (see fig 4.1), facilitating the growth of road races, and information about different brands of running shoes and clothing would not be such common currency without its existence .

The things referred to in the magazine through the words and the pictures and in the words of interviews have also been treated as *actors* in this analysis. Hence, it is the materials of running as represented by the magazine and interviewees that are considered to be part of *networks*. Although to some extent in this representational form they are the *allies*, they also have agency. My analysis illustrates how all these entities act to configure running as social phenomenon.

4.3(i) The Front Covers.

The front covers were viewed as part of a "visual culture" which to make sense to its intended audience had to be "immutable, presentable, readable and combinable" (Latour, 1990, p.26).

The front covers are *immutable* because each edition is printed in a recognisable format.

Ignoring the content, it is understood by British readers that the words in large letters,

commonly at the top of the page, are the title. The smaller words arranged around a central picture flag articles that are inside. The picture is usually believed to represent something about the content of the magazine. The front covers are presentable, in the sense that they are attractive and accessible to readers and use a format that can be easily understood. The magazine is readable, although the style of English may both reflect and shape the type of English speakers it is attractive to.²⁹ The front covers are combinable in the sense that readers can integrate the “information” offered with other sources of knowledge, accepting, contesting or dismissing the offer to engage with running’s *problematization* of the body and buy the magazine.

²⁹ In this case it is a middle-class style of English. This is discussed in greater detail in chapter five.

Fig. 4.1 A Race Diary and A Front Cover Advertising Clothing.

The front covers can be conceptualised as devices of *interreusement*, fully *enroled allies*, and as *actors* who are capable of *mobilising* others. They were fully *enroled allies* because their purpose was to incorporate others into running *network*. Their role as a device of *interreusement* is evident from the way they attempted to *enrol* "Jogging Families" and men and women of all ages. This was apparent from the articles flagged by the front cover (see fig. 4.2).

They did this partially through addressing categorised bodies: male, female, veterans, and runners of different abilities. Females and veterans had their own sections within the magazine, implying that the rest was more relevant to non-females and non-veteran (i.e. male seniors aged 17-40). The categories were also used on the front covers and they acted towards constructing the young male body as the neutral body and the ideal body (Hearn, 1998)³⁰.

The front covers also *enroled* elements of men's and women's bodies that it assumed they shared in common, and that it felt would act in accordance with its *problematization* of the relationship between the body and running. Hence, on the covers below, looking younger (October, 1979), losing weight (November, 1979) and avoiding illness (February, 1979) are used to draw readers to the magazine (fig. 4.3). That it managed to bring people into the *network* suggests that it was viewed as representative enough of the *network* to *mobilise allies*. Hence, the front covers were viewed as acting to *enrol* as many people as possible and as being variously positioned in the overall process of *translation*.

Fig. 4.2 Jogging Families and Appealing to Categories.

³⁰ This is in accordance with two of Hearn's discursive strategies "Absence, fixed presence, and avoidance" and "Alliance and attachment" (Hearn, 1998)

Fig. 4.3 Looking Younger, Losing Weight and Avoiding Illness by Running.

The front covers are fully *enroled allies* in the running *network* as a whole because the sale of the magazine must eventually depend on the number of people interested in reading about running. The magazine is specifically aimed at runners (tips, techniques, consumables for runners) and high levels of participation are essential to it. It needs to make itself sufficiently useful to the running community for it to sell. Additionally, it needs to convince its advertisers who bring in a large part of its revenue that it can successfully *enrol* individuals into buying running equipment. This required a large circulation. Its appeal to all levels of runners may be viewed as part of this strategy.

4.3 (ii) The Letters.

The magazine wishes to establish itself as a key player in the *network*, and the letters play a role in this. The evidence suggests that the magazine sought to offer advice, information and entertainment to a wide range of readers. In the first edition it was suggested that the magazine would be the "friendly coach at the elbow" of beginners whilst also offering "advanced training" to the:

"elite who emerge from being "mere" joggers into the runner class, and want to join an athletics club or attempt the marathon or do the four minute mile". (March 1979, From the Publisher).³¹

Hence, *Jogging Magazine* was attempting to establish itself as a resource of combinable information for all grades of runners.³² Consequently, the language used needed to incorporate those who were not specialist and the success of the network was indicated by the use of a common language (Douglas, 1973). This was evident in the letter pages, where a wide

³¹ Running hierarchies are apparent in this quote. The fact that the "mere" is in quotation marks does not seem to detract from this.

³² The magazine hopes to establish itself as what is termed as an "obligatory point of passage" or "necessary nodal" in actor network theory (Callon, 1986, Clegg, 1989). This is something through which all aspects of a given network must pass. Hence, the magazine hopes to become indispensable to the running community. It seems to both address and wish to create a new network incorporating the athletics market that *Athletics Weekly* addresses, and also a new group of runners. Letters criticising *Athletics Weekly* (August 1989), and the transformation of the running scene by the mid 1980's, suggest the goal was achieved, as does its establishment as Britain's number one athletics magazine by nineteen eighty-nine.

range of runners communicated with one another. To accept the language and its underlying assumptions was to subscribe to the *problematization* of the body and made it more likely that work upon the body needed for full *enrolment* would be carried out. To reach a wide audience, it needed to provide *immutable mobiles* for those concerned with the measurement of results. It also needed to enable those not interested in measurement to assess themselves without the use of accurate measuring instruments. That this was achieved is evident in the letter pages where a variety of runners contributed and communicated with one another.

The letters played a part in attempting to *enrol* allies who would accept the view of running portrayed by the magazine. This was partially achieved by allowing readers to contribute to the *networks*, making the relationship appear dialogical and the magazine responsive. The magazine expressed its hopes that large numbers of people would become differentially involved in the running *network* through the words of its publisher Sylvester Stein:

"Jogging is going to be the country's biggest sport. Participator sport, that is - we're not talking of the gallant millions who follow Match of the Day or Miss World. Already, we hear, there are about two million joggers (myself and 1,999,999 others), and there are still millions more on the fringes who would like to join in" (Jogging Magazine, March 1979, "From the Publisher")

The letters provide evidence of full *enrolment* of individuals and at the same time they provide "proof" that components of bodies and lifestyles conform to runnings *problematization* of the body. Hence, they become devices of *interesement*. Whether these were seen as convincing representatives of the *network* by readers cannot be fully established by this study.³³ However, they were part of an overall strategy which was successful.

³³ There was some evidence from the interviews that individuals were as or even more likely to accept advice from other runners as they were from "experts".

Often the letters took the form of mini-autobiographies providing anecdotal evidence for the validity of the *network*. Many of these were focused on portraying the struggles involved in becoming a jogger:

With only two issues of your wonderful magazine in the shops, I can honestly say that they have hurled me into a fitter healthier life than I have ever known before. ... Jogging, walking, jogging, walking for a good half-mile, walking, walking, jogging, walking, walking, for the next half mile. Feeling very tired, but with home only a quarter of mile away, I made a supreme effort and ran all the way. ... On my second day I expected to find my muscles painful but I had no pain at all and now, after six weeks of jogging, pain still eludes me, though I push myself much harder now. ... (June, 1979, 1)

New joggers used *immutable mobiles*, easily understood concepts such as smoking, drinking and fatness, to describe their former lives of unfitness. Their lives are always improved by running and part of this is presented through the, often jovial, style of the letters.

4.3 (iii) Magazine Networks.

The front covers also provide photographic evidence of the efficacy of running (either of fitness or racing success) and promise stories of success inside, and the provision of techniques through which you can gain or improve your runner status. They helped promote the association between running, fun and success: components of well-being. These elements will be described in the next section. Before this, I consider the significance of the interview data using an actor-network approach.

The letter pages and front covers of the magazines should not be viewed as reflective of just the writers, the editors, the running expertise they draw upon or the experiences they utilise. They are constituted by interactive relations between ideas, material objects, sports science labs, runners, clothes makers and manufacturers, magazine printers, colour photography, races and much more. These involve processual relations of exploitation, co-operation and communication between all the elements.

4.3 (iv) Interview Data.

The interview data is utilised like the magazine data to study the embodiment of running. Hence, this data, although resourced by the individuals who spoke the words in answer to my questions and prompts, is not simply a reflection of their words. It is my abstracted version of their words, selected to pursue my argument.

I utilise analytical tools gained from theory and empirical work. I use their words in an attempt to understand if and how they use the views of the body provided by jogging and running culture and evident in the magazine. Hence, like the runners who transform everything about their past and present lives into immutable mobiles, I do the same. I *enrol* their words, and attempt to make them easily readable and presentable and supportive of the *networks* of people and things I am creating to suggest my ideas have validity. However, although in my use of the interviews I attempt to order the words to support my argument, the order is somewhat false and resisted. The words illustrate heterogeneity, in terms of the interviewees bodies, ideas and lifestyles. They never fit all the categories. They utilise some of them, resist others, and re-order time and space in their words and ideas about running. They in no way follow the changing focus of the magazine over time. As with all people, they always belong to more than one *network* which affects their membership of this one. However, despite their heterogeneity, the embodiment of the running *network* both continues and transforms without any single individual necessarily conforming to all aspects.

The interviewees are not necessarily readers of the magazine. There were no regular readers. Their reiteration of the ideas within the magazine is not presented as evidence that there was a direct relationship between reading, viewing and doing. They are illustrative of the way in which these ideas are commonplace in running circles. Hence, the data from the magazine and the interviewees can be viewed as aspects of a broad running *network*. Within this *network* the

magazine had to negotiate a position which enabled it to be indispensable to running, a *network* which tapped into and contributed to ideas about well-being in society. It is the development of these *networks* I examine in the next section.

4.4 Reconceptualising Fitness: the Production of Well-being.

The letter pages, the front covers and interviews all suggest that the particular *problematization* of the body offered by running was attempting to reconceptualise fitness, expanding it to a notion of well-being which incorporated lifestyle, consumption and the body. It suggested that bodies were unfit due to their mistreatment. As stated above, *enrolment* is the process of negotiation by which *interessement* succeeds: in the case of running it involves competing elements of the *network* attempting to impose their definitions of *actors*. At the organisational level this involves negotiations between institutions, such as the Amateur Athletics Association (AAA), and the British Association of Road Races (BARR) about whom the focus should be on (elite athletes or other participants) in the organisation of races. This is discussed in chapter six. At another level competing definitions of the running body are offered. It is the latter that is focused upon in this chapter.

4.4 (i) Changing Conceptions of Fitness.

Running as a *network* had to convince people they needed to run. The magazine attempted this by suggesting that lack of disease did not mean that a person was “well” or “fit”. Hence, it provided a range of motifs, *immutable mobiles*, through which unfitness could be detected. The letters and front covers suggest individuals could detect in themselves the need to take up jogging in several different ways. The *problematization* of bodies offered by the magazine presented the signs as being somewhat akin to symptoms of a “chronic illness”. The *actors*, defined by the magazine and through which lack of well-being could become apparent, were

bodily parts, social activities and bodily practices. Hence, they permeated the boundaries of the body and social in heterogeneous *networks*.

First, a key factor was the look and feel of the body. Bodily symptoms were fairly wide ranging, involving the surface of the body as well as internal organs. Exterior problems could be seen with the naked eye. They were however often quantified (eg. by weight). The state of key internal organs could be measured through heart and pulse rates. The *actors* in this case are hearts, arteries, lungs, fat and the surface of the body. If the *network* is to be established then the identities prescribed by the magazine and the definition of each of these *actors* has to be accepted.

Second, the need to jog could be found in lifestyle factors, such as inactivity and the ingestion or inhalation of "immoral" substances, such as tobacco or alcohol. Secondary "symptoms" of the above factors could already be apparent in the form of bodily discomfort, lethargy, sluggishness or apathy. These *actors* need to be perceived by those possessing bodies as creating bodily discomfort or harm.

Third, the unfitness of the body could be realised through recognising that you could not run. This was then taken as evidence of a need to run. This indicates an already existing acceptance of the idea that the ability to run is an indicator of well-being. The jogging or running body can be viewed as a device of *interressement*. If the body cannot run then it confirms that immoral lifestyles have already had adverse effects. If the body becomes more able to run the more it is practised, then it becomes an indicator of the efficacy of running in increasing fitness.

These definitions of *actors* apply to people of all ages and sexes. Accepting running's definition involved acknowledging similarities between groups and in doing this breaking down boundaries between categories and accepting at least a degree of androgyny. Hence, running's *problematization* of the body, in this respect, undermined other social processes which differentiate men, women and age categories.

The boundaries between the "symptoms" presented above are in some ways false. People most often experienced several of these together. As with chronic illness symptoms could only be kept at bay by continuing the treatment: running. It was not the type of cure that could be taken up for a short period of time, in order to regain fitness, and then stopped. Hence these categories apply equally to continuing runners, although the concerns of more experienced runners change. They are less concerned with weight loss for example, and more concerned with speed. I will now describe "the symptoms" in more detail with examples from the magazine and interview data.

4.4 (ii) Fat and Well-being.

A key exterior factor indicating a lack of well-being was the presence of fat or flab. This was taken to mean that some action should be taken. Loss of fat is equated with increasing well-being and the presence of fat with unfitness. In the letters this is illustrated in several ways³⁴. Slimness is viewed as positive in itself and linked to desirable attributes. Fatness is viewed as undesirable and linked to negative personal traits:

“-the realisation that though fair and fat and 40 *I am not alone* in my desire to feel better and get slimmer. I have lost 11½ lbs in a month through jogging and diet.”
(1979, September)

“They'd regret their sloth in a few weeks time when I'd emerge slim, alert and incredibly fit from my chrysalis of fat complacency.” (1979, April)

³⁴ These are just a few examples, there are many more.

"I started jogging about September last year. I was slightly overweight and had a beer-belly growing. I'm 22, 5ft 10in, medium build, and did weigh 13¹/₂ to 13³/₄ stone, but now I am down to 12st 12lb and feel great." (1979, September)

"On October 1, 1978 I made up my mind to start jogging. I was smoking 20 cigarettes a day and on that day I quit. I was also weighing 45 pounds more than I do at the moment – you can imagine what I looked like in a tracksuit." (1979, November)

The letters indicate how fat is constructed as aesthetically unpleasant, indicative of moral lapse, ill health and physical incapacity. Even when a decrease in physical attractiveness is attributed to weight loss, the overall effect seems to be judged as beneficial and life enhancing.

Over the last three years, running has transformed me from a 5ft 9in, 12¹/₂-stoner, into a 10st, trim (minus beer gut) health addict. ... In fact some friends I have met since the start of my fitness programme have asked what has been wrong with me. ... Sometimes I must admit I have had a complex about my new physique and people's reactions to it. Personally I think I looked better in my face when I didn't run and the weight loss can sometimes have a sort of neurotic effect. However, I now feel a whole lot fitter bodily and intend to continue my jogging, as it is a pursuit I enjoy. (1980, March, 4)

It was not simply about aesthetics but related to the idea that less fat was part of an overall sense of well-being. Reducing body fat was a key feature of the well-being presented by the magazine.

The letters above indicate that the offered *problematization* of the body treated fat as a moral issue, which it was the individual's responsibility, as custodian of the body, to deal with. Morality and immorality became visible on the surface of the body, and fat became: a *punctualisation* which stood for an unhealthy and morally lax lifestyle; an *ally* of running because it disappeared when people ran; and an *actor* which could, if it did not comply, disrupt the *network*. It also became a device of *interessement* because stories of fat loss and slim runners on the front covers were utilised to help *enrol* others into the network.

The relationship between low body fat and fitness cannot be taken as a straightforwardly bodily grounded truth that the magazine simply promoted. The low body weight required to

maximise performance at long distance running is often viewed as unhealthy by health professionals³⁵ and can render runners to be judged as unfit to donate blood.³⁶ In the case of competitive athletes, low-body weight is about performance, not about well-being.

In line with this view, competitive runners, who were more likely to write about improving times and techniques, seem to consider low body weight the norm. Running improvement and loss of body weight were presented as "naturally" going together.

Steady training in the 20-30 mile bracket gradually improved times and weight. (1979, September)

Also high body weight is viewed as hindering running progress and other techniques may be required to lower body fat.³⁷

I started jogging four months ago and have suffered a lot of problems with my feet, which may not be unrelated to the fact that I weigh 13½ stone. I take the point from your first issue that overweight joggers need to diet as well, but what I really need is some advice about shoes. (1979, April)³⁸

This letter illustrates how other techniques than running may be needed where fat is considered to be particularly excessive. However, overall the apparent "naturalness" of the relationship between low body weight and running, is testimony to the success of the *network*. Once this happens challenges decline, and the association between thin and healthy is established. There is general agreement from all parts of the *network* that low body fat improves the ability to run. Where the ability to run is equated with well-being, low body weight also means well-being.

³⁵ Personal communication City General Hospital, Stoke-on-Trent, Health Education Unit, May 1995.

³⁶ For example, see letter page *Runner's World*, May 1998.

³⁷ No letters in 1979/80 seemed to contradict this idea. There was a journalist (December, 1979, 3) who claimed that he continued to jog and was still overweight. However, the statement "But I'll never learn. I still pack my running gear. And I still never take the lift. And I'm still overweight." suggests that his aims were still in line with the ideal of jog and loose weight.

³⁸ This extract also shows how joggers need discomfort during or caused by jogging, to be attributable to either their bodily inadequacies or their lack of the correct equipment. The only contradictory case I found was in a letter published, where jogging was abandoned due to bodily damage (and not taken up again). I shall

The front covers of the magazine *enroled* pictures of slim people, allowing their apparent lack of fat to be associated with the activity of running (see fig 4.4).³⁹ They were a vehicle through which representations of runners low body fat could *act to enrol* people into the network.

As these examples illustrate, the people on the front covers were usually either jogging or running or in jogging pose. They almost always looked happy or were pictured winning a race. Hence, the continuing association between running, slimness and well-being was reinforced. The front cover also contained statements such as "Fact, jogging will help you lose weight." (November, 1979).

Evidence of a similar nature, with regard to body fat, is provided by the interview data:

"We started because we spent last summer, you know just a lot of lads all going out and boozing. All the time and we started getting a bit unfit, and flabby." (Interviewee E)

"So I think for my physical health I felt much lighter, not necessarily in a way that I thought oh I'm better toned or whatever. I just felt physically much better in terms of walking and in terms of doing other activities." (Interviewee B)

return to this point later.

³⁹ Although as will be discussed later there is notably more visible "muscle" in the later editions.

Fig. 4.4 Front Covers Portraying Low Body Fat.

Although the runners interviewed are differentially involved in the running network, they all seem to agree or at least imply, that less body fat (described above as less flabby and lighter) is in some way part of a feeling of well being. Only one interviewee gave maintaining or losing weight as the main reason for running. This is line with findings of Campbell, Minten and Bond (1998) who also suggest that weight loss and maintenance is not the prime reason for women running. The descriptions of the relationships between running and fat are very different. Some focus on aesthetics, or on the practical abilities of the body outside running, whereas others refer to running ability. However, all of these lead to an acceptance of the *problematization* that associates excessive body fat and with bad health and unfitnes, and an *enrolment* to the view that running will help lessen it. The desirability of a slim body can be viewed as being over-determined because it was reinforced by biomedicine, many sporting cultures and in common aesthetic culture. As stated earlier, this focus on body fat ignores processes of *differentiation* from outside of running because it is stated as general problem for human adults.

4.4(iii) Immutable Mobiles and the Measurement of Body Fat.

Although body fat itself can be seen as an *immutable mobile* the measurement of body fat involves a variety of techniques. The runners I interviewed gauged their body weight by visual analysis, a general feeling or weighing scales. Runners also sometimes use callipers.⁴⁰ All these methods have been discussed in the magazine at different times. The gauges can be rough and doubtless different standards may exist about when a given body has too much body fat. This is particularly evident when elite runners and the low levels of body fat needed to enhance performance are considered. For example, one runner I interviewed claimed that people thought he looked ill when he was at his peak of performance (Interviewee H).

⁴⁰ Callipers are used to measure the ratio of fat.

However, as long as the relations between body fat and running remain stable it does not really matter which technique is used to assess this. Hence, a range of *immutable mobiles* may be utilised in runners self-enrolment.

If the ideal weight was made too explicit this might discourage enrolment. The flexibility of the *network* can be viewed as one means of ensuring its success. The desire to achieve low body fat was central to the *network* and as I suggested above seemed to be treating all bodies in an androgynous fashion. However, ironically men, women and people of different ages are defined as having hierarchical qualities by the network.⁴¹

4.4 (iv) Hierarchies of Fat: The Recreation of Differentiation.

The magazine encouraged fat bodies to run, but to reduce fat rather than to maintain their size. Hence, even by nineteen ninety-four when it has started to become accepted that you can be "fat" and fit, "*The Heavier Runner's Guide*" advertised on the October front cover (fig 4.5) has the following categories: training schedules; diet tips; shoe advice; and injury prevention. This indicates some acceptance by the *network* of fat but at the same time it is suggested that weight loss is needed and desirable.

⁴¹ The idea that you could be overweight and still fit has been raised at different times during the magazines history. For example, the March 1995 front cover carried the statement "Putting on the pounds? Don't worry your running needn't suffer." However, its general effect is to support the idea that ideally running and low weight go together.

Fig. 4.5 Advertising the Heavier Runner's Guide

Heavier runners were never featured on the front covers in the period under study.

Additionally, elite athletes, the most highly valued category by running culture, are usually extremely light. The effect of this valuation seems to create hierarchies between people carrying more or less fat.

Fat was presented as a particular problem for certain categories of people and this *problematization* created hierarchies between groups. The creation and perpetuation of categories of bodies is partially achieved through the averaging of things like body fat. This averaging process takes place in sports science and biomedical laboratories and the evidence is presented in the magazine. Through this process some categories are deemed to "naturally" carry more body fat than others. Hence an article in *Running for Women*, suggested that:

"Women have a considerably greater percentage of body fat than men. On average, male fat accounts for 15-18 per cent of total body weight, while female fat accounts for 25-33 per cent. ... fat is a *disadvantage* in activities like running, where it is simply a dead weight to be carried around the course." (October, 1985, p.34)

This article clearly located women's bodies further down the running hierarchy than men's.

By focusing on the average of each category rather than viewing the overlap between these groups as important fat is *enroled* to create categories. Categories are also achieved through the devaluation of body fat and its presentation as hindrance to performance in the running *network* and to well-being more generally. Average body mass also tends to increase with age. Men and women are therefore likely to be of less value in the hierarchy as they age. Although, as I go on to illustrate this is constituted by a range of elements body fat can be viewed as one of them.

4.4 (v) Pregnancy and “Fat”.

Then embarrassment at my shape drove me to run round the garden for ten minutes, twice daily! (July, 1979)

The method by which fat was acquired did not seem to affect the overall judgement. The above quote is from a pregnant woman who had run in public until she was seven months pregnant. This indicates that in running *network* the prime significance of the pregnant body is its apparent fatness. This still seemed to be the case in the nineties as the following letter indicated:

"My friends are embarrassed, my husband is concerned and my mother-in-law is shocked. Running when pregnant is evidently not the done thing. ... Men red with embarrassment, hastily cross to the other side of the street, old ladies stop and look on with horror, while children laugh and point rudely. The loneliness of the pregnant runner is no joke." (January, 1995)⁴²

This view may overlap with other *networks*. The pregnant body in motion could remind people of the act of sexual intercourse, or people might feel it will damage the baby.⁴³

However, by the nineties, health education schemes have worked quite hard to convince the general public that exercise when pregnant is important (see *Running for Women*, November 1989). In running's *problematization* of the body, pregnancy like body fat is viewed as undermining performance and is devalued.

4.4 (vi) Running and Femininity

"Will Running Make Me Muscly?" (March, 1980 "Women's Special").

The above is the title of an article. Although initially the magazine presented losing weight as one of the major benefits of running, the magazine also counteracted the idea that running would undermine femininity, something it felt that women would be concerned about.

However, running along with other body cultures of the seventies, eighties and nineties changed the shape of the ideal body for women from thin to toned or muscly (Hargreaves,

⁴² The magazine itself advocates slow running (jogging) as a means to keeping fit during pregnancy (see for example the front cover of "*Running, For Women*", November 1989, a special edition with that month's magazine). There is an article advertised with the words "Fit and Pregnant: Can You Be Both?" (the answer in the article is of course, yes and running, if carefully planned, can help you do it).

⁴³ In the theatre when nudity was first allowed on the stage it was only still nudes that were not illegal. It was the movement of the body that was seen as sexual. From this perspective running in public, even when not pregnant, would be viewed as a sexual act. Personal communication R. Frankenberg, April, 1998.

1994), linking toned muscles with femininity in its *problematization* of the body. The devaluing of body fat can be viewed as having contradictory effects for women. This is evident when the whole of the period under study is examined. As fig 4.6 illustrates the women on the nineteen seventies and early eighties covers had breasts and thighs that visibly carry a certain amount of fat although they were slim. In feminist analysis the photographic emphasis on these aspects of women is often interpreted as displaying and exploiting women as sexual objects. Fig. 4.7 shows glamorously presented front cover photographs of women from the late eighties and nineties data. The breasts are flattened and the body looks functional and muscular, in terms of running ability. As Hargreaves (1994) has suggested the effect of this seems contradictory in that women appear physically capable but they are still objectivised, because muscle itself has increasingly become sexualised. Camera angles and romantic settings are used to make the women appear alluring even though body shapes have changed.

The effects of women's participation in exercise cultures in general and running in particular are not clear. As suggested earlier some theorists including Pink (1996) suggest that women's physical activity has contributed to a re-configuring of the relationship between women's bodies and minds in wider society, implying a degree of empowerment that extends beyond the individual.

Fig. 4.6 Women From the Seventies and Early Eighties.

Fig. 4.7 The Toned Bodies of the Late Eighties and Nineties.

Campbell, Minten and Bond (1998) suggest that women feel empowered through their participation in running but they focus on the effects for individual women. However, what constitutes empowerment and the value of the overall direction in which the embodiment of

sex is moving is a difficult issue. The question of whether it is beneficial for women to participate in and succeed in such an arena has been at the heart of many feminist debates on sport and leisure. For example, as to whether women should try to enter sports to gain equality or whether sports themselves promote masculine ways of being that are undesirable for women and men (Messner and Sabo, 1990; Christian, 1994; Wearing, 1998). ANT analysis allows for an analysis of the process of *differentiation* which helps uncover the hierarchies that a leisure-sport like running creates which defines women as inferior to men and older adults as less valuable than younger ones. Women's participation in some ways contests this hierarchy but it requires a more in depth analysis to explore the broader implications of this.

The process of *differentiation* within running created a superior category, "men". It was overwhelmingly men who wrote to the magazine and who participated in running.

Although runners bodies are muscular, running cannot be considered a typical body expanding and masculine sport, as can something like body building or rugby. The extract above comparing the body fat ratios of men and women, illustrates this. Looking at the front covers (Fig 4.8) the bodies of the men on the front covers seem to display increased muscle from the late seventies to the nineties.

Fig. 4.8 The Increasingly Muscular Male Body.

This seems to have been a trend for bodily aesthetics as well as being linked to running success. In order to reach elite status in long distance running there seemed to be a consensus that low body fat was required:

"Top-class male runners usually have less than eight per cent body fat. Ireland's John Treacy was said to have a mere three per cent fat at the time of the 1980 Olympics in Moscow, when he placed 7th in the 5,000m. (Running for Women, October 1985, p.34)

Hence, the *network* as a whole valued and ranked men according to their body fat. Bodies could be toned no matter what their initial size.

Running was not a leisure sport which appealed equally to all classes. As stated earlier the middle-classes predominate (Berking and Neckel, 1993; Savage et al, 1992, Smith, S. 1998). Bourdieu (1988) suggests that men of different classes may shape themselves in a fashion appropriate to their social position through sport and leisure practices. The magazine catered for and represented a middle class group. This was evident from the language, the type of money you needed to participate and travel, and the declared occupations of the runners writing to the magazine. It is widely considered that that the middle-classes in contemporary Britain desire thin and hard bodies (e.g. Savage et al 1992; Mellor and Shilling 1997) and that this is related to the vulnerability of the middle-classes and their perceived need to protect themselves from "falling" into lower social groups.⁴⁴ The embodiment of running therefore can be viewed as pertaining to a process of middle-class masculine embodiment as well as one involving both sex and age.

4.4 (vii) Internal Organs and Running

⁴⁴ For example, as Bauman (1998) suggests for most, in contemporary culture, class position is a very precarious thing and it does not take much for "tourists" to become "vagabonds".

Internal organs are also *actors* in the *problematization* of the body in the magazine. These could also be the reason for starting jogging. At a public meeting aimed at promoting the benefits of jogging to the people of Otley,

"Dr. John Metcalfe, a local G.P. who described himself as a sportoholic, warned of the "atrophy of disuse" - a medical term for the deterioration of every organ not used regularly." (June, 1979)

Doctors were often used to help validate the *problematization* and "the cure". Hence, they were a device of *enrolment*. This letter suggests that ideally exercise should aim at using all of the body. Running obviously only uses some of it, the next section describes the *enrolment* of the heart, an important organ for running *network*.

4.4 (viii) Hearts and Pulses

"I had a look in the mirror before I stepped out and felt that the wife had something in what she said but what's a few neighbours where one's heart is concerned? They're always taking their cars out for a run; well, I'm taking my heart out for a run! ... I even had my watch for checking heart rate though it gave me a good excuse to stop for a breather now and then." (May, 1979)

The magazine suggests that without sufficient exercise the heart does not operate well.

Running is promoted as the best method of heightening the pulse rate in order to produce a lower resting rate. These ideas were also propagated through articles and there was for a period a feature by Kenneth Cooper known as "the father of aerobics" (McCormack, 1998).

Aerobic exercise (of which running is one form) aims at raising the heart rate, in controlled and health promoting ways. By the mid-eighties exercise was widely accepted as benefiting the heart but this view of the relationship between running and the heart was not fully accepted in the early years of the magazine and alternative *problematizations* were offered by broader society and within the magazine.⁴⁵ For example, one alternative *problematization*, popular in

⁴⁵ The relationship between heart rate and good health is now widely accepted. This has been materialised in the Heart Rate Monitor (HRM) (along with other items found in gym's). The HRM is a device for measuring individuals heart rates whilst they are running. It is widely used by cyclists and a smart version is on the market for runners in this country. "The monitor guides you through a short session so that it can calculate your aerobic threshold. It then adds a fixed number of beats to provide your anaerobic threshold, which gives you an upper and lower limit to work to. The watch beeps or flashes to keep you within this zone when you exercise, and afterwards tells you how long your session was and how much of it was in your target zone". (*Runner's*

the press of the time, was that running was bad for the heart. Another *problematization* presented within the magazine linked running with higher states of consciousness and transcendentalism. These alternative *problematizations* had to be overcome or incorporated for running to succeed in its current form. It is this process which I now discuss.

For the letter pages the heart was particularly significant and it needed to be a fully *enrolled ally* and *actor* if running was to succeed.⁴⁶ Hence, many anecdotal stories of hearts and pulses acted as devices of *interessement*. The pulse rate was presented as a key indicator of how the heart was coping with running. Hearts were things that should be exercised to take care of them, but also that should be monitored for signs of over-exercising.

"As a swimmer I would recommend swimming as an excellent therapy for jogging strains while at the same time keeping the heart and lungs in trim." (January, 1980)

"Dr. Ian Adams, the Medical Officer to the British Marathon Club and one of the country's top experts on sports injuries, told them that pulse rate added to age shouldn't exceed 180. Take your age away from 180 and the figure you're left with should be the pulse rate you aim for whilst jogging." (June, 1979)

Monitoring heartbeat could be by measurement (pulse beats per minutes) or through careful assessment of how the body felt. Pulse beats per minute could be measured through counting or by use of the heart rate monitor (HRM). For novice joggers it was advocated that the pulse rate should be monitored carefully during early runs.

"I turned into the High Street. At the end of the village I decided to head back; you're not supposed to overdo it on the first day." (April, 1979)

World, May 1998, p.22)

⁴⁶ The heart can be viewed as having symbolic value also. For example, it is viewed as the centre of an entity, a core, or a driving force. It is also associated with the soul and the spirit; having compassion or showing concern for something. Also it is used to donate somebody who has exhibited bravery or courage.

There were several letters that provided anecdotal evidence that not to do so was both uncomfortable and embarrassing. This letter is from a man who wrote about his wife's first jog.

"Now after some weeks of jogging ... she is most careful to stress, as I always have, that you must take it easy to start with and not expect to run three miles with ease on your first outing after many years of comparative idleness." (April, 1979)

Although the magazine letters advocated that pulse rates should be monitored carefully, one of the purposes of jogging was to raise the pulse and heart rate. The raising of the pulse rate was viewed as a sign of positively valued effort when running. A lowering of the base pulse rate (i.e. when not running or involved in intense physical activity) was viewed as an achievement in terms of general bodily fitness.

"As an enthusiastic jogger, I had just taken a big step up into the world of "real" running by doing the 10-mile road race at Nuneaton. As I lay on the verge, with pulse racing and still gasping for air, I reflected on my performance." (1980, March)

It has given me bulging thigh, calf and arm muscles, has decreased my appetite, and my pulse rate has plunged from 74 beats per minute to 45. (1979, September)

Feeling very tired, but with home only a quarter of a mile away, I made a supreme effort and ran all the way. My pulse rate was now 126, my husband declared. (I couldn't feel my own pulse at the time, only the blood pulsating in my head). After 10 minutes my pulse rate was down to 96. (1979, June)

Hence, pulse rates are both reasons to take up jogging and cause for continuing it. The raising and consequential lowering of the pulse rate, along with lowering body fat, was one of the elements of well-being.

To defend itself against contested views of the links between running and the heart which suggested that running was bad for the heart, the letters also contained statements that illustrated an awareness of this alternative view.

"A few months ago, I had a massive heart attack. As it happened, I had not been jogging for some time, but had resorted to relatively heavy barbells. The considered medical opinion had it that a defunct business, and the resulting shock of a broken marriage, was the original cause. My heart healed quickly and the specialist told me I could go back to jogging - but to leave the weights alone. Perhaps that speaks for itself - it was the verdict for me anyhow!" (1980, March)

Hence, the letter suggests that lifting weights rather than running would be bad for rehabilitating this man's heart. Running's relationship with the heart was a controversial issue at the time. It was felt that running could give you a heart attack. One letter refers to an article in the Guardian:

"In the recent election campaign he reported on Mrs. Thatcher's visit to a chocolate factory, writing as follows: "She decided to call on the voters on the Cadbury assembly line who bring you your walnut fudge in soft caramel, hazel crispy cluster and bitter lemon crunch and who are therefore probably responsible for more coronaries than anyone in Britain, apart from the pro-jogging lobby."" (July, 1979)

This debate was very public. One of the key events was the death of Jim Fixx (one of the people associated with promoting jogging in its early years) whilst out jogging. The magazine tried to counter these negative views of the relationship between running and the heart with the provision of anecdotal and scientific evidence that running was good for the heart. The view that exercise including running is good for the heart eventually became relatively well accepted by broader culture but is still somewhat controversial in the scientific community (Luschen, Cockerham and Kunz, 1996). Additionally it forms the basis of hierarchies between runners which makes it necessary to the processes of *differentiation* within running.

During this early part of the development of running when the *problematization* of the relationship between of running to the heart, and to well-being more broadly, had not been fully consolidated: some suggested that running not only improved heart function, but heightened states of awareness or transcendental experiences:

"I would have expected Dr George Sheehan, being a heart specialist in the states, to have adopted a more realistic and perhaps commonsense attitude towards running than his fantasising on it "helping one to discover the mysteries of the universe"."(March 1980)⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The letter comments on an article which illustrates that health specialists were also questioning what constituted "fitness", "well being" or "good health" in this period.

"Of course, this state of awareness depends on temperament. Some runners don't achieve it at all. I have found that this awareness can only come when there is no stress, running at three-quarter power over a favourite run, in good conditions." (September, 1979)

This is usually attributed to running rather than simply the raising of the heartbeat. These letters indicate that running's "American" "hippie culture" background, although marginalised, was still of some significance, offering an alternative *problematization* of the body that was never widely taken up in the magazine but featured in earlier issues. Ideas of transcendentalism became less discussed in letter pages and articles as the magazine focused more on running than jogging. However, some of the interviews, four in all, contain reference to elements of the overall experience of running which seem to relate to these ideas of transcendentalism.

"But mostly I enjoy getting out in the fresh air that's mainly, you know. It's quite a sort of spiritual experience. Being out in the elements, yes I enjoy that." (Interviewee A)

"But it's a good feeling because in a way you going to like different areas of like what you've never been in yourself really. There's that phase like where you shut everything off and carry on. You don't really feel anything. You don't feel the pain, you feel exhausted but there's something pushing you on. Which is what I've never experienced before like adrenalin rushes what I kept on having when I was doing the Potteries one. Like when I reached like 21, like a massive like rush down me neck and me whole bodies tingling, I was picked up again with energy. ... Mm really good that was. I didn't have one when I was doing Snowdonia mind. Oh I did yeah, like on the 25th mile, on the last one. It's just about pushing yourself to the limits really." (Interviewee F)

To interpret this is difficult. These experiences may be aspects of the body, or embodiment which intervene and disrupt the *problematization* of running bodies, that focuses on heart rate and body fat. I return to this issue in chapter five when I utilise Turner's (1979) concept of *communitas*. However, for now it is sufficient to note that it is an element of running culture from which the magazine distanced itself, possibly to maintain popularity, as it was a controversial view of the effects of running. Also it is unlikely that this particular *problematization* of the body which tried to link running with transcendentalism would *differentiate* the body in a way which had men's bodies and younger bodies as hierarchically

superior, an important element of the running *network*. Transcendentalism may have disrupted this form of *differentiation*.

4.4 (ix) Hearts, Hierarchies and Differentiation.

"Men have bigger hearts than women in proportion to their total body mass. As a result of this advantage, a man's heart pumps out more blood with every beat than the heart of a women of similar training status. Since oxygen is carried to working muscles by blood pumped from the hear, it follows that women have to work harder and make their hearts beat faster than men to achieve the same oxygen uptake by the muscles." (Running for Women, October, 1995)⁴⁸

Women who read the magazine were constantly given messages (many less overt than the one above) that their bodies were inferior to men's. The heart was presented as a fully *enroled ally* in the magazine data. In addition to this hearts (like most other body organs) are presented as deteriorating with age, again creating hierarchy on the basis of age. Although all are encouraged to run as a means of improving well-being running is only a way of relieving bodily deficiencies, not a way of overcoming hierarchical category status.

Running's *problematization* of the body does provide a means for individuals to overcome elements of the body the *network* judges as negative. However, it is not a way of escaping the embodiment of sex and age. The social processes which create embodied groups are a necessary part of the *network*. Runner's bodies are presented as androgynous but people are encouraged into the *network* by naming categories (men, women and veterans) which pre-exist it. Once they are in the *network* divisions and categories are reinstated only with a different ideology underlying them. The valuation of the heart is entirely based on its appropriateness for running. Individuals as custodians of the body are responsible for ensuring that theirs does run. If it does not then they have been remiss and they only have themselves to blame. The difference in performance that is presented between male and female, seniors and veterans are

⁴⁸ Although not strictly part of my data this quote from an article in the magazine sums up particularly well the view of the heart presented by the magazine. These views were often embedded in articles which were

rooted in bodily categories from which you could never escape through involvement in the *network* even though it encourages you to try. The individualisation of responsibility for the body also seems to encourage a responsibility for embodiment, the process which differentiates groups.

Taking up running and raising the heartbeat and subscribing to the values of losing fat, were central to becoming *enroled* in the running network. You could subscribe to the health and fitness views offered by the magazine without getting any more involved in the *network*. This was evident from the interviews where one person ran home from work solely to maintain a satisfactory weight (Interviewee G). She did not measure her time and did not wish to participate in races.⁴⁹ At a broader cultural level and in terms of the process of *differentiation* between men and women and different age categories this was sufficient. However, for most, there were other elements to becoming a runner. Some of these involved changing bodily habits others required new relationships with others and the environment. An important element was in changing one's lifestyle to incorporate healthy activities and reject unhealthy ones.

4.4 (x) Unhealthy Lifestyles.

"I ate the wrong food (and too much of it), took little exercise and stared at the TV incessantly. My craving for sweet things and the sedentary school day, did little to help." (September, 1979)

Elements of lifestyles were *enroled* by the *network* to try and link through its *problematization* of the body the doing of "immoral" or "sinful" things with lack of well-being. For example,

advertised on the front cover. Women never contested these negative views of their bodies only fairness and unfairness in the organisation of running.

⁴⁹ She had however, thought out very well why she did not wish to get involved in the network more fully and indicated that she saw herself as a low status member of the network.

inhaling or ingesting certain substances that were “bad” for you and spending your leisure time doing things that involved little physical activity would lead to lack of well-being.

Consequently, this *problematization* of the body focused on the social as well as the physical body and the permeation of one by the other.

4.4 (xi) Smoking

Smoking was one thing that the magazine suggested was bad for you that could be helped by running.

"I was very unfit when I started jogging, being a compulsive eater and smoking 40 ciggies a day. I could only run for five minutes at a session. Every step was agony and it was difficult to convince my legs that I was doing them good." (June, 1979)

"With all the air getting into my lungs I found it easy to give up my foul 30-cigarettes-a-day habit by breathing deeply instead of puffing on the horrible weed" (June, 1979)

It is interesting, but not surprising, that cancer is never mentioned only breathing difficulties.

Running’s focus was firmly on those things which it suggested were cured by carrying out the activity. For example, the front cover of the February 1980 issue flagged an article on, "*How a runner can avoid the common cold*". Statements were made about running helping to prevent colds and other minor ailments by two interviewees.

Often the claims for what running could cure could seem quite bizarre:

"I read all I can on the subject. It's enormously encouraging to find that jogging prevents halitosis, or some disease I never knew existed, or unemployment - and somebody, somewhere, says it does." (July, 1979)

This letter refers to social (unemployment) as well as physical ills: a theme which is continued by runner's trying to alleviate social ills by raising money for charity⁵⁰. This seems to reinforce the idea that running is good for the individual and society.

4.4 (xii) “Sinful” Food

Food was also linked to the well-being of the body through running’s *problematization* of the body. Well-being, it was thought, could be attained through eating the “right” foods and giving

⁵⁰ The relevance of charities to running is discussed in Chapter 6.

up “wrong” foods. Those containing sugar are frequently mentioned but others are also referred to.

"No more sprawling in front of the TV, sherry glass in one hand and cholesterol-laden snack in the other." (April, 1979)

"An easing saw better results; no sugar plus an easy 30-25 miles a week knocked 10 lbs off in 10 weeks." (September, 1979)

This is clearly related to concerns about the accumulation of body fat, but also there seems to be an idea that eating the “wrong” food, is in itself immoral. Food can be wrong and is incorporated into descriptions of damaging lifestyles as can be seen above.

4.4 (xiii) Performance Enhancement: Food and Drink

The *problematization* of the relationship between the body, food and drink, altered its focus over the period of study. Restricting foods for necessary fat loss and better running performance became a *punctualised* idea which was more often assumed rather than discussed. Identifying foods that would enhance running performance became a greater concern. There was a shift from a concern with a low fat diet⁵¹, to debate about which diets were adequate for runners, and what food and drinks maximise performance. The evidence from the front covers for this changing focus was discussed in chapter three.

It was often thought that it was a good idea to eat a lot of carbohydrates the day before a race. The concern was to get sufficient food or drink, which was processed by the body in the right time sequence to enable running or racing. Water was the focus for the races:

"... I have been alarmed at the lack of sufficient refreshment stations in the races I have run here. ...Research has found that on a warm day (temperatures over 20°C), to eliminate the possibility of dehydration a runner should consume 200ml of liquid within 20 minutes of the start and then 150ml for every 20 minutes running time. Runners shouldn't have to wait as long as the rules dictate before they can get refreshment. In mass races, some of the back markers may have a very long run before they get to the first feeding station." (August, 1984)

⁵¹ The concern with low fat, high fibre, and vegetarian diets never disappeared completely. However the front covers seemed to feel that talking about performance enhancing diets would attract a larger readership.

The editors reply states:

"Our nutrition expert, Steve Wootton, agrees that runners should make sure that they drink regularly when racing, but there are no defined measurements which guarantee that dehydration won't happen." (August, 1984)

Getting sufficient nutrition from a regular diet, particularly low fat diets, was also an issue:

"Your potential "veggie marathoner" (*Training Tips*, RUNNING no 33) should have no worries. Since becoming a vegetarian 16 months ago, I have run three marathons, two long fell races and the Tour of Tameside, plus many other shorter races, with no ill effects and a rate of recovery better than many meat eating companions. Indeed some of the best runners are vegetarians - for example" (March, 1984)

In addition to this, three of the interviews referred to taking performance enhancing drinks, and others specific diets for races. This indicates that there was an alternative *problematization* of food being offered, and fore-fronted by the *network*. This modification coincided with the changing focus of the magazine; towards runners and those concerned with entering races; and away from running purely for well-being, a process I describe in chapter six. It was also tied up with the growth in popularity of commercial performance enhancing foods and drinks. This move towards a more sports orientated activity can be viewed as a masculinisation of running.

Alcohol seemed to hold a more ambiguous status in the magazine. Where alcohol is mentioned it seems to be in relation to fairly low-level or non-existent consumption. Specific amounts of alcohol are not mentioned. This seems to run counter to male "pub culture" where the amounts of beer drunk are a matter of status. The previous quotes where people are concerned with fatness often contain references to beer-bellies or drinking alcohol (e.g. 1979, September/6, 1980, March/4). Running challenged male pub culture. Four of the male interviewees (D,E,F and H) and none of the females made reference to running as an alternative to pubs and drinking. Although contradictorily three of the males also commented that they enjoyed their nights out more if they had run.

These contradictions in the relationships between running and lifestyle practices were common. Running itself was believed to help overcome the effects of what the magazine's own *problematization* of the body presented as negative lifestyle practices. However, the magazine also advocated that you gave them up. Many of the letters above seemed to suggest that the lifestyle changes (i.e. in diet, alcohol consumption) "naturally" went with running or even that there was a causal relationship both between not running and adverse lifestyle practices; and running and healthy or moral lifestyle practices. In the *network* as presented by the magazine people sometimes gave themselves, as rewards for running, things which were considered bad for you. For example, people promised themselves chocolate bars to urge themselves on, or only allowed themselves an alcoholic drink if they had run. This was presented as legitimate way to belong to the *network*. For example, the front cover of the magazine at Christmas (December, 1979) advertised an article entitled, "*How to eat and drink and stay fit*".

The overwhelming message was to give up smoking, and restrict food and alcohol intake. The *networks problematization* of the body insisted that this would be better achieved through running. The *network* managed to produce an image of a running lifestyle naturally going with "healthy" lifestyle and consumption practices. The interviewees generally reinforced this view. In one instance a runner said that he could feel his lifestyle going downhill if he did not run (Interviewee H). In three instances runners continued to smoke, but found that running encouraged them to smoke less.

4.4(xiv) Active Lifestyles

Running and high levels of activity in general were linked in running's *problematization* of the body. The *problematization* also relates sedentary life to being unhealthy. This is apparent in

references to work life and leisure time. The magazine implied things that people should give up involve physical inactivity. For the young and for males the concern seemed to be about increasingly sedentary work days:

"... - that it is not only many adults but also the younger generation who slip into an inactive, lethargic lifestyle. ... I ate the wrong food (and too much of it), took little exercise and stared at the TV incessantly." (September, 1979)

"Sedentary occupations very often lead to a lack of strength as muscles are hardly used other than on the routine run...."(March, 1980)

These statements were always embedded in anecdotes about not running. Those who had started to run are associated with high levels of physical activity. For example:

"People say they have not time. This isn't true? I used to say just that but now I make time. ... I've also joined the local karate club and I plan to buy a push-bike (September, 1979)

"I find the best time to go out is before breakfast when the air is fresh and the pavements free. This leaves time in the evenings for other pursuits like modern sequence dancing, gardening and home maintenance. I am out five or six days a week, currently covering 20-25 miles per week." (January, 1980)

The last letter mentions earlier on in the man is 61. This seems to bring added significance to the level of activity, because he has to overcome his embodied restrictions. For males and the young, leisure rather than work is where high levels of physical activity take place.

Letters from women had a different focus. Their lives were already busy enough without leisure activities and letters from women include lots of references to busy lifestyles.

"I don't want your readers to think I'm just a bored housewife who's jogging to pass the time. I am 28 years old, I have a seven-year-old son, a large house and garden to look after and I also work five 10-hour night shifts per week." (June, 1979)

"when the family says "Oh you don't have to go out today" and the weather is awful, I go out straight away, at 9am or earlier, or as soon as I come home from school on the days I teach. ... " (September, 1979)

"If I sit down and think about my life I wonder how I fit it all in. I run, work part-time as a nurse, and look after the house and my extremely lively daughter (who loves running), knit sew and bake." (July, 1979)

"I jog alone at 6.15am through the quiet streets, my only companions being the birds and the squirrels, come home to a shower, then prepare breakfast for husband and teenage son." (September, 1979)

As has been found by other researchers, women's running is restricted by their home and employment obligations (Deem, 1986, 1987; Green et al, 1990). So although the magazine suggests that women should run, their home responsibilities doubtless contributes to their relative absence in the *network*.

This positive evaluation of high levels of activity is matched by the way in which body movements related to running are ranked. Firstly, there is higher value attached to running as opposed to jogging.

"I am a runner as opposed to a jogger, covering at the moment 90 to 100 miles per week, and training every day." (March, 1980)

"Now I run six miles daily - I've passed the jogging stage." (September, 1979)

For those just starting out there was a similar contrast between walking and jogging:

"... I'm at it again, and have moved up from "jog 40 seconds walk 50 seconds" to "jog six minutes walk two minutes" (from Cliff Temple's book)." (September, 1979)

Hence, progressing from a slower to a faster bodily movement is seen as positive. These high levels of activity and fast movements are directly related by the magazine to youthfulness.

"I was beginning to feel wonderfully fit. Running up the stairs at the tube station like a young man the first time he "has it away". (May, 1979)

This is indicative of the way in which running is posited as a way for individuals to overcome ageing and recapture youth. For males, running praxis is also linked to achieving greater sexual prowess. This is indicated by the letter above but there were also articles which suggested that running would improve male sexual performance (see chapter six).

Again, there are limitations in the way the *network* implies runners can change embodiment.

Whilst it gives out messages that the transformation of individual bodies is possible through

running it also maintains the categories, from which you cannot escape. Doing bodily, social and emotional things that transcend your category is something to be proud of in itself. Hence the man above (May, 1979, 4) "feels great" (emotionally) because he is experiencing and moving his body like a young man (who has had sex)). The man who is 61 (Jan, 1980, 3) is proud of the assumed contradiction between his age and his level of activity. Similarly the women writing about all their achievements are pleased with being able to run despite their other responsibilities. However, the fact that people do things that transcend their category does not lead them to question the categories and the relationships between them.

4.4 (xv) Running as a Test of Fitness

The final way in which the magazine suggested people identified a need to run was in their inability to run when they tried. The act of running can be viewed as an *actor* and was *enrolled* as a device of *interreusement*. If everybody could do it easily upon first attempt it would not have been an indicator of being unfit, and people would have not needed to run to become fit. On the other hand if it was not something that most people could do within an acceptable amount of time, with sufficient effort, it is unlikely it would have caught on as a health promoting activity. Additionally, if running did not *differentiate* between women, men, young and old the activity may not have been chosen.⁵² That this *differentiation* was a necessary part of running is evident from the way in which it permeated every aspect of running's *problematization* of the body. The categories were not created solely through running they obviously pre-existed it and as suggested earlier it sold itself as a means of transcending them. However, they were drawn upon to invite people to run with the claim that they were abolished

⁵² In practice many people from one category ran faster than people of supposedly inferior categories. This was mentioned in several interviews as being something that participants in races did not like. People were not only put into age and gender categories, but also runner status (i.e. whether they were elite, beginner, fat, thin etc.).

within running. Inside running they were preserved but transformed in terms of the ideology that underpinned them.

Whilst the magazine seemed to value high levels of activity outside of running, it also had letters indicating that women's work was devalued by the *network*, by positing running as the best form of activity for promoting well-being. This letter is from a man writing about his wife who also did not enjoy her first jog:

"Oh boy, the look on her face after 100 yards or so was a delight to behold - if you are a sadist, that is. A mixture of surprise, anguish and disbelief.

We stopped and walked, then ran again for the same distance, with the same result except that her face was now a kind of puce colour."(April, 1979)

The letter goes on to act as proof that the male arena of running is better for achieving the well-being of the body than housework

"Now after some weeks of jogging (yes, she has become an enthusiast and realises that in spite of all that housework she was not so fit before)(April, 1979)

This woman accepted that the ability to jog is a better indicator of fitness than her proficiency at housework. Hence, running's *problematization* of the body, whilst valuing high levels of activity which includes housework, devalues the latter in terms of its ability to promote well-being. This has the effect of making the male arena of running the prime owner of knowledge about the body.

According to Donzelot (1980) the professionalisation of health care located medical knowledge in the home with women. Women disseminated knowledge about the body in the domestic context. Running can be viewed as part of a changing process in which knowledge about the body was transferred to the public and in this case, sporting arena. In this sense it involves cutting old *networks* and becoming involved in new *networks*. This was evident from

the way the letters above suggested that individuals should ignore their families and friends and adopt the view of well-being provided by the magazine.

The magazine letters also suggested that running was a better indicator of a lack of fitness, than individuals capability at other activities was of fitness itself. This man was a dancer in a Las Vegas show.

"I thought at the time I was in good shape, pretty fit and all that. After all it was a gruelling schedule. The last show on a Saturday night didn't begin until 2.30 in the morning. And what with the performances on stage, my own warm-ups before the curtain rose every night, plus working out at the gym three or four times a week, I wasn't worried about my state of health. I considered myself to be well above average. Then the shock came. Early one evening, on my way to the gym, I called round at a friend's house to see if he wanted to join me there. He was about to go running and suggested that we jog over to the health club which was about a mile away.

This sounded a good suggestion to me. I'd seen many joggers, a lot overweight, pounding beside the desert roads. I had no excess flab. I thought it would be easy. But by the time we reached the health club I had to have a total rethink about my physical condition." (October, 1979)

Hence, it was not only housework that was devalued by running's *problematization* of the body. However, the predominance of housework in women's lives and the way in which it is a major part of their identity makes it particularly significant to a devaluation of the whole category women. The location of knowledge about the body in leisure-sports, such as running, can also be viewed as part of a process which takes medical knowledge away from doctors and women and locates it with individuals.

4.4 (xvi) Lifestyles, Running and Hierarchy

The account above has outlined what the letters page seemed to construct as good reasons for taking up running which promoted well-being: and giving up other elements of lifestyle which undermined well-being. This involved individual's accepting at least some aspects of the magazine's *problematization* of the body, and running as a means of overcoming individual bodily inadequacies, but it also involved accepting embodied failings; which by my definition relates to the categorisation of sexed and aged bodies into groups. Categories are created through typifying groups in terms of bodily characteristics and lifestyle practices. They are not

found within any one individual but are spatially and temporally separated. The *problematization* of the body offered by running in the magazine *enroled* people, things and ideas as devices of *interreusement* which attempted to convince readers that it was providing legitimate views of individual bodies. However, what is presented is a version of embodiment, stories about groups which lead to a hierarchical view of bodies. These draw upon hierarchical relations that pre-exist running and the draw for individuals, is in part to suggest that the *differentiation* that is a part of the social more broadly need not exist. Once runners are *enroled* into running they become involved in a new *network* which reinstates the same categories but responsibility for individual status is with the custodian of the body. Individuals become responsible for embodiment. If women lack well-being because they don't run it is their responsibility. If bodies age it is because the custodian of the body, the individual, has been irresponsible. In the next section, I discuss the adequacy of my ANT analysis.

4.5 Assessing the ANT Approach: Embodying the Network, Embodying Hierarchy?.

One of the main principles of ANT is that of symmetry (Law, 1998, Latour, 1990) and I have attempted to maintain this throughout my analysis. This has enabled an excavation of the way in which the *network* attempted to link a range of different *actors*: things, people, ideas and practices. I have illustrated how the activity of running was sold on the basis of its ability to help bodily parts, or lifestyles, or even whole individuals improve their positions in the hierarchy. Commonalities between people were *enroled* to draw individuals into the *network* on the basis of their similarity. This seems to have the effect of deconstructing the body and allowing its different parts to be variously located in the hierarchy. So for example, you can have a slim body which gives you a certain prestige, but run only a little which would place you lower. Elements of women's bodies and lifestyles are judged upon the same criteria as men's; the effectiveness of their hearts, the speed of their running; the type of food they eat.

Similarly people of different age categories are judged upon the same basis. This creates the illusion that people of all ages are equally entitled to belong to the *network* and equally valuable.

Women writing to the magazine during the nineteen seventies and early eighties suggested that women were more equal than they were in other areas of life:

"I have been reading *Jogging Magazine* since the first issue and have been delighted so far at the relative lack of sexism in the magazine. Not perfect, of course; there has been the odd advertisement, the occasional sentence that serves to remind me that male chauvinism (or indeed any other kind) is by no means dead. But on the whole it has been a pleasure to read a publication which seems to be aimed at men and women equally." (August, 1979)

It is easy to see why this may be the case because the *network* focuses on the organs of the body, and presents inequality and sex and age *differentiation* as a matter of biological/scientific truth (sex). This is I why I have argued it is appropriate to focus on the embodiment of sex. The selection of a particular activity (running), which itself enrolls sports science and sporting achievement to define the male body as superior, preserves the distinctions. The same applies when youthful adult bodies are defined as better performers than ageing ones. However, it also offers individual empowerment which could, if sufficient individual women and older people succeeded at running overturn the hierarchies. Embodiment is a process which requires continuous acting out if it is to continue in any one form (Butler, 1993). Individual women and older people achieving better than younger men is common in running, both at the elite and non-elite levels. However, vast numbers of these groups would have to participate and succeed in running at all levels for this to happen. Although there are obvious things about women's lifestyles (e.g. their involvement in domestic labour) which prevent this, I also suggest that women are unlikely to enter an arena like running which disvalues them. Running *network* also encourages a growing individualisation by suggesting that people should either ignore or re-evaluate knowledge about the body which questions the worth of running as a

good measure of well-being. The disvaluation of women within running, is very deep and I suggest is a process which involves examining the scientific knowledges which inform running. This is not impossible but difficult to do with an ANT approach precisely because of its methodology. I discuss this below.

One of the criticisms of the actor network approach is that it is "politically neutral" or that it actually speaks for the powerful but, my analysis has shown that as Mol and Messman (1996) claim, that ANT is not necessarily politically neutral. As many embodiment theorists have suggested, there are always political implications in the various ways of knowing the body (eg. Bourdieu, 1988; Turner, 1984; Mellor and Shilling, 1997) and ANT's micro-sociological or ethnographic approach is very appropriate for this. ANT analysis is a slow building process because it applies micro techniques to macro processes and does not distinguish between the two (Law, 1992, 1994, 1995).

It is however difficult to move between different areas of the social, draw links and stay within an ANT approach. For example, it is problematic to examine all the knowledges which informed running and the organisation of races because this would involve the micro analysis of too many processes. Similarly it does not facilitate a location of running body culture within sporting culture as a whole. According to Bourdieu (1986) it is this which enables us to see how the embodiment of any leisure culture relates to the social space of sport (and leisure) as whole; and to the social more broadly. Hence, it is difficult to see if the embodiment of running is related to the embodiment of class. Other approaches are required to relate different elements of the social in a manageable way. My argument is not that ANT cannot analyse different levels of the social, the data presented in the magazine is obviously an example of a cut *network*, where information goes out to readers largely detached from any previous

ownership. However, relating different levels of the social is difficult. ANT analysis can pick up on social processes at any level and at any point, but it does not provide a means of considering the relationship between different levels.

My ANT approach is clearly a valid way of looking at the processual nature of embodiment. It moves inside and outside the physical body, with organs, categories, performances, all contributing to embodied sex that does not necessarily reside within any given individual. This allows for material bodies to be constituent actors, but also incorporates the fragmented, social, inscriptive and active elements of embodiment. Individual bodies are sometimes there and at others absent. Although the body I have presented through my analysis is similar to that described by Battersby (1993) in that individual bodily boundaries are sometimes permeable; and similar to Shilling (1993) in that the body is always incomplete; through my ANT approach I have also incorporated the idea of transformation. Like Hirschauer and Mol (1995) I wish to acknowledge individual bodies are performed differently depending on the context. However, the process of embodiment is more difficult to transform because the social processes that differentiate groups are deeply embedded in many aspects of the social. The individual body, as explored so far is cyborg (Haraway, 1991) in such a way that transforming embodiment requires many individual agents to change and for knowledges about the body to be challenged. In the next chapter these knowledges are explored more fully.

In the introduction to this chapter I suggested that running was an arena where a *process* of *aufhebung* could be seen. This involves the abolition, preservation and transformation of boundaries. The ANT approach facilitates analysis that is not necessarily reliant upon a two sex model and if more processes of sexed differentiation were current would, I believe, have led to my identifying them. My analysis suggests that running as promoted by the magazine

drew on androgynous aspects of the body to draw people into the network by abolishing the very boundaries and categories it utilised to draw people into the network. It also encouraged male, female and bodies of all ages towards similar ideals, promoted around the activity of running. Hearts should ideally work fast, fat should be toned to muscle. The *network* then preserves the boundaries by presenting evidence that the "average" male is already nearer to these goals than the "average" female. The boundaries are transformed within running because it provides its own knowledges which create hierarchical embodiment.

As stated in the introduction feminist analysis of sport has taken several forms. Liberal feminism tends to focus on reform. In some cases feminists have tried to overturn the view that males are more suited to running than females by attacking the scientific knowledge that informs such views. Hence, Dyer (1984) attempted to redefine the female bodies relationship to long distance running. He provided a host of evidence, (similar to that provided by sports scientists) to suggest that the female body was more suited to long distance running than the male. He predicted that female elite athletes would catch up with men in terms of records at marathon distance. For separatist feminists the goals of "male" sports were not appropriate for women or for society more generally. Hence, at the level of embodiment it could be argued that the adoption of sportised bodies as ideal bodies (Hargreaves, 1994) is a regressive step for women. The next chapter moves on to examine the scientific knowledges that inform running utilising a Foucauldian perspective.

Chapter Five: Running and the Individualisation and Masculinisation of Well-being.

5.0 Introduction

*'Once the greatest runner was a woman - so swift
She outran every man.
It is true. She could and she did.
But none could say which was more wonderful -*

The swiftness of her feet or her beauty.
(Ovid) (Hughes, T. trans, 1997, p.132)

Butler (1993), writes

""sex" is a regulatory ideal whose materialization is compelled, and this materialization takes place (or fails to take place) through certain highly regulated practices. In other words, "sex" is an ideal construct which is forcibly materialized through time." (1993, p.1)

Sex is thus a consequence of regulated practices that need to be carried out in order for a form of it to continue. On the other hand it is an ideal which does not necessarily exist in a single location. She is offering a processual view of embodiment made possible by a Foucauldian perspective. My Foucauldian analysis is similar to my ANT approach in examining the repeated ideas, actions, bodily parts and other materials that create the embodiment of sex within running. However, a Foucauldian analysis does not require the slow building of networks in order to move between different aspects of the social, its movement through different elements of the social is radical (Fox, 1997). I succeeded, through ANT's micro and ethnographic approach, in uncovering the beliefs, ideals and materials *enroled* to encourage people to run because it helped me to reveal the hierarchical view of the body within running. However, I found my Foucauldian analysis useful in moving through different aspects and levels of the social. This enabled me to explore the knowledges which underpin running praxis; the relationships with the landscapes which divide runners; and the *subjectification* of runners with regard to sexuality.

In "The Subject and Power", Foucault's (1982) afterword to Dreyfus and Rabinow's (1982) book (*Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*), Foucault summarised his

previous work. He situated his thinking in terms of trying to understand how "human beings are made subjects".⁵³ The making of subjects necessarily involves power relations. In this chapter the empirical focus is partially influenced by the Foucauldian perspective adopted but also by the data I am examining which is limited to aspects of, what Mary Douglas (1973) and Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) term *the social body*, and how that constituted runners.⁵⁴ My utilisation of a Foucauldian approach is intended to show the way in which runners constitute themselves as *subjects* who become embedded within power relations configured by different types of *scientific objectivizing techniques, dividing practices* and *systems of differentiation*.⁵⁵ These are made up of *discourses* which like *networks* penetrate bodily boundaries, material things (including the physical and geographical environment), and ideas. My concern is with the way these impact upon the embodiment of sex within running culture.

Throughout this chapter I chart the following tendencies within running culture. First, I continue to illustrate how running modified the embodiment of sex. I also illustrate how the various interested parties (runners, clothing manufacturers etc.) modified running *discourses* and the embodiment associated with it. Second, in making women's and men's sporting bodies visible running opened them to public scrutiny and encouraged a process of *surveillance* imbued with sporting, biomedical and aesthetic values. This can be viewed as

⁵³ The views put over in "*The Subject and Power*" by Foucault seek to clarify some of those in his earlier work. However, they arguably contradict some of his earlier work in that the subject appears more active.

⁵⁴ Scheper-Hughes and Locke (1987) postulate four bodies as analytical tools, the individual body, the social body, the political body and the emotional body. Post-structuralist feminist theories like those adopted by Butler (1993); the Foucauldian position adopted in this chapter; and the ANT approach of Chapter 4 of this thesis would not so easily separate these bodies out. For example Haraway's statement "Why should our bodies end at the skin, or include at best other beings encapsulated by the skin?" (1995) resists the separation of physical (or individual) and social bodies. Although this thesis largely adopts a post-structuralist approach, in which social and individual bodies cannot be separated very easily, I have found Scheper-Hughes and Locke's (1987) approach useful in conceptualising a division of the data.

⁵⁵ As in the previous chapter I have used italics to indicate where I have used a term which has a specific meaning which will be elaborated later in the chapter.

part of a broader process involving changes in state and individual responsibility for health care (Coward, 1990; Bunton, 1997). This was contributed to, marginally contested, and modified by more holistic approaches to well-being. Third, running called on individuals to engage in what had previously been masculine hierarchical relationships with landscapes. Through these relationships it encouraged a masculine form of embodiment. Finally, running encouraged a form of heterosexuality which focused on female aesthetics and male aesthetics as well as male sexual performance. However, it did offer women the possibility of becoming highly regarded in terms of running hierarchies.

My argument is divided into the following sections:

5.1 Running Discourses and Strategies of Power. In this section I discuss why I chose this approach and define some of Foucauldian terms I utilise which are based upon "*The Subject and the Power*" (Foucault, 1982) which modifies some of Foucault's earlier ideas.

5.2 Interpreting the Data. I examine the power relations which constitute the front covers, letters and interviews and suggest that the *discourse* of running was a compromise between the readers, the magazine producers, those with commercial interests and running organisations.

5.3 Oppositional Running: Running Oppositions. Here, I situate running in the social, more broadly, by considering the way it is itself *oppositional* to broader culture by encouraging a movement towards an individualised focus upon well-being and away from state responsibility for care of individuals' health.

5.4 Biomedicine, Sports Science and Transcendentalism. I begin to analyse the data in terms of the "three modes of objectification" which Foucault identifies as "transforming humans into subjects" (Foucault 1982, p.208). This section focuses on the *scientific*

objectivizing techniques which identifies the major *discourses* out of which runners constructed themselves: sports science, western biomedicine, and (less so) transcendentalism.

5.5 Dividing Runners: Cultural Landscapes, Divisions and Hierarchies. I utilise the second of the *scientific objectivising techniques, dividing practices* to look at the divisions between runners that were established during this period through runners' relationships to the *cultural landscapes* of running. I conclude that runners are encouraged to engage in relationships which have a long historical link with masculinity.

5.6 Subjectification and Heterosexuality. I analyse the heterosexual *subjectification* that running enables and encourages. This is the third "mode of objectification" I examine which focuses on the way people turned themselves into running *subjects*.

5.7 Evaluating the Foucauldian Approach. Finally I evaluate my Foucauldian approach and conclude that it is particularly good for elucidating some elements of my data which would not have been possible with my other two modes of analysis. It lacks the action focus of ANT which may have enabled a more thorough analysis of the role of landscapes and other materials. In some ways it is similar to ANT in that *discourses* are conceptualised similarly no matter what level of the social is being examined. My next form of analysis is a realist approach which does address the issue of the stratified social.

5.1 Running Discourses and Strategies of Power.

A major reason for choosing a Foucauldian approach for my second mode of analysis was because it performs the analytical tasks of ANT but also relates events, ideas, beliefs and bodies across a broad range of data. This ability is largely dependent upon two concepts, *discourses* and *strategies of power* described in the first section alongside its three *scientific objectivising techniques*. Other terms are described as they occur within this chapter.

Discourses are more than words or talk about a specific field. They include material artefacts, actions, ideas and bodily practices related to that field. In terms of sex Butler (1993) claims the "performativity of sex":

"must be understood not as a singular or deliberate "act", but, rather, as the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects. ... the regulatory norms of "sex" work in a performative fashion to constitute the materiality of bodies, and more specifically to materialize the body's sex, to materialize sexual difference in the service of the consolidation of the heterosexual imperative." (1993; p.2)

Hence, *discourses* are located in regulatory practices, ideas and material forms and they divide male and female.⁵⁶ They are believed to contain power creating "effects of truth". This has nothing to do with the actuality of their being "true" (Foucault, 1980, p.118-119, Fox, 1997, p.35). A *discourse* is seen as a manifestation of the underlying "will to power" or part of power/knowledge. They exist in all elements of the social and are related through their belonging to a particular discourse. This makes it an ideal approach for relating the many different elements of running. *Discourses* are not based in the intentionality of any one person or groups, neither is their message believed to be determined through an understanding of the meaning of the event or text itself. Hence, Fox (1997) suggests that:

"The unfamiliarity of a such a notion of an ahistorical, non-authored discourse governed by a free-floating, anonymous, disseminated power/knowledge requires most cautious methodological rigour when applied within social analysis." (p.37)

Fox (1997) proposes that this leads to difficulties because it allows the "author" to "uncover the text" utilising a usually "hidden model of historical sociology" (Freundlieb 1994, Quoted in Fox, 1997). This difficulty is compounded by the nature of *discourses* and the problems associated with locating them. It is claimed that *discourses* are never uniform and are not

⁵⁶ This does not have to be individuals who are classified as male and female but can be aspects of masculinity and femininity.

necessarily opposed to one another (Foucault, 1982). However, in order to be part of a *discourse* they need to be viewed as contributing to a particular *strategy*.

According to Foucault (1982) a multiplicity of elements can come into play within a singular *strategy*. Hence, they may be dress codes that may (usefully for my purposes) symbolise other elements of the *strategy* or relationships with the *cultural landscape* which constitute the *strategy*. A *strategy* both creates and is constituent of power/knowledge. The *discourses* which are part of that *strategy* may be contradictory and are always incomplete. It would, for example, be expected that the transcendental elements of running culture might be at odds with the sporting imperative. The task of the analyst is to establish the *strategy* whilst uncovering the *discursive* elements that are utilised in pursuit of it. These may be drawn from a number of *discourses*. It is easy to see how accusations of random selection of *discourses* and *strategies* may arise. However, Foucault (1982) suggests that in order to study power relations studying the *discourse* alone is insufficient. *Discourse* relevance is validated in terms of establishing the other elements of power relations. The approach has allowed me to move easily between various elements of the data and to conceptualise the relationship between them in terms of their membership of the same *discourse* and their being part of a particular *strategy of power*.

Using a careful Foucauldian approach I examine the other five elements which are an important part of power relations and *strategies of power*. First, the *system of differentiations*, which I discuss along with *dividing practices*. Foucault uses the term "dividing practices" to describe the way in which:

"The subject is either divided inside himself or divided from others." (1982, p.208)

The examples he uses are the mad and the sane, and the unfit and the healthy. Hence, they seem to be viewed as broader dividing practices, such as those that divide runners from non-runners; or perhaps more specifically those that adhere to the idea that participation in leisure-sports promotes well-being and those that do not. However, Foucault (1982) also refers to a *system of differentiations* which:

"permits one to act upon the actions of others: differentiations determined by the law or by traditions of status and privilege; economic differences in the appropriation of riches and goods, shifts in the processes of production, linguistic or cultural differences, differences in know-how and competence, and so forth." (p.223)

I have viewed these as providing smaller gradations within running culture. For example, they distinguish the jogger from the runner, and the racer from the runner. I shall examine both of these forms of division and the way in which they are created through the *cultural landscapes* of running, because this allows for a fuller analysis of the divisions utilised in and through the power relations uncovered. Both the broader divisions and the *systems of differentiation* include *discourses* which interrelate with running and contribute to the structuring of experience without being specific to these activities. For example, age and sex divisions.

Second, "the types of objectives pursued by those who act upon the actions of others..." are part of my analysis. Foucault includes in this motivations of "privilege maintenance", "profit", the exercise of "statutory authority, function or a trade" (1982, p.223). These are explored mainly in the next section. Third, Foucault suggests the means by which power relations are actualised (i.e. by threat of arms, disciplinary practice etc) need to be examined. I discuss this in the section on "the making of the jogging/running subject", where I relate it to *surveillance*. Fourth, he proposes that the "forms of institutionalization" need to be understood. I shall leave

these until chapter six. Finally, the degrees of rationalization, namely the extent to which power relations are effective, needs to be established and assessed. In evaluating these I suggest, along with the *discourse* contents, that *strategies of power* are drawn from the data rather than merely exposing a "hidden model of historical sociology".

5.2 Interpreting the Data.

The claim, that strategies of power, can emerge from such a clearly bounded set of data as letters, front covers and a limited set of interviews, is a controversial one. However, it seems valid in light of some of Foucault's own claims. He suggests that:

"Relationships of communication imply finalized activities (even if only the correct putting into operation of elements of meaning) and, by virtue of the modifying the field of information between partners, produce effects of power. They can scarcely be dissociated from activities brought to their final term, be they those which permit the exercise of this power (such as training techniques, processes of domination, the means by which obedience be obtained) or those which in order to develop their potential call upon relations of power (the division of labor and the hierarchy of tasks)." (Foucault, 1982, p.218)

Hence, Foucault sees systems of communication as at once distinct from power relations (1982), but also as so interlinked. He also claims that they are almost indistinguishable from them. He suggests that power exists when and where there is evidence of "actions of men upon other men" (1982, p.218). From the point of view of my data this requires that there are people (runners and those who create the magazine) with the freedom to act in various ways whose actions are nevertheless modified or effected by those of others'. There are several aspects to the potential "power effects" of the magazine.

First, the letters and front covers can be viewed as a site where the "field of information" is modified by those involved in the production. In Foucauldian terms this is in itself a power

effect as it modifies the discourse about running. Doubtless there are many power relations involved prior to the magazine reaching its production. Less easily established "power effects" are those that result in the magazine having an impact on the actions of the readers. There is much research in media studies that shows the difficulty in predicting audience effects (eg. Hall, 1980; Zoonen, 1994). First, the magazines cannot be viewed as moulding a passive subject. According to Bunton (1997, p.240) "there is a sense in which Foucault's later work acknowledges a self that is autonomous" and not straightforwardly determined by a discourse. Bunton (1997) suggests that magazines' "effects" may be particularly difficult to assert because of their "radical heterogeneity and ... refusal of a singular authorial voice" (p.240). He suggests that it is unlikely that texts "position" readers in a particular way but that they relate to "techniques of the self" in more fragmentary ways. Hence, it must again be noted that the relationship between the magazine and its readers' actions is not a straightforward one. Additionally the relationship of a specific *discourse*, such as that of the magazine, to broader running *discourses* on running and to health and fitness in general may not be easily determined. However, from this perspective the links would be in terms of their relationship to a shared *strategy of power*. Hence, once the strategies are uncovered the relationships should become apparent.

5.2 (i) Front Covers, Letter Pages and Interviews: Images, Dialogue and Power.

When examining the front covers, letters and interviews, it cannot be assumed that all of the words and pictures of the magazine are part of running *discourse*. Much of a text may be part of what Foucault describes as "non-discursive practice" (Fox, 1997, p.36). Consequently, many writings (or pictures) and events could be viewed as being fairly irrelevant to the *discourse*. Hence, it is up to the analyst to decide which words and pictures are significant.

Through the pages of the magazine and the words of the interviews *discursive* practices, *strategies* and *techniques of power* can be revealed from several identifiable parties pursuing their own goals and objectives. From a Foucauldian perspective, for the magazine to sell and the activity to take off, a *strategy* or *strategies of power*, would have manifested through the interaction between the magazine staff, the readership and runners in general. Consequently, it does not matter that the interviewees did not read the magazine; they all contribute to running *discourse*. The overall *strategy* does not represent the will of either of these parties or individuals within them. As each pursues their own goals the *discourse* that emerges is an unintended consequence. This differentiates Foucauldian perspectives from ANT approaches because in ANT there are not unintended consequences because all elements of the *network act*. The *network* that emerges is the result of a series of actions and negotiations. There are not social forces above and beyond these actions (Law, 1994).

Despite overlap, the production of the front cover and the letter pages involved slightly different relationships. The letters provide a means by which *discourse* appears in print to be constructed, perpetuated and contested. It is a page in which the magazine is presented as involved in dialogue and power relations with its readers. The letter pages title (initially Forum) and its sub-heading encouraged readers to relate their opinions, ideas, experiences and questions. Forum was most frequently sub-headed with the following appeal:

"In this letters section we hope you'll feel free to sound off, recount your experiences, pass on jogging tips, look for running partners ... anything that takes your fancy." (April 1979, May 1979, June 1979, January 1980, February 1980, March 1980)

Six of the twelve issues from the first year carried this. Later editions also had invocations encouraging people to write. The 1989 to 1990s letter pages dropped the above appeal but offered as encouragement a pair of trainers as a prize for the "star letter". By 1994 "Forum"

had become “Letters” and every letter published won a membership of “Saucony’s Extra Mile Club” (with a t-shirt, running socks, gloves and a woolly hat) the “star letter” won the training shoes. As discussed above, Foucault (1982) considered that power existed when there was evidence of some “men” affecting what other “men” do through their actions. The various actors can be viewed as influencing each others actions in terms of the production of the letters and *discourse* content. As discussed above the degree to which the *discourse* influences running is unclear but the words are viewed as almost indistinct from action. The question of how the *discourse* in the letters is shaped by the interests of the various parties becomes an important one.

The *discourse* in the letters is not all about running and the letters can be seen as utilising several *systems of differentiation*. The words can be viewed as part of a *discourse* if they are utilised in pursuit of a particular *strategy*, part of which is incorporated into the language used to write the letters. The letters are obviously written initially by the readers. The style of written English suggests they are either all written by relatively well educated writers or that they are edited in such a way that makes it seem so. Literacy or “middle-class” English seems to be highly valued. Readers will have derived the format necessary to get their letters published from the language of the magazine as a whole and the style of previous letters. The style of English is probably important in affecting which people read it. For example, people may find the language too “stuffy”. To some extent the magazine would have had to take into account the type of English spoken by those who ran. To invert the proverb; He who reads may run! As the writers and editors were themselves involved in running this would not have been difficult and may not have been much of an issue.

The language with which running is written and spoken about may have seemed "natural" and part of the "habitus" (Bourdieu, 1988). As the editors initially set the language base for the magazine, and then also select the letters and style of English to be published they arguably have a good deal of control over this aspect of the magazine. They have the right to edit the letters before they are printed and hence can shape the presentation to their own requirements. However, this must be balanced by the way in which readers would not have bought the magazine if its style of language seemed inappropriate. The interplay between the two will have led to a restriction of what can and cannot be said. For example, references to women's bodies were restricted to non-sexualized terms in the letter pages whereas in "Superbike", a biking magazine I looked at, a term like "tits" was considered acceptable. Hence, the language can be viewed as utilising *systems of differentiation* which underpin running and form both part of the activity and, a component of the *technologies of the self*⁵⁷ that running adopts. This is viewed as relevant because as has been mentioned, the strategy that emerged seemed initially to incorporate and to be based within the middle-classes (Gillick, 1984; Savage et al, 1992; Berking and Neckel, 1993; Smith, S.,1998).

Other *systems of differentiation* are implicated through references to aspects of social relations not specifically based within running. These are also subject to similar negotiation between the magazine and its readership. The magazine portrays particular values relating to age, sex, familial relations and attitudes towards running and life. This has the effect of placing boundaries around what could be said about many other aspects of social life. For example, it did not allow what it considered to be overt sexism and was restricted strictly to an assumed heterosexuality. The dialogue was based around white, middle-class heterosexual values of

⁵⁷ Foucault defines technologies of the self as "permit(ing) individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom,

the time. For example, my data made no reference to non-white ethnic groups, apart from containing pictures of elite black athletes (see figs 5.1 and 6.1). This will have been partially due to the running population that wrote to and were involved in the production of the magazine.

The view presented was not entirely male; although only 19.62% of the letters published throughout the first year were from women.⁵⁸ In 1994-1995 period studied only 17.4% of the letters were from women. The public face of the magazine staff was also largely male. In 1995 there were only two women “contributing editors” and one “sisters editor” (a section of the magazine for women). There were eleven men and the advisory board (outsiders who advised the magazine in professional capacities) were all men. The editorial staff would have wanted to reflect what it saw as being acceptable and appealing to its readership. However, ultimately they would have had the final say with regard to whose and what views were acceptable for the letters pages. The evidence suggested that this was largely a middle-class male heterosexual view.

The type of English and views about social relations were also pertinent to the front covers. However, this may have been less about negotiation between readers and the magazine staff (although it was particularly necessary to attract readers through the front cover) and more about the magazine’s relationship with those who advertised in the magazine. Advertising would have made up a large part of its revenue.

perfection or immortality.” (Foucault, 1988, p.18)

⁵⁸ A further 14.02% of the letters could not overtly be categorized. That is, there was no first name only initials, and there was no overt reference to the persons sex in the letter. Often as a reader I felt they could be attributed to men or women but in case of mis-judgement on my behalf I have omitted them from this figure. This leaves 65.36% of the letters overtly categorized as being written by males.

The goals and objectives of companies are largely commercial. Those who advertised included clothing companies (both large scale manufacturers such as Nike and Adidas, and mail order wholesalers); event and training weekend organisers; "health food" companies; slimming and lifestyle products (i.e. plans and books about healthier lifestyles); and manufacturers and wholesalers of running equipment such as pedometers. In addition to this almost every front cover throughout the whole period of study, contained clothing products carrying either companies names, or carrying well known company logos (fig. 5.1).

These were usually Nike or Adidas. Elite runners and glamorous female models were usually pictured in Nike or Adidas sportswear. For example, a head and shoulders picture of Sebastian

Coe, a successful Olympic athlete at the time (October 1979) had the front cover headlines arranged so that the word Nike could be seen on his tracksuit.⁵⁹ Hence, it is likely that these companies (particularly the larger ones) had some influence over the magazine. It is unlikely that the magazine played a neutral role in the promotion of the running clothes of its advertisers. It is well known that magazines are not likely to get long term advertising revenue from companies whose products they do not endorse.⁶⁰ One of the consequences of these endorsements was that the magazine put forward the image of the appearance of a runner as being synonymous with the wearing of certain brand named clothing.

⁵⁹ Presumably Nike paid Coe or gave him the gear?

⁶⁰ In the program "Face Value" (BBC1, 6th January 1997) a beauty editor described how beauty product companies would withdraw advertising if the following errors were made by the magazine. First if they did not mention the products. Second if they contradicted product messages put over by the advertiser. Third if the outwardly criticised products (any criticism by the magazine had to be made through omission). It is difficult to imagine a scenario where a company would pay large sums of money to a magazine that was undermining its product.

The influence of advertisers is evident both from the letters and the front covers, as well as from

Fig. 5.1 A Selection of Front Covers From the Whole Period of Study Advertising Brand Names.

the level of advertising within the magazine itself. The relationship between the magazine and its advertisers is given significance through the letters by the way readers seemed to regard the magazine as a source of expertise. Letters would often ask for advice, particularly about shoes. In response the magazine would refer the reader to their own articles or to products they were advertising. For example, in response to a letter in which a man was complaining because his shoes were not adequate for his "overweight" body, the magazine replied:

"A lot of readers want to know more about shoes, and in issue 4 of Jogging we'll be printing a buyer's guide. In the meantime see the advice on page 22 of this issue." (editors' reply, April 1979)

This letter was responding to an article giving advice on shoes:

"While not wishing to agree or disagree with the advice given in your Shoe Guide (RW April) that runners should 'never buy shoes in the morning', I would ask potential customers to bear in mind that Saturday afternoon in particular is the busiest time in a specialist running shop. ..." (August, 1994)

The editor also gave several replies that seemed to endorse mail-order and other retail services which advertised in the magazine and carried many of the brand names that the magazine endorsed through its front cover advertising and shoe surveys. For example,

"If your local stockist does not have a comprehensive range of running shoes, it's worth trying a mail order firm like Mel Batty Sports, Running Wild, Bourne Sports and The Sweat Shop all of whom have a wide range of shoes." (December, 1979, editors reply)

"... As regards access to shoe shops: most mail order companies are expert at fitting out their customers, as long as you send a foot outline and the size of your usual training/town

shoe. When the shoes arrive, try them out indoors, on carpets to make sure you're happy with the fit". (January, 1980, editors reply)

However, the relationship between the magazine as consumer advisor and the reader is a complex one. As the following letter illustrates readers will not have always accepted the advice of the magazine:

"Contrary to the experience of Vivian Grisogono, I have found Zephyr training shoes - purchased from the High Street chain store Freeman, Hardy and Willis - to be quite satisfactory for jogging. I bought them about 10 months ago and have covered 500 plus miles without experiencing any of the problems mentioned in the October issue of ." (February, 1980)

Letter writers also complained about consumer goods:

"... About four years ago, I, too, invested in a lovely pair of Nikes which I wore just for racing. After racing I would leave them to air in the hallway. Soon I became aware of a smell of cats in the house. We had no cat..." (August, 1989)

Nevertheless it is highly likely that the association between running and other leisure-sports (such as aerobics, cycling, football etc) with particular brand names encouraged their continuous growth as branded products. Hence, when looking at the magazine covers (and most of the pictures within) it becomes difficult to imagine a runner who is not wearing the "right" clothing. The fact that major multi-national companies were caught up in the *discourse* running was also involved in, is testimony to the idea that it was part of a broader *strategy of power* with global significance.

The desire to associate branded clothing with running and running with the "right" brands can be viewed as a two-way relationship. The brands become linked with the images of fitness portrayed in the magazine as well as with the elite athletes portrayed. That this helped satisfy the advertisers goals of increasing their sales is evident from the fact they continue to advertise in the magazine in the nineteen nineties (see fig. 5.2).

In addition to this, the activity of running becomes associated with brand named clothing that comes to stand for, or represent health and fitness.⁶¹ This enabled runners to become highly visible and look "fit" or at least be identified as pursuing "fitness". Neither the letters pages nor the front covers can be seen as simply the consequence of an interplay between the editorial staff and the magazine readers; the advertisers and their influence are also important.

⁶¹ This is also evident from the way in which buying running clothing seemed to be an important symbolic moment in becoming a runner.

Fig. 5.2 Advertising From the Mid-Nineties.

In addition to leverage from the magazine staff, the readership and the advertisers, it was likely that the magazine, especially in the early years, attempted to please both categories of the readership it aimed for (in terms of joggers and runners). It seems that it tried to divide space equally between those who were interested in running for fitness; and those who entered races, joined clubs, trained for sports and/or who classified themselves as athletes. This is evident from the fact that in the first year 38.31% of the letters were either from people involved in, and/or about the later category (with an additional 5.61% being about starting clubs). There were 44.86% letters about and/or by people interested in running for fitness. The attempts to please both categories of reader must have placed additional constraints on the editorial staff. In later years there were still letters from both categories but the “joggers” were participating in running events, calling themselves runners and their concerns now overlapped more.

The magazine staff also seemed to be heavily intertwined with the organisation and people of the Amateur Athletics Association (A.A.A.) which became more apparent throughout the nineteen eighties. It is likely that the content of the magazine was influenced by this. This is evident through the way people involved in athletics were keen to become associated with, and write articles for, the magazine. Those already involved in athletics saw affiliation with “jogging” as way of getting more active participants in their sport (see *Running* throughout the 1980’s). Athletics clubs also began to organise events in which “joggers” could participate. The goals and objectives within this would have been manifold. There would have been those who wished to further the interests of athletics as a whole (both in terms of expanding practice and financial objectives). Within this category there would have been those involved directly in doing or organising running. There would also be support workers such as sports scientists, physiotherapists etc. who may have both professional and personal

objectives to further (Gillick, 1984). There would also be individuals who wished to capitalise on career opportunities.⁶² Despite *Jogging Magazine's* initial title there seemed to be a big influence from those involved in athletics. *Dividing practices* also related these groups in a single schema by placing athletes as hierarchically superior members of a group of runners which incorporated those initially classified as joggers. This may have been further motivation for athletics to get involved with “jogging” because without “joggers” being incorporated into running hierarchies they may have proved a threat to the established sport. Running simply for enjoyment or unquantifiable feelings of well-being, may have undermined the quantified and record-orientated world of athletics. On the other hand, for "Jogging", tapping into athletics had the advantage of there being an existing organisation, knowledges and personnel. The compromise that emerged between different groups, its organisational aspects and its developments are discussed in Chapter 6.

To summarise, the *discourses* of running in the magazine were a consequence of the power relations between: a diverse readership including those interested in running for health and fitness and those pursuing sporting objectives⁶³; advertisers; and, the world of organised running (for example, the Amateur Athletics Association). These groups not only influence what is said about running in particular but also the social more generally. They can all be viewed as pursuing some different and some common objectives in their attempts to "act upon the actions" of others. The *discourses* portrayed in the magazine can be viewed as emerging out of the complex interrelation between these groups. Consequently, the *scientific modes of objectification* which I discuss in subsequent sections can be viewed as emerging from the

⁶² Charities and local government also had motivation to organise races this is discussed in chapter six.

⁶³ This includes those running to train for other sports.

negotiations between these groups. This includes the level at which the "expert knowledge" surrounding running is constructed, perpetuated and contested.

From a Foucauldian perspective running *discourse* is the means by which the *subjects* who influence the *discourse* experience their own running subjectivity. The involvement of particular groups in these power relations effects "how power works", as they all have their own distinct way of relating to the individual. For example, the relationship between producers and consumers takes a particular form. At least on the surface it appears that companies produce goods, target a market and consumers within that market have at least some degree of choice. The nature of this relationship is highly debatable, particularly around the question of the malleability of the consumer (see Featherstone, 1990, 1991). However, from a Foucauldian perspective the "disciplined body" believes it is a "rational actor" selecting according to internalised criteria. The consequence of this is that power operates through individuals. Interviews provide evidence of running *discourses* in action and of power manifesting through individuals who at least act as if they have agency, although I have noted in chapter two how some of this will be unconscious. As suggested by the ANT and the Foucauldian approach, *discourses* are never coherently located within any given individual. They are always fragmented, diffuse, negotiated, contested or accepted and result in heterogeneous individuals differentiated both from each other and internally within themselves. They contribute to *discourses* both through verbal interaction with one another and through embodied interaction of the conscious and unconscious type.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Conscious actions refer to the active attempts people make to differentiate themselves. For example, they know if they run 26 miles and complete a race they will be doing something they and the hierarchy value. The unconscious actions are those that are unintended and unknown consequences. For example, the messages that having a "slim" "fit" body might give out at the level of the social. Or the impact that running might have on them individually which they do not understand or acknowledge.

Before discussing the *scientific objectivising techniques* which make up running I wish to situate running more broadly by evaluating it in relation to *oppositional* discourses.

5.3 Oppositional Running: Running Oppositions.

According to Foucault one of the ways to uncover *strategies of power* is by studying the "how" of power relations. That is:

"... By what means is it exercised?" and "what happens when individuals exert (as they say) power over others". (Foucault, 1982, p.217)

However, he suggests the starting point should not be the specific rationality but the resistance against a form of power. So for example, he suggests that:

"... to find out what our society means by sanity perhaps we should find out what is happening in the field of insanity." (Foucault, 1982, p.211)

This suggests that in order to study running a clear understanding of the *discourse* and what *opposition* to it might entail is required. My previous analysis of the data drawing on ANT revealed the *networks* that are part of the embodiment of running in particular. However, other issues are addressed in considering what *opposition* to running may entail. This helps to position running in the social more generally.

5.3 (i) Resistance: A Starting Point.

First I consider the *running movement* and its relationship to other forms of running. The physical movement called running underlies many sporting and leisure activities that were done prior to its becoming a recognised activity. For example, it is an integral part of football, most team sports, orienteering, and part of the triathlon. This suggests there is a degree of ambiguity around who is a runner. The following letter illustrates how running was carried

out long before it became a named activity and that it was still done as part of sports training without being a named activity.

"You ask in your January issue when readers consider jogging first started, but I think you have already answered your own question: people have been doing it for many years without identifying it as jogging. In my own case the soccer team for which I played trained twice a week by running a 5 mile course. ..." (March, 1980)

Having a distinctive name initially, "jogging", was probably important in defining this particular form of running as a separate activity. Running, prior to *Jogging Magazine*, was a physical activity that was already imbued with social meaning and significance that can be located largely in the "male" arena of organised sport training for war and school education. Consequently, the inseparability of the action from its meaning make both the physical act and the numerous meanings attached to it, relevant to its adoption. Although "jogging" was presented as a completely new activity, the utilisation of an existing form of exercise (along with its techniques, knowledges and forms of organisation) suggests that it at very least incorporated elements from the past. This is most evident in the way that the magazine attempted to blend the already existing running "community" with the ideals of "jogging"; an activity and value system which began in the United States in the nineteen-sixties and was partially linked with ideals of transcendentalism and preventive medicine.⁶⁵ Hence, it is likely that oppositions to running are likely to entail aspects that are also anti-organised sports; as well as anti-preventative medicine. For example, in Britain health promotion of the eighties and nineties has attempted to convince the population that exercise is an important part of well-being (Luschen, G., Cockerham, W. and Kunz, G., 1996). Coward (1990) viewed the

⁶⁵ The magazine reflected the way in which American Jogging was linked to transcendentalism but also stemmed from the concerns of the American middle-classes with regard to heart attack risk in the late nineteen sixties. Arguably these two opposing routes of jogging contributed to its association with "well-being" rather than health (as an absence of illness). I elaborate this argument throughout this chapter and the next.

growth in popularity of alternative therapy as being linked to declining state provision for health care in the United States. Hence, the opposition to running is unlikely to be a unified movement as such and has to be located in various sites.

A second point about resistance to running is that other activities were endorsed as either part of, or as an alternative to, a straightforwardly jogging lifestyle. Hence, other forms of leisure-sport are not necessarily *oppositional* to running. This is illustrated by the following extracts, in which I have assumed endorsement because the letters were published.

"Jogging is not all that it should be, especially if you have a back ailment. I have found that vibration caused by my heavy footfall aggravates my lower spine and causes much discomfort after about half a mile on the hard surface of the road or pavement.

... My jogging time may not have been all that fast but the pain made me slow right down to a crawl. But the race walking I really enjoy and, after all, that is what exercise is all about. ..." (June 1979)

"... My back continued troublesome and by the age of 60 years I was reduced to rolling over onto my knees in order to get out of bed.

A friend advised me to go to Yoga classes and I took the advice. Within two years my back was reasonably supple and a knee cartilage trouble diminished." (November, 1979)

It appears that when the underlying values of running were taken on other activities were not necessarily viewed as *oppositional* to running. The magazine was actively supportive of runners doing and trying other sports and leisure activities. The following two were referred to in the letters pages:

"*The Editor Writes*: A timely and useful warning-shot about when not to use weights in your training. For more about the correct principles and practice of weight-training, turn to page 48." (March 1980)

"Congratulations on your series of articles on orienteering (*Jogging*, issue 9). Norman Harris gives an excellent account of the sport and its attractiveness to all the family." (February 1980)

What these letters suggest is that running does not have to be the only leisure activity, or, an individual's main leisure activity to be classified as a runner. Running was not simply about particular physical activities (although the movement and activity of the body were central) but was in a social context that related physical activity to broader issues of lifestyle, the purpose of running and responsibility for the body. The alternatives discussed above include a leisure practice that had been typically male and western (weights) and yoga which is both eastern and is not particularly associated with masculinity. Interviewees were also involved in football (G), yoga (B) and orienteering (A). It does not seem to matter whether people were running to improve their performance at another leisure practice or were doing other leisure exercises to enhance their running performance. Consequently, opposition to running as promoted by the magazine cannot really be found within other leisure activities which promote the same values.

Opposition to the purposes of participating in leisure-sports which involve exercise are also resistance to running. Foucault (1982) considered concern with "this worldly salvation" to be an aspect of "new pastoral power" embodied within the state (p.215). He believed that state power in many ways developed out of Christianity's, religious pastoral power, inheriting the tendency to individualise and a concern with "a production of the truth - the truth of the individual himself" (1982, p.217). The idea that the purpose of running is to enhance enjoyment of life itself suggests that it could be viewed as a form of pastoral power. For example, it is believed that individual's lives will be improved through running as it will lead to; the loss of fat (with the aid of improved diet); more appropriate heart and pulse rates; a more sexually attractive (and active) body; improved (greater) energy levels; and a general feeling of fitness and well being. This is achieved through involvement with particular *cultural landscapes* and through adoption of appropriate relations with others. Hence, a

person running away from a burglary would not automatically be considered a runner because they were doing the activity. They would also need to be running in order to achieve specific goals, often indicated by wearing the right clothing. These goals were a mixture of those specific to running and those which drew on a broader trend of exercise cultures.

Bunton (1997) provides a means through which to situate running in terms of broader culture. He suggests that increasingly since the mid-nineteen seventies, exercise cultures have been part of health care in "advanced liberal societies". It is suggested that health care has changed in terms of a:

"shift towards: the privileging of the market mechanism in regulating medical practice, a pluralisation of technologies of health care involving a change in the temporal and spatial organisation of health care, and an increased emphasis on individual, community and commercial sector responsibility for health status" (Bunton, 1997, p226).

Evidence for this shift comes from: "New Right Thinking (e.g. *The Griffiths Report*, 1983); re-organisation of the National Health Service. into an "internal market"; pluralisation of health care and an emphasis on prevention (e.g. *Prevention and Health: Everybody's Business*, DHSS, 1976 and "Health for All 2000" a World Health Organization initiative) (cited in Bunton, 1997, 227-228). These changes in health care are characterised as a move from a concern with dangerousness to risk management (Castel, 1991). Health care is for the "ill" but also for the whole population and the series of risks it is prone to (i.e. smoking etc). This set an appropriate social context in which running could flourish and become popular with those who had not previously participated in sports. *Opposition* against running may also take the form of *opposition* to the kind of *self-surveillance* approach to health and fitness that it encouraged. The data presented in this and the next chapter indicates how the health and fitness elements of running were never "pure" and although running was about reducing health risk, sporting imperatives and the relationship of running to masculinity were also important and often contradicted these ideals.

The third issue surrounding resistance to running is that the letters constructed “jogging” in its early form as a resistant *discourse* and activity. The letters contained a definition of what not jogging or running meant.⁶⁶ Runners were represented in the letter pages as being involved in what Foucault sees as the archetypal struggle of modern times.

"... the struggle against the forms of subjection-against the submission of subjectivity-is becoming more and more important, even though the struggles against forms of domination and exploitation have not disappeared. Quite the contrary." (Foucault, 1982, p.213)

Foucault argues that *subjectivity* has become a site of struggle because of the growth in the power of the state which has resulted in the two tendencies of power to totalise and individualise. Running was in many ways presented as being a means to assert *subjectivities* that were contra the power of the state. See for example, the views of the Thatcher government criticised above by the letters. However, it had its own individualising and totalising tendencies. It totalised because all the population are thought of as “should be” runners. However, within running *discourse* they are individualised and *subjectified* to runnings *discourses*. Every "bodies" performance can be monitored (ideally by themselves-*surveillance*) and they become *differentiated* and *divided* individuals on this basis (i.e. individuals are identified according to how far and how often they run). Foucault argues that modern forms of struggle are not aimed at changing the total but focus on particular power effects and a refusal to accept the particular forms of *subjectivity* they dictate. For example, to *oppose* running people may resist being categorised according to what they are wearing. For

⁶⁶ How joggers and runners differentiated themselves from those who did not will be discussed at some length later. Therefore, I have not included examples here.

example, there was a letter about “Punk Jogging” contesting sportswear (September, 1979). Both internally to running and in terms of broader exercise based leisure-sports there are a range of possible relationships which could be opposed. This is a complex operation as running contains several forms of *subjectification* which are being taken on in a process of *surveillance* but also resisted in different ways. For example, people may be happy to run for feelings of well-being but resist the competitive nature of races. In addition to this, something which is itself a resistance to one form of *subjectification*, may in turn become a form of *subjectification* which is being resisted elsewhere. However, an awareness of what running is opposing and what oppositions to running has helped to locate running in the broader social.

In response to Foucault's (1982) claim that it is the resistance or *opposition* to a specific *discourse* of rationality that is important, I have indicated three major areas of interest: anti-health and fitness discourse; anti-sports discourse; and the degree to which running is itself both something that is resistant and something to be resisted. Next I explore the three *scientific objectivising techniques* which are a major part of running *discourse*.

5.4 Biomedicine, Sports Science and Transcendentalism.

The *scientific mode* is that through which aspects of people are turned into objective knowledges. Foucault (1982) includes in his examples, economics which he views as being involved in constructing productive subjects, and linguistics which is seen as producing speaking subjects. This section examines the *scientific modes* that can be identified from the letters page as forming “objective” knowledges of runners.

I found that in the magazine and interviews three modes of *scientific objectification* converge: the *objectivising* knowledge of the body based on sports sciences; western biomedicine; and

the transcendental movement. From these three modes, *discursive* elements that reveal the *strategies of power* are uncovered. Each of these "scientific" modes has its own goals and aims which sometimes contradict, in terms of the knowledge itself and the organisational goals. I outline each of these which underpin the networks revealed in Chapter Four.

5.4(i) Sports Science

Sports science knowledge is rarely stated explicitly by sports scientists in the letters pages and on the front covers, or as attributable to sports scientists by the interviewees. However, it is knowledge that underlies some of the content of the letters about technique and bodily knowledge. It often underlies the advice given in response to letters by the various experts.

For example:

"Lynne Whitman of Liverpool wrote to say just that and wanted to know if there were exercises to make her use her heel more. We passed her query on to our physiotherapist, Leslie Watson whose first piece of advice was for Lynne to look in a few shop windows next time she's out jogging.

If Lynne *is* really up on her toes, she'll probably be experiencing discomfort in the calves. "Relax more," Leslie told her, "learning to run a little more erect. The only exercise I can suggest is a 'negative' one: spend a few seconds every so often stood on the tips of your toes and feel how tight your calves immediately become." (June, 1979, "Andy Etchells writes")

Within sports science physiological, biological, nutritional, bio-mechanical and psychological expertise are viewed as relevant (Waddington, 1996). Sports science knowledge and technique underlies many of the articles that are advertised on the front covers (fig 5.3).

Sports science focus is on running performance. Consequently it is in continuous dialogue with the "performance" of actual bodies. Its priority is often the performance of the fastest bodies, as it is at the elite end of the scale that money is spent on performance enhancement. The emergence of sports medicine, in America, was according to Gillick (1984), intimately tied up with movements such as the jogging movement. Mass participation resulted in sports injuries

Fig. 5.3 Front Covers Advertise Articles Based on Sports Science Knowledge.

being a major concern warranting their own branch of medicine. Prior to the popularisation of sport and the production of magazines its advice would have been limited to professional sports people, trainers (i.e. professional sports, the army) and educators (schools, colleges, universities). Sports science is the basis upon which training regimes are built to improve running. It provides some of the expert knowledge through which runners know about the ability (of bodies at an abstract level) to perform at running. It supplies information about the limitations of the body and its potential for change in terms of speed and distance. It differentiates between bodies on the basis of the performance of the fastest. Hence, it contributes to the overall categorisation of men as faster runners than women, men under forty as slower than seniors, incorporating *totalising* and *individualising* tendencies.

In the letters "sports science" is usually modified by running practitioners. For example, in this extract from the letters, Alan Hitchings, one of the magazine's "experts" gives the following advice:⁶⁷

"You are quite right about my mistrust of interval training at our age. Even for young, superfit runners, it carries a high injury risk. It *may* work wonders for you but I am not the person to consult on that.

My view is that you *do* have the speed. You simply need even more strength and fitness to sustain it - which means more mileage." (July, 1979, 1)

This advice is about increasing strength and fitness through running miles, without exceeding the limitations of the body. Sports science is taken up and modified by users in their day to day practice. The letter pages are one of the arenas where *discourse* modification takes place. The magazine circulated sports science *discourses* amongst populations which previously would not have had access to this information. This type of knowledge became something

⁶⁷ Experts on techniques based on the work of sports scientists are not necessarily the scientists themselves. Practitioners and those with relevant running experience are also assumed to be qualified to convey such information. Hence, the relationship between "what the science discovers" and the information given in the magazine is unclear. It is not usually discussed. However, technique and relevant knowledge is a large part of the magazine although letters are occasionally published that question that knowledge.

that "rational subjects" could understand, reject or select and utilise. At the same time this increased the range of "sports experts" and their job potential (Gillick, 1984). This spreads the knowledge of the "sports sciences" throughout society along with the practice and contributes to what some have called the "sportisation" of society. Gillick (1984) attributes the beginning of the "jogging movement" to the utilisation of sports training techniques in biomedical practice and heart attack rehabilitation in the United States. It is the amalgamation of these two "sciences" that continued in the magazine and in running more generally in Britain.

Running drew on selective aspects of the then current biomedical knowledge about the body. This mainly involved information about consumption and its relationship to the body. That is, the type of food to eat (i.e. low in fat, low in cholesterol) in order to achieve a healthy body weight. Running and dieting were presented by the magazine as an effective combination of methods through which to achieve this (See Chapter 4). The then current biomedical knowledge also linked the over-consumption of alcohol with being overweight and an inactive lifestyle (Davison et al, 1991). The degree to which these factors contributed to life expectancy was debated within medicine. In the United States it was not until the late nineteen seventies that research linking aerobic exercise and reduced risk of heart attack was established through "scientific evidence" (Gillick, 1984). However, as suggested earlier, debates about validity still continued. Biomedical discourse also relayed "knowledge" about the appropriate level of activity of the body. As I illustrated in Chapter Four running *discourse* focused on the deleterious effects of the above elements on both the workings of the internal organs of the body and the exterior appearance of the body. At times medical ideas and sport science opinions were presented as if they were in complete agreement. Medical knowledge was sometimes valued in terms of assessing the suitability of the body to begin or continue running:

"The considered medical opinion had it that a defunct business, and the resulting shock of a broken marriage, was the original cause. My heart healed quickly and the specialist told me I could go back to jogging - but to leave the weights alone. Perhaps this speaks for itself - it was the verdict for me anyhow!" (March, 1980)

However, sometimes medical opinion was seen as unhelpful compared to running knowledge.

For example,

"Injuries to knees, ankles and feet have been the main bugbears and I'm afraid that I didn't get much help from the medical men on these until I got hold of Doctor Sheehan's Running. I applied some of his advice, and added my own ideas born of his remarks that these injuries are often an engineering problem, and was able to overcome heel and tendon trouble." (August, 1979)⁶⁸

These quotations shows how runners selected from both sporting and biomedical *discourses*, combined it with lay knowledge and their own lived bodily experience to produce an almost individually tailored bodily knowledge.

As both of these "scientific modes" are not new and specific to running it is necessary to examine what is "new" about them in this context. As stated earlier, the sports science that underpinned running can primarily be located in two institutions. Namely, professional sporting practice and the armed forces (Gillick, 1984). Professional sporting practice was concerned with the maximisation of performance for competitive purposes. The success of the techniques adopted were measured primarily in relation to others. Although athletes have to focus on their individual performance, improvement can only really be viewed as significant if their racing performance is altered. In the magazine this does not alter completely (lists of records are often printed in the letters pages). However, there is a significant shift to a focus on the self. The main aim is to improve one's own performance (past self against future self). This involves a certain type of "self-knowledge" and particular

⁶⁸ Dr. Sheehan was a heart specialist but is most well known for doing and promoting jogging.

techniques in terms of assessing the self relative to the two types of scientific knowledges discussed. Previously medical knowledge had been authoritarian and legislative focusing on curing ill people. This new form of "medical knowledge" encouraged the individual to "know" and rate him or her self according to particular criteria (outlined in the previous chapter). Sports running regimes provided one technique by which this could be achieved.

Sporting and biomedical knowledge were not the only "scientific modes" that influenced running, initially the idea that running could be used to achieve "transcendental" states mentioned in Chapter Four. This was portrayed by the magazine as being an American phenomenon that began in the nineteen sixties. This knowledge is clearly not "scientific" in terms of the common use of the word. However, it is a *discourse* which lays claims to having an understanding of the body and its relationship with the world. That is, it is concerned with producing a truth about the body. Transcendentalism is based on the notion that the individual has the capacity to "step" outside of the social. Humphrey's (1951) describes the role of meditation (here termed *Samma Samadhi*) in reaching enlightenment as follows:

"Samma Samadhi is a state of mind in which the waves of confusion aroused by thought are stilled. It is far more than trance, or mere psychic ecstasy; it is awareness of 'the still centre of the turning world'. This eighth step, being mind-development carried to heights beyond our normal understanding, any further attempt to describe its nature would serve no useful purpose." (p.117)⁶⁹

This seems to involve, at least for a time, being outside of the 'modes of objectification' described by Foucault. The notion of transcendentalism suggests that there is ultimately a "truth" of being that clashes with Foucault's questioning of such claims.⁷⁰ However, this is the case with science and most other knowledge discourses. The major difference in relation

⁶⁹ *Samma Samadhi* is the name given to the eighth step achieved through meditation.

⁷⁰ Deleuze suggests that for moments individuals may step outside the social in moments of "deteritorialisation, allowing potential for new and creative ideas and ways of being. However, this is viewed as a fleeting phenomena as individuals and ideas are quickly reterritorialised (Fox, 1998). Douglas (1973) in her grid and group model allows for individuals and groups to live in variously and potentially more long lasting closer and more distant relationships with forms of social control.

to transcendentalism is like the other forms of religion and belief that have formed the basis of bodily knowledge and action for most of human history, its basis is not in "western science". It offered the runner an alternative way of "knowing" the world, and relating the body to it. In line with this alternative approach, the magazine ran articles on alternative therapy techniques (e.g. March, 1980 "The amazing touch of accupressure") and ran advertisements for alternative therapy products.

It was occasionally suggested in the letters that running could help you achieve a higher state of consciousness. This meant that for some joggers being able to reach this state of consciousness was part of their definition of the fitness of the person. For example:

"As a Christian jogger I praise the Lord for my health, strength and stamina while meditating on the run. Spiritual jogging is very popular in America and is far superior for meditation than the methods advanced by Eastern mystics. ..." (February, 1980)

"... a Zen Buddhist ... has to achieve control over many things: diet, bodily control in meditation, long periods of silence, and long periods of seclusion. Is the discipline that faces the runner much different from this? Can running be a form of meditation?"

All religious mystics have used physical and mental discipline to still the mind. Indian fakirs go to extreme lengths to achieve control over pain. The legendary 40 nights and 40 days in the desert was this type of discipline. Buddha sitting under the Bo tree until enlightenment came was a similar feat of extreme discipline.

All the above examples have a religious background, but perhaps this enlightenment, this euphoria, is nothing more than the occasional balancing of the animal and spiritual sides of man's nature. Is the relaxation of being that runners are aware of, the result of using the body-machine for its designed purpose? ..." (September, 1979, 1)

Running can be seen as an arena where the relationship between the mind, the body, the spirit and the social was being contested for a short time. Earlier letters also refuted the "spiritual"

worth of running and located them firmly within a western biomedical model. The following illustrate this point:

"... And what about such philosophically redundant statements as: "Through running man can find his true self, can expand his understanding to unimagined heights, can touch nirvana ..." (from the 1979 Runner's Diary)

Are we not losing sight of the aims of jogging with statements like this? ... So let's not forget what jogging and running are really about. ... They're about getting out into the open, stretching one's legs and feeling great!" (September, 1979)

"Most of us joggers or runners, must at some time or another (to our eternal chagrin) have heard the now quite usual claptrap regarding running from some American writers. I would have expected Dr. George Sheehan, being a heart specialist in the States, to have adopted a more realistic and perhaps commonsense attitude towards running than his fantasising on it "helping one to discover the mysteries of the universe". But there you are; it is his own opinion, so fair enough." (March, 1980)

These are obviously opposing the idea that through running man (or woman) can become spiritually linked to the universe. Within the pages of the magazine transcendental experiences were usually termed "runners highs" and attributed to chemicals in the body called endorphins. However, even if at its height in Britain, "transcendental jogging" could only be said to be a minority interest, it may have influenced the concept of fitness employed and arguably a growing concern with well-being. The concepts employed by the letters, the front covers and the interviewees seemed broader than could be legitimately expected if a strictly biomedical, and sports science model were adhered to.

According to Coward (1990) the distrust of biomedicine, and introduction of a more holistic or pluralistic health regime within which people self-regulated their health, took responsibility for its status and selected their care, led to less dependency on state care. This in turn was believed to contribute to declining state responsibility and erosion of state health care systems. Within running culture there was a noticeable focus on the exterior of the body as an indicator of health. This is reinforced by both sports and biomedicine's focus on the size of the body as being important for its well being and performance. Sports also promote the idea of self responsibility and individual effort for training and size. Hence, when these knowledges operate together they seem to produce the kinds of changes described by Bunton (1997) as being typical of a move from a liberal to a neo-liberal health care system. However, to see running and the amalgamation of these three *discourses* as only being related to health seems somewhat reductionist. Each of these has its own knowledges and systems of organization that are imbued with other power relations that also impact on and influence the way that the power relations within running operate. For example, although sporting activities have long been linked with health and fitness, they have also been linked to masculinity. I suggested in the previous chapter that for women and older people becoming involved in running involved their accepting the young trained masculine body as the height of well-being. The link between sport and masculinity is long established, the playing of Rugby at public schools and beyond was believed to equip men and boys for war (Nauright, 1996). That this attitude is still partially prevalent within running *discourse* is evident in the following letter. This writer (a man) is reflecting back; first on school, then on army life:

"To us, as boys it (running) was a way of life: it cleared the mind and hardened the body for ruggar, swimming, squash, or any other of the sports we played. ... When I left, we were plunged straight into war; and the stamina developed by running stood me in good stead in the difficult tasks which lay ahead. A run in the morning gave one the power of "positive

thinking" for the rest of the day, the energy to complete tasks which seemed almost insurmountable, and the ability to sleep like a baby at night. Field Marshal Lord Montgomery was an advocate of running, and in my opinion was a fine example of the mental and physical toughness that goes hand in hand with it." (March, 1980, 5)

Exercise for women, on the other hand, had previously been linked to bodily aesthetics and health and fitness (Hargreaves, 1994). The magazines' adherence to these ideals was evident in the last chapter. Women were initially encouraged into running on the basis that it would make them more aesthetically pleasing. Men were encouraged to view their physical appearance as important and the youthful male body as something they should seek to achieve no matter what their age. The *discourses* of running interrelated and subsequently produced new techniques of the self encouraging males and females to take on both masculine and feminine tendencies in their relationships with running. The way in which these and other elements of each of the "now joined" knowledges and organisations interrelated is evident in: the *networks* and processes of *differentiation* of the previous chapter; the *systems of differentiation* and forms of *subjectification* examined in this chapter; and the structure of the races analysed in the next.

5.5 Dividing Runners: Cultural Landscapes, Divisions and Hierarchies.

Foucault's (1983) *dividing practices* are social processes through which people can be divided inside themselves and from others. It is a process of *objectification*. Like the *networks* of actor-network theory this allows for heterogeneity both within and between individuals. That is, the *subject* can be the site of (or container for) numerous conflicting social processes, as can different individuals and groups. Although for Foucault power is not in itself negative or positive but *necessary* the *scientific objectivising techniques* which inform *dividing practices*

have negative consequences for some. This is evident from the way in which his own examples of *dividing practices* focus on *oppositional* social statuses that value the individual either positively or negatively. Hence, he claims:

"Examples, are the mad and the sane, the sick and the healthy, the criminals and the "good boys"." (Foucault, 1983, p.208)

These *dividing practices* seem to involve broader social divisions; separating one (large) category of people from another, or one element of a person from another.

In addition to *dividing practices* Foucault (1982) refers to *systems of differentiation*. It seems there is similarity between Foucault's systems of differentiation and Strathern's (1997) process of gender *differentiation* but Foucault's *systems of differentiation* are applied more broadly. These allow for the operation of power within relations between people. The "traditions of status and privilege" that are mobilised within the data built upon differentiation internal and external to running. In this section I specifically discuss the *systems of differentiation* created through relationships with the *cultural landscape* of running. However, first I present a summarised table of the general *system of differentiation* within running in tabulated form below (table.1).

Basis of categorization as a runner	Differentiations	Basis of Differentiation.
Performance	Joggers / Non Joggers Joggers / Runners Runners / Elite Runners	Speed Distance Time Location Club Membership Races
Well-being/fitness	Fit / Unfit Fit for life (well-being) / Fit to Race	Performance Body weight Consumption patterns Lifestyle

	(Sports)	Heart and pulse rates Feelings of well-being Self presentation Muscle Tone Communitas
Categorised Human Bodies	Old / Young Men / Women	Age of body Bodily parts and organs

Table 1. Differentiations Within Running.

The table is limited to those *systems of differentiation* which were highly reinforced by, or even created within, running. These have been organised into three groups which together categorise individuals as runners and create *systems of differentiation* within running. They cannot be viewed as entirely distinct as they are highly intertwined. For example, when the performance of the body is written about the categorised bodily features⁷¹ are almost inevitably referred to. The second category, well being/fitness was largely examined in Chapter Four and also includes the fitness of the athlete which differs from well-being in the usual sense. For example, the term unfit was often used by runners who had sustained an injury running. This group had injury of a bodily "part" to overcome rather than a pursuit of general levels of well-being. Additionally, in current (1980's and 1990's) slang the term "fit" is also used to describe some "body" who is physically desirable (Guttman, 1996). Usually the word fit was used in a way that incorporated bodily aesthetics. This is not surprising in view of the large role the exterior of the body seemed to play in the definitions of well-being. In addition to this well-being was presented as being intrinsically linked with sexual performance for males (which included aesthetics); and female sexuality (which was confined

⁷¹ Categorised bodily features refers to those which can alter throughout an individuals life, but that cannot be entirely changed through running and are therefore viewed within this discourse as unchangeable. For example, a woman may be able to achieve a running speed faster than a man but this will not turn her into a man.

to aesthetics). This will be discussed more fully when I examine the way in which runners constituted their own *subjectivity*.

In order to be classed as a runner you needed to possess a categorisable human body. The idea that these are ultimately unalterable (apart from by the course of "nature") ignores biomedical practices outside the running arena (and perhaps drug taking practices within the sporting arena). In the data, transsexuals, gay people and transvestites were not referred to. Sex and age were treated as fixed systems which were relevant to running performance.

In my analysis of the *dividing practices* and *systems of differentiation* that involve runners relationships with the *cultural landscapes* of sport, I have focused upon the "performance" elements of the above table. I have used the term performance to refer to the speed of movement, the distances covered by the body, and places ran to. This requires space which I draw upon Bale (1993, 1994) to term *cultural landscape*. This view suggests that performance cannot be separated from the *cultural landscape* within which it is achieved and can incorporate other people present. *Cultural landscape* is brought into significance by the categorisations imposed upon it by running *discourse* but it also has its own physical features which restrict, shape and modify the *discourse*. In addition the body plays a role and I focus on the similarity of experience of runners by drawing on Turner's (1969) term *communitas*, which I suggest reinforces running hierarchies.

Performance is a basis of *differentiation* that provides indication of what individuals have done to justify a hierarchical position within the system. Hierarchies need to be performed in specific *cultural landscapes*. To be able to run at a very fast speed will not mean that you are automatically part of the *system of differentiation*. Nobody may know that you exist. None of

the categories can be viewed as dominant as it is out of the interrelationship between them all that hierarchies emerge. That these are part of the *system of differentiation* is evident from the way they are mobilised in the letters and interviews as indication of status and on the front covers as incentives for people to buy the magazine.

5.5 (i) A Variation on a Modern Sport?

The *differentiations* based on "performance" in table 1 are similar to those of athletics style running; a "modern sport" as typified by Guttmann (1978). However, running only retained some of these features and transformed others. Guttmann characterised modern sports as having seven features. These being, secularism; equality of opportunity to compete and in the conditions of competition; specialisation of roles; rationalisation; bureaucratic organisation; quantification; and the quest for records. Athletics is a good example of this type of sport. It is secular, in that races are not run or organised for religious purposes. In theory, anybody can compete and competitions are organised (according to age, sex, terrain etc) supposedly giving all competitors an equal chance. There is specialisation of roles in that most athletes compete in one or two events. The sport is rationalised. For example, running tracks are rationalised; distances are measured, surfaces are laid that conform to certain criteria. Training regimes are rationalised through diet and technique. "Science" is applied to sports wear to enable clothing that enhances (or at least does not hinder) speed. There is bureaucratic organisation at town, county, national and international levels. These are coordinated by groups like the Amateur Athletics Association, the International Amateur Athletics Federation and The International Olympic Committee. They are involved in the standardisation of practice through rules and regulations. For example, in order for a record to be officially acknowledged it is necessary to have completed it in certain conditions, using a particular timing device, no matter where in

the world it is done. Athletics records are systematically kept and records are vigorously pursued.

Some of the features of athletics were retained in running through road racing but people defined themselves as runners without ever participating in a race and it is the non-racing element I focus upon in this chapter. This leaves racing space which had the highest value within running *discourse* for a more thorough analysis in the next chapter. In running outside of racing, bodies were brought into relationships with *cultural landscapes* which contributed to the *system of differentiation* within running and the reconstitution of embodying sex (*aufhebung*), also discussed in the previous chapter.⁷² It also partially constituted the transformation of long distance running from a modern sport in Guttman's sense, to a leisure-sport. This process is largely described in the next chapter. In this section I describe the way in which the relationships runners had with landscapes, outside of racing, were part of this process.

5.5(ii) Running and Secularisation

The Zen of Running a nineteen seventies book about running suggests that the transcendental *scientific objectivising techniques* could potentially involve runners in radical transformative relationships with the *cultural landscapes* of running:

“if there's a beach or a park without a lot of broken glass, do your run barefoot. this gives you a foot massage which stimulates all the nerve reflex points in the soles of your feet, which in turn stimulates all the organs of your body. by being barefoot you also get

⁷² Age was also transformed through relationships with *cultural landscapes* because it was believed that by entering relationships with the landscapes elements of the ageing process could be stalled. However, this was not a significant part of the data about space and therefore I have not discussed it in any detail in this chapter.

grounded, this direct contact with Great Mother Earth meaning that electrical equilibrium is established between you and the planet”. (Rohe, 1974)

This is obviously not secular and there was some evidence of this type of relationship in my data (See Chapter Four). The significance that was attached to beautiful landscapes was considered an important part of the experience of running.

“I jog alone at 6.15am through the quiet street, my only companions being the birds and squirrels. ...” (September, 1979)

“... So when driving home, which can be a two-hour drive. I choose a spot to stop the car in a beautiful rural area. I can then jog taking in the splendid scenery around me and often as not have the company of rabbits or hares startled by my jogging down a country lane. ...” (December, 1979)

Letters about beautiful scenery are restricted to the earlier period and this can be interpreted as indication that these landscapes become taken for granted. However, several interviewees mentioned the importance of rural scenic landscapes and the importance of them to the enjoyment of running.

“As I say I don't really like running around town. Mainly because of the traffic and all that. I like the countryside far more, I enjoy the feeling of freedom I can get in the countryside.”

(Interviewee A)

“, but once you get through that, I enjoyed the movement and I enjoyed, like if your running in like sort of a quiet area. A country area, or you know the air. I enjoy the air if the air's fresh I enjoy to look around while I'm jogging as well that's sort of like, I don't know, contact, or again move away from what I'm like doing in my sort of every dayness.” (Interviewee, B)

I return to this more experiential element of running after my discussion of hierarchy.

In later letters places seem to become something to collect and that symbolise the runners achievement rather than their beauty being the focus. This is regardless of whether they are rural or urban:

“... I suppose we would start doing that if we carried on because we want to do the Potteries Marathon, and the Snowdonia because that's the hardest, the Potteries one because its local one, and the London one because its famous, isn't it, that one? And then the Berlin Marathon, we want to do one abroad, if there is one, there is a Berlin Marathon isn't there? ...” (Interviewee E)

In addition to this throughout the period of study a lack of beautiful places to run does not prevent people from running and they cannot be viewed as the reason for the activity for the majority. The front covers (see fig. 5.4) and the features in the magazine indicate that rural landscape is used to attract runners. In the early magazines there was a feature dedicated to revealing beautiful places to run and throughout the period race reports had space dedicated to pictures of the scenic landscape.

When runners become involved with all types of landscape it is not simply their aesthetics that is important, it is the degree of difficulty too. The *cultural landscape* of running is both defined and transformed by the activity into a challenge and its features are something to be conquered by the runner and symbolise the achievement of the runner. Landscape features such as hills are not simply aesthetically pleasing. Categorized bodies, in particular male and female, have different relationships to this *cultural landscape*, which pre-dates running and contributes to the system of differentiation within running. It is the hierarchy which arises from this which I examine next.

Fig. 5.4 Front Covers of Beautiful Landscapes.

5.5 (iii) The Cultural Landscapes of Running and Hierarchy.

Unlike, Guttmann's (1978) modern sports, outside of road races, there is no equality of conditions under which people "compete". It is difficult to define all running that is not racing as training as for many these runs constitute individuals as runners. Competition therefore in Guttmann's sense does not exist, except for with the self. This is again discussed in detail in Chapter 6. Running can be across any terrain. *Differentiations* often seem to be based on the different and difficult types of landscapes people have run over. For example, in the picture below a volcano (fig. 5.5).

There are also many quotes which show how almost any environment can be turned into a *cultural landscape* for running. This ships captain ran around the deck whilst at sea.

"...On joining the vessel in Kobe, Japan, I thought if I am going to be sailing across the Pacific Ocean, then why not jog across as well. It's only 5.460 miles! I was fortunate in that the vessel had an unbroken all around deck-walk measuring some 1,000 feet. After departing from Tokoyo, I commenced my programme which was to be 22 ships laps per day (4.14 miles). ..." (August, 1979)

This journalist jogged over different terrains in many countries. When he found himself in a snow covered environment he utilised the hotel stairway.

"... I was determined not to be beaten. Fate had decided to give me a room on the seventh floor. It was simple! I would jog down the stairs to breakfast – and (after a fashion) up again to get my ski gear on, then jog down to the slopes.

But how many miles would I do this way? (I always log miles its a valuable incentive).

Well I allowed myself three miles for the whole week, which I feel was a conservative estimate. And at least – I told myself I hadn't interrupted my routine. ..." (December, 1979)

This indicates how any space can become a *cultural landscape* of running as long as it can be converted into distance (usually in miles) and over which running speed can be measured (usually in hours, minutes and seconds). Through running a set of random landscapes become rationalised and it is through this rationalisation and the measurement of distance and time that runners create hierarchical relationships. Although this is different from Guttmann's modern

Fig. 5.5 Running Over a Volcano.

sports because measurement is often approximate it still suggests that running over any landscape retained similarity with more conventional sports.

Most space can become the *cultural landscape* of running. However there are several features which are typical of it. These are:

- 1) That there are hazards and difficulties to overcome.
- 2) That runners are visible within it.
- 3) That it can be treated abstractly and running distance measured.⁷³

Each of these elements has a *system of differentiation* attached to it which I argue favours men over women and creates hierarchy. Next, I examine the hierarchies created illustrating the way in which sexed bodies were in part materialised through relationships with this space.

These hierarchies underpin the categorisation and equalisation of the conditions of competition that occurs in road racing.

5.5 (iv) Hazards, Visibility and the Rationalization of Landscapes.

Hazards seemed to be present in almost all the *cultural landscapes* of running and were important in defining runners as *heroic*, a male term I have deliberately employed. They form an important part of the *discourse* of running and are part of its challenge. This letter is from a novice runner:

“...The hazards to watch out for. Because I tried to keep off the pavement and run on the grass verges, I’d nearly run into a double truss.

Then there’s the squirt up the let when you tread onto a cantilevered paving stone, hiding a lake of grey, muddy water ... and the dogs!...” (May, 1979)

⁷³ Timing is also significant but this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

The runner is presented as striving to conquer environmental adversity, above it is features of the town but it can be hills or other landscape features. The greater the adversity the greater the achievement. This contributes to *differentiation* that is mobilised in the creation of hierarchies.

Dogs seemed a particularly significant hazard. This section is taken from a letter giving “advice” on dealing with dogs:

“When on your journey you are confronted by a huge four-legged beast, with jaws powerful enough to crunch your unprotected anatomical parts, my advice after considerable research and experience is as follows:

Immediately come to a half, facing your canine opponent and protecting both your important credentials and throat at the same time” (July, 1979)

This letter is also about encounters with dogs:

“I am being harassed by dogs. One of my weekday runs takes me past a farm, where a dog unfailingly comes out and runs yapping round my ankles. (September, 1989)

In fact almost any animal can indicate danger. Connections are made between the urban and the rural in this way. This writer was running in Las Vegas:

“... It (a bird) then began a series of dive bomb attacks on me. Swooping down on my head to within about four feet and stopping only to climb back up to commence its dive. All the time making an incredible noise. It was unnerving.” (October, 1979)

This illustrates well how the *system of differentiation* was achieved through an interrelationship between the *cultural landscapes* of running and running *discourse* which constructs the runner as a hero.

As stated in the last chapter running overtly attempted to define itself as an activity suitable for all adult men and women. However, this relationship with the landscape can be viewed as being linked to middle-class masculinity and as contributing to the exclusion of many women from running.

According to Featherstone (1993) the new-middle classes in seeking slim and health bodies, “... is disposed towards a health-orientated hedonism in the new Californian solitary, non-team sports: trekking, wind-surfing, hang-gliding, orienteering etc. in which style and individualism are foregrounded.” (p.129)

Running is one of these activities. Featherstone (1993) also argues that it is the nineteen sixties generation “with their cultivation of the natural, the pure and the authentic” (ibid, p.129) who carry out these sports. However, my data suggests there are features from different histories present in contemporary running. To locate all aspects of it in the late twentieth century, seems to miss much that is significant. For example, this “heroic” view of the runner resonates with notions of “manliness” that permeated the upper-middle classes of Victorian England. Nauright (1996) highlights how defeat of the English rugby teams by the Springboks generated debates about the fitness of the working-classes for war and *discourses* about the effects of urbanisation on manhood. When runners enter into relationships whereby urban environments are constructed as containing rural style dangers the interrelationship between the runner and the *cultural landscapes* of running are already imbued with notions of

masculinity. This has two implications. First, it is “masculine” attributes that are being developed by participating in running. Second, that men (who are more likely to have some of these attributes developed throughout their lives) are more likely to enter these relationships. This view is supported by my data.

All three of the women I interviewed mentioned places and times they felt unsafe running. The only person I raised the question with was interviewee A (see Appendix I). This was because she seemed comfortable running in rural landscapes alone. The letters and my other interviews suggested that this was not the case for most women. Interviewee B had joined a group of women runners initially set up in recognition of the fact that it was dangerous for women to be running alone on the streets. The letters and the interviews indicated that women often employed tactics such as taking dogs with them or enrolling men as safety devices to overcome this unequal relationship with the *cultural landscapes* of running. An example,

“...As the winter nights drew in the girls in the group felt safer running in the company of one of the men, and this inevitably led to the man recording slower times. ...” (April, 1979)

The “girls” in this case being police officers who might be expected to be used to a higher degree of physical risk than most women and men. Males it seems had different attitudes towards darkness and different responses:

“I love running in normal darkness, but there are a couple of mile long stretches under trees where, on a moonless or cloudy night the blackness is nearly total. After a painful encounter with a fallen branch recently I have realised that even my modest ten miles is not without its hazards in these circumstances.

I dislike holding anything in my hands when running, so I don't want to carry a torch and it seems to me that what I need is some luminous disc that can be attached to my tracksuit top." (January, 1980)

Running *discourse* in my data had women constantly materialised through the words of the letters and the interviews as less able to interact, successfully and alone with the *cultural landscapes* of running. This supports the idea that sex is constituted through relationships with self, others, bodies, other materials and space. It also contributes to the creation and reinforcement of a *system of differentiation* that places men hierarchically superior to women. When women do go out alone into the *cultural landscapes* of running it can be viewed as contesting accepted forms of femininity through the adoption of a masculine relationship with the landscape.

People (non-runners) are also hazards of the environment. Runners are portrayed as having to do emotional work in order to overcome the inhibitions they feel at being seen on the street. For example, this letter relates feeling comfortable on the street to growing confidence.

"I grew more confident. I no longer died with embarrassment when I had to shamble past two young girls, to suffer the sniggers and comments. The ribald oaths of brush-cut yobs, the spitting of older men and the baleful glares of men of my own age. It didn't matter any more." (May, 1979)

Although being visible seemed to create difficulties for runners it seemed important that they could run anywhere. Family, neighbours, friends and strangers were all presented as having potential to prevent runners from participating if they paid attention to negative comments.

“Then some kid shouted, “get your knees up love!” I decided to grit my teeth and fool him into thinking that I wasn’t really a beginner when there was a resounding “ping” and a cold breeze whistled about my gums – out had popped my capped tooth! ... After my disastrous start I have nonetheless persevered. ...” (October, 1979)

“Morocco was next. But I must confess that I had to have company here. Another mad Englishman to look absurd with. How would you feel galivanting along the beach and visibly suffering in the blazing heat of dusk with the natives looking on from their beach fires with expressions of amused amazement on their faces?” (December, 1979)

These letters were more typical of the earlier period perhaps indicating runners’ growing confidence that they were entitled to be on the street or that others would see sense in their activity. It seems fair to assume that being uninhibited enough to run publicly anywhere was an important part of runners *discourse*. It can also be viewed as part of the growing acceptance of the individualism which went along with running.

Greg Smith (1998) conducted research into runners being harassed by others on the street and found that women were more likely to be harassed than men, slower runners more than faster runners and new runners more than experienced runners. This seems to recreate and contribute to the hierarchies and *differentiations* of running identified so far. It also makes it more likely that men will run, that faster runners will continue and makes running for women and beginners both more difficult and more of an achievement. It also means that the individualisation of well-being that running promotes is more difficult for women.

5.5 (v) Communitas: Experiencing Running.

Returning to the data at the beginning of this section which described runners experiences of running and the initial relationship of running to transcendentalism, this hierarchy can be viewed as being underpinned by the similar bodily experiences which runners seem to share. It is apparent from my analysis so far, that women have much more to overcome if they wish to belong to running culture, in terms of the *cultural landscapes* of running. It is also evident that women and older people are less valued by the hierarchy. However, this seems to be underpinned by a sense of similarity between runners. In the letter pages and in my interviews runners seem to try to communicate what is enjoyable about running and the bodily experience is one of these aspects. Hence, as I suggest in Chapter Four bodily experiences in some respects appear to interfere with the hierarchical aspects of the network. For example,

“You feel quite, you’re on a bit of a high, you know, you feel like um, you feel good, oh my breathing’s good, my pace is good, that I have a kind of like healthy feeling, so you feel much better than the initial difficulties of the sort of like warming up period.” (Interviewee B)

is a typical statement and many similar statements appear above. The evidence also suggests that runners, through their often supportive actions towards one another, perceive themselves as having experiential understanding of one another which contradicts the hierarchical relationships which permeate running:

“And er, this woman came behind me and she was like in a club and everything and she sort of like pushed me in the back and said come on youth you might as well carry on. There's no use stopping now and then sort of ran past me. I thought that was good. They help you out and that kind of thing when you're flagging. Which is good isn't it.”

(Interviewee E)

Turner’s (1979) work suggests that embodied⁷⁴ experiences, which are individual, but invoke feelings of sameness between humans, within a particular culture are to some extent

⁷⁴ Note, I use the term embodied because the experiences and activities that enable *communitas* are

transcendental. He terms this experience *communitas* and suggests that within it people relate as people rather than as incumbents of social roles. *Communitas* is a form of anti-structure, which often reinforces existing social structures but can create new ones. The activity of running like other forms of “recreational” bodily activity may in fact do either of these things. Turner (1982), before he died introduced the term *liminoid* to cover situations like musical and dramatic performance which lack a sacred framework. He did not live long enough to develop the idea but my data indicated that running may be an example of it.

The interviewees and the letters suggest a high degree of commonality in the physical experience of running. They talk of the importance of the regular breathing, being in the air or a particular landscape. Running long distances leads to similar bodily experiences and in Turner’s terms involves individuals experiencing their “humility”, encouraging a recognition of similarity between individuals. If the experience is strong enough then difference can be ignored because the similarity and arguably spiritual connection is strong enough. This sense of *communitas* can be achieved regardless of whether perceived transcendental states or “runners’ highs” are acknowledged, as it is linked with the act of pushing the body to physical limits, difficult for all humans. This can be seen as co-produced through the body, its actions and the landscape. The similarity of experience this encourages may be viewed as obscuring difference and division particularly in the context long distances which are difficult for all human bodies. The *cultural landscapes* of sport are therefore important to this experience because it is achieved through this. I suggest that this is more likely to reinforce hierarchy because the belief that all humans are similar, and to succeed requires similar effort no matter who it is, encourages respect for those who do

themselves a processual element of the social.

succeed at running. They are the same as you only they have worked harder. It helps obscure the inequalities that underlie the hierarchy making all believe the running provides a fair measurement of fitness. Any inequality is put down to the inferiority of different bodily categories or a lack of effort. I conclude from my analysis that although the experience may be viewed as one involving *communitas*, this may be *liminoid* (secular) or *liminal* (its spiritual equivalent). Runners describe the experiential elements of running in different ways nonetheless it can be seen as reinforcing the running structures I found through *dividing practices*.

To summarise, through the *cultural landscapes* of running as runners become “hero’s. Running *discourse* turns any environment into a hazardous one that can be overcome by the runner and historic *discourses* of masculinity are drawn upon. When the landscape becomes something to conquer its measurement in miles becomes important. It is important for the runner to be able to run in public which increases the hazards (of public ridicule, scorn and threat). This also provides a dramatic individualisation of health care through an interrelationship with a landscape which divides men from women in a *system of differentiation* which values and draws upon existing masculine relationships with the environment. The radical and *oppositional* transformation of the relationship between runners and the landscape promised by transcendentalism did not happen to any significant amount according to my data. Instead an experience of *communitas* produces feelings of similarity between runners which actually works to reinforce hierarchy. The measurement and timing of running which is focused upon in the next Chapter which is about the races was also important when runners were training or on their daily runs. Hence, although runners ran over dissimilar terrain much of which was beautiful and this seemed significant

to the *discourse* any space could be turned into the *rationalised* space of running and the measurement of distance and speed became the achievement of runners. In the introductory chapter I stated that women had been found to have less uncommitted time in order to be able to run the long distances required to achieve faster speeds. This is ignored in running *discourse*. Next, I examine the *heterosexual* sexuality runners were offered through the magazine.

5.6 Subjectification and Heterosexuality.

In the magazine runners *subjectification* is totally based around heterosexuality. The majority of my interviewees were overtly heterosexual but this very small sample says little about the running population as a whole. Foucault utilises the two meanings of the word subject,

"subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own conscience or self-knowledge" (1982, p.212).

Regardless of the sexuality of individual runners, the magazine provided men and women with *discourses* that only enabled a heterosexual sexuality despite running's apparent ability to challenge conventional sexual divisions and the increasingly similar bodies it encouraged.

This letter combines an ideal about female sexual aesthetics with one which counters the view of an ageing body as one that is declining in terms of sexual aesthetics:

"I keep two photographs facing the bed. One is of a stout, middle-aged lady with two chins and a 44-inch bust. The other one is no chicken, but her statistics are 36:28:38, and a short-sighted, kind hearted colleague once referred to her as a dolly-bird. You guessed - they're both me. Before and After. One look at Fatty, and I'm into my tracksuit." (*Jogging Magazine, July 1979*).

Part of the agenda of the magazine seemed to be to promote the idea that to age did not absolve the individual from responsibility for the body. Much of this focused upon sexuality and appearance.

More about female sexual aesthetics could be derived from the pictures and captions on the front covers and through following up those articles the captions referred to. In the first year there was one picture of women participating in a race on the front cover, the rest were either of models or runners posing complete with made-up and all carrying low body fat ratios. Along side them were captions with constant references to fitness, which seem to intertwine the ideals of attractiveness and fitness (fig. 5.6).

Fig. 5.6 Advertising Running as a Beauty Aid for Women.

The articles advertised above are fully backed up with information from various “experts”.

Hence experts on running also become aspects on female sexual attractiveness:

""Let's take the psychological aspect first. At the risk of sounding sexist, exercise is especially good for women. It is an unfortunate fact that many women are still second-class citizens. They live in their husband's house, they have to ask him every time they want money, they shop for him, clean for him, cook for him. They are dominated. The result is they're on the defensive - and that shows in their looks. Their eyes are lacklustre, their skins are dull. They stand in the rejection posture: their shoulders slump, their breasts are huddled in, you can almost see their pelvis rounding out not very attractive!

Well, I'm not going to say that jogging will instantly transform a woman into Brigitte

Bardot. But I will say that I've noticed over the years that the women who start to jog with our club do experience a definite improvement in their looks. ... After a few weeks you can definitely see an improvement. There's a smile on the face, the eyes are shining, the expression is cheerful. The woman looks 100 per cent better. Even in such a short space of time her figure seems to have improved. It may not actually have changed much, but already she's holding herself more attractively. It's a question of confidence"

(November, 1979).

The experts on running do not suggest that women should do anything about being dominated. Instead they should run so they at least do not appear exploited! Dr. Newton then goes on to list a whole range of bodily attributes that are improved by running. Information about female sexual aesthetics is therefore underpinned by the *scientific objectivising techniques* of running practice.

Heterosexual hierarchies were not entirely straightforward within running and male runners illustrated respect for female elite athletes considering themselves to be hierarchically inferior to them:

"...Near my destination, she asked if she could run with me again if she was in Glasgow. This was enormously flattering, and I agreed straight away. Before we parted, I asked her name. "Leslie," she said.

Leslie. Leslie? London Olympiades? I stopped running. "Leslie *Watson*? I asked. "Yes," she said, and ran off. I had been running with one of our top lady marathoners, and *she* had been telling *me* how well I was running!..." (March, 1980)

Running seemed to offer the potential for overturning hierarchy in suggesting that some women could be stronger runners than men. However, instead of running challenging the idea that aesthetics were an important part of female sexuality for women it equalised the sexes by making aesthetics a prominent part of male well-being and sexuality.

For men it was also suggested that aesthetic sexuality could be improved through running.

Again this largely focused on the reduction of fat but also on sexual performance. Two articles which were advertised on the front cover illustrate this point most overtly:

"Do joggers really make better lovers?" (April, 1979)

"Is jogging the answer to middle-aged droop?" (June, 1979)

The answer to both these questions in the magazine is unsurprisingly yes. Again their answers are backed up with "scientific" data. For example, "Do joggers make better lovers" includes interview testimony to support the idea that "Jogging is a turn on ", runners make better lovers "because they look better-slimmer, fitter, more alert" and that their greater stamina and control leads to them making love better. This is backed up again with "Scientific data":

"Dr. J. R. Sutton at the Gavin Institute of Medical Research in Sydney, Australia, has found that blood levels of the male sex hormone, testosterone, tend to rise during prolonged exercise. ... Scientific studies have also shown that secretions of testosterone depend on the amount of blood that flows around the testicles. The less blood, in other words, the lower the sex drive." (*Jogging Magazine, April 1979*)

The article claims that less research has been done on women in this respect. However, it suggested that the "female hormone" remained constant and did not drop through exercise. It does not tackle the question of rising testosterone levels in women through exercise. This (along with the emphasis on the idea that jogging would not make women muscly) suggests that the magazine was concerned that women may be put off running if they felt it would lessen their femininity. Once muscle for women became viewed as attractive in the later years

there appears to be less concern about the masculinization of women. For men the *scientific objectivizing techniques* refer to sexuality both in terms of aesthetics and performance. Both of these aspects of sexuality are viewed as being transformed through running. Sexual attraction can be enhanced and improved through selection of the appropriate, running lifestyle, both for men and women. The sex divisions provided by the magazine are strictly heterosexual - only two forms of human sexuality are mentioned.

Women are presented as having limitless active potential through calls inviting them to run. On the other hand the view of female sexuality is one of passive aesthetics. The limitations for individuals in terms of constructing, controlling and shaping their own *subjectivities* are built within the sports science and medical models adopted. Individuals are expected to understand and utilise a whole range of diverse and contradictory knowledges in order to construct their running selves. In doing this the *subject* turns him or herself into an object (in this case sexualised object) whose well-being can be understood within a running framework. The objectified self can be worked upon and improved in accordance with the knowledges the individual utilises.

This sexual *subjectification* is partially built upon ideas about health and illness. Health is not assumed because disease is absent. In running *discourse* the health of the body was indicated by its size and its ability or inability to perform at running. To maintain fitness the individual needs to be continuously vigilant. Watching the body involved monitoring its quality and levels of consumption, its levels of activity, its feelings of tiredness and lethargy, and sexual attractiveness. What counts as "fit" in terms of all of these comes from the definition provided by the framework the person utilises. Individuals will never just be runners and solely adopt this *discourse*. From a Foucauldian perspective individuals incorporate elements of running

discourse which is a consequence of the interplay of the powers involved. *Subjectification* to someone else's control and *subjectification* to the self-consciousness or self-knowledge of the individual runner always involves taking on *discourses* which are produced both through and outside of the self. The culture of individuality which running and other aspects of contemporary society encourage and produce is a matter of choosing between and integrating available *discourses* which enable and produce a *strategy of power*. In this section I have illustrated how running contributes to the materialization of heterosexual sexuality.

5.7 Evaluating the Foucauldian Approach.

In this chapter I have tried to show the utility of a Foucauldian approach in the analysis of the embodiment of running. I have located running within a broader *discourse* and *strategy of power* suggesting that its development is intricately related to the development of a neo-liberal health care agenda. The three knowledges that largely inform running contradict themselves and one another which inevitably results in runners having to select between them as rational actors but also taking into account their experiences of their own bodies. The knowledges presented in the magazine are the result of power relations between the magazine producers, the readers, commercial interests, the existing organisations involved in athletics and the new groups of runners. This encourages a process of individualisation within a context (described in Chapter Four) where mens bodies are valued more than womens. The location of care for the body within a leisure-sport like running results in a masculinization of the body. This involves adopting relationships with the landscape that incorporates heroic action and contains a masculine bias based around the rationalisation of the landscape. It is more difficult for women to enter such relationships with the landscape because running (and other) *discourses* construct them as containing more hazards for women. As women with different values they are also less likely to want to. Additionally because women have less uncommitted time to achieve the necessary distances to be successful in running hierarchies. I have suggested that

the hierarchies which inform running may be both obscured and underpinned by an experience of *communitas* which emphasis humanity or similarity of experience. I have also argued that running encourages heterosexual sexualities and *subjectification* to knowledges which reinforce a passive femininity and active masculinity. Running offers the potential to transform heterosexual hierarchies and elite female athletes become hierarchically superior to men. At the same time men involved in running are encouraged to think of their bodies aesthetically, taking on some of the values which have more traditionally been associated with women's exercise cultures.

A thorough analysis of this type could potentially cover all my data. However, whilst being useful for moving between different levels of the social my Foucauldian analysis does not conceptualise the difference between the individual and the organisation as being issues of stratification that need to be explored. In many ways it is similar to my ANT approach in that all elements of the social are treated as having power effects. So for example, although words are not actions they can be treated as such for the purpose of analysis. Consequently, I adopted a realist approach in the next chapter which views the social as being stratified and this stratification as an important part of social analysis.

Another problem with my Foucauldian approach and perhaps of sociological theories of embodiment more generally is in their lack of understanding of the body. From this perspective *discourses* shape and inform the body but we learn little about how the body informs *discourses*. This was an issue which Scheper-Hughes and Locke (1987) identified when they proposed that the emotional body might be the one that linked all other aspects of the social. It was also a problem for Bourdieu (1988) and Elias and Dunning (1986) who all in

different ways stated that if we knew more about how bodies worked we would understand a lot more about social processes. I return to this issue in the concluding chapter to this thesis.

Chapter Six

Racing, Competition and The Changing Boundaries of Sexed Embodiment: A Realist

Perspective.

6.0 Introduction

"The human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of social relations'. The intercourse, which each individual confronts as something given, is the real foundation of ... the "essence of man". At the same time, Marx wishes to insist that 'history is nothing but the activity of men in pursuit of their ends'. Thus Marx works his way towards a conception of the reproduction and transformation of the social process in and through human praxis; and of praxis as in turn conditioned and made possible by that praxis".⁷⁵ (Bhaskar, 1991, p.164)

In this chapter I focus on the idea of competition employed in road racing and the way in which this concept was transformed by running and the growth of road racing. I attempt to link this change to broader social processes by discussing changing notions of the embodiment of sex and especially the type of masculinity promoted in and through running. I use a realist approach to illustrate the links between the organisation of running and wider aspects of the social.

In Chapter Five I suggested that the running I studied differed from modern sport as described by Guttmann (1978). Central to this are the ways in which the forms of competition within running and road racing have different organisation and consequences from traditional competitive sports. Individuals are often not representative of nation, town, school or club. Winning the race was not even the prime goal for most participants. Hence, competition was not on the basis of a few

⁷⁵ Petrovic (1981) views praxis as distinguishing human action from animal action. This view does not simply juxtapose human conscious action as with unconscious animal action. It relates to the way in which people work upon the objective world making the world appear as their work and their reality. This suggests that praxis involves the creation of the social by people and the creation of people by the social. This allows for individual human action whilst also viewing individuals as part of social history through which they are created. Hence, Petrovic claims "If man is a creative self-creative being that constantly creates and changes himself and his world, he is necessarily not always the same" (p.27). This creative process does not involve an absolute knowing of the world but is transformative and changing. "For Marx, man is an active being, but his activity is not the self-knowledge of the Absolute, but the transformation and creation of the world and of man himself. Therefore for Marx man can be never completed and never finally defined." (p.28). Conceptions also involve criticism and change. Hence, it is a continuous and transformative process both of the social and the individual. This links with Shilling's (1993) claim that the body is always unfinished.

particularly "talented" members of a group achieving on its behalf. Individuals were each involved in their own competitions and actively laboured to achieve completion in a faster time. This notion is encapsulated in the term personal best (P.B.). Mass participation was positively encouraged and races were not just for the few who qualified to compete. In addition all categories participated in the same event creating an ethos of inclusion which simultaneously masked and created difference.

If, as Bourdieu (1986) suggests, embodiment of sporting practice is part of a class disposition which provides cultural capital at the broader level of the social; then the question arises: "What type of capital does running provide and for which groups?". In Chapter Four I suggested that the embodiment of an age specific masculinity has been promoted through running; and that this is presented as equally applicable to people of different sexes and ages, leading to inequality by devaluing forms of embodiment which pre-existed running for other groups. However, the way in which road racing differed from what had previously been conceived as a modern sport suggests there was also a modified form of masculine embodiment being promoted through participation. I outlined the growing importance of bodily aesthetics for masculine sexuality in the previous chapter. In Strathern's (1997) terms this led to the creation of changing *comparisons* and *divisions* (see Chapter 4). Bourdieu (1986), Connel (1983), and Messner (1992) among others suggest that the embodiment of masculinity is likely to vary for men of different social classes. Baskhar (1991), Mellor and Shilling (1997), Merleau-Ponty (1962) and Csordas(1990) all suggest that the social both forms human embodiment and is itself simultaneously and continuously formed by human

praxis. Hence, the changing embodiment of masculinity is a question relating to changes in broader social trends. In this chapter I draw parallels between a changing middle-class masculinity, a growing consumer culture and a growing interest in social inclusion.

In pursuing and extending these arguments I adopt a realist approach. In order to do this I draw largely on Sayer (1992). My interpretation of Sayer's work was aided by my reading of the theory of *contradiction* under the name of Mao Tsetung (1971) and Althusser's (1969) insights into generalisation. One of the strengths of this theoretical approach is its ability to analyse change. It is possible to discover which *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* are *necessary* to a given thing, such as the competition embedded within running, as well as establishing which of these *mechanisms* determines the direction and nature of change. It also facilitates analysis of the relationships between different levels of the social.

I organise the argument as follows:

6.1 Elucidating the Concepts and Interpreting the Data. I begin by elucidating the realist approach and the method it suggests for analysing the three different forms of data.

6.2 Changing Competition and the Emergence of Road Racing. Here I discuss the forms of competition promoted by running and road racing and the changing form of middle-class masculine embodiment that it engenders.

6.3 ^{The Consumption of Achievement}: Male Middle Class Masculinity and Social

Inclusion· I relate changing forms of embodiment within running to broader social change, and suggest that leisure-sports like it foster attitudes and ideals

necessary for the consumer in late-modern culture. I also argue that races obscure social inequality in much the same way as does the concept of social inclusion.

6.4 Assessing the Realist Approach. I conclude the chapter by evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of the realist approach adopted. I suggest that this approach has the potential advantage of bringing in the body to a processual view of embodiment but that the disciplinary boundaries of sociology, of which this thesis is an example and I myself am seeking to practise, prevent embodiment from being explored more fully.

6.1 Elucidating the Concepts and Interpreting the Data.

Sayer (1992) presents a materialist and dialectic view of change. He suggests that to understand change, it is necessary to understand a phenomenon both internally and in its relation to other things. Change is inherent in the nature of all things. Materials, ideas, and the social are not identical to one another but the method of studying them should be similar. They are all made up of *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* which like Mao's (1971) *contradictions* permeate all things from their first coming into existence throughout their being until their qualitative transformation into something else. One of the advantages of this view of development or change is that it can explain *qualitative* changes in things, or how one thing changes into another. Sayer (1992) suggests that there is a distinction between things that are *internal* and those that are *external* to any particular thing. The *internal* factors are viewed as the basis of change; the *external* factors are viewed as conditions of change. Whereas *internal* factors are viewed as leading to *qualitative* change, *external* factors are only believed to cause *quantitative* change. I consider the difference between these two forms of change by examining materialist dialectics.

6.1(i) Metaphysical Change and Materialist Dialectics.

Mao's discussion of these "two world outlooks", asserts philosophical difference between materialist dialectics and the metaphysics which he views as characteristic of western thought (1971. p.86). Realist philosophy approaches things in this way as well which changes what is looked for when data are analysed. Metaphysics views development as increase, decrease and repetition which involves seeing things as discrete entities with change always having an external cause. Materialist dialectics views change as stemming from the internal relations of an "object" which are *essential* to it.

The following is an example of the distinction between these two modes of thought. In metaphysical thought, an increase in the number of women running may be seen as being due to an increase in women's leisure time. The number of women running and the increase in leisure time, will be seen as two discrete entities with change in one causing change in the other. The dialectical materialist view perceives development as arising from the unity of opposites. That is, the relations *essential* and *internal* to things drive their development. In the above statement regarding women running and their leisure time, a *causal* relationship would only be attributed to them once it was established they were part of a single thing. For example, if it could be established that woman was a concept whose characteristics *necessarily* include a desire to participate in leisure and a lack of free time. If these were so *essential* to the concept "women" that to imagine that concept without these characteristics would make it (women) something qualitatively different from that which it currently is, then it is established that

they are parts of one thing. In Sayer's (1992) realist terms these would be the *necessary mechanisms* or a *causal power* and a *causal liability* that were *necessary* to the concept woman. Change would be viewed as the result of one *causal power* or *causal liability* being eradicated in relation to the other. For instance there may have been increased pressure for men to help in the home. If there were a *qualitative* change in what constituted masculinity that led to all housework being done by men; the concept woman could change to encompass "sufficient leisure time to run". Consequently this expansion would alter the balance between the *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* which constitute the concept "women" producing *qualitative* change that may result in those women who wished to run acting upon this wish. This is a hypothetical example, but it begins to show the complexity and interdependency of *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* which are otherwise known as the *mechanisms* of an object (Sayer, 1992). I shall examine my data for evidence of qualitative change.

Mechanisms are thought to permeate and exist within everything. All things are seen as being continuously in motion and interrelated with everything else which is also in constant flux. In order to be able to carry out this type of analysis it is necessary to be able to distinguish between those things that are *internal* and those which are *external* to an object of study. Sayer's (1992) exploration of causation in realist philosophy helps clarify the ideas of *internal* and *external* causation. He uses the terms *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* which have some similarity with Mao's (1971) *contradictions*.

Sayer (1992, p.104-105) suggests that a realist view of causation does not view it as a relationship between cause and effect, but refers to the *causal powers* or *causal liabilities* of objects or their relations. This is also referred to as an object's ways of acting or *mechanisms*. People are viewed as having *causal powers* such as being able to speak, run, reproduce; and also as possessing *causal liabilities*, for example, only being able to run for limited distances and times. The opposite effects (achieving a goal and inhibiting it) make *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* or *mechanisms* similar to *contradictions*, but they are not necessarily "pairs" an object may have any number of *causal powers* and *causal liabilities*.

Sayer emphasises that the *necessary powers* are the object (rather than seeing them as belonging to the object) which is useful for understanding the consequences for analysis of a realist approach. He suggests that a good way of deciding whether an aspect of something is a *necessary* part of an object is to try to imagine what it would be like without it. So for example, to imagine running without the road races would make running qualitatively different. If running were always just for experiential reasons it would be something else. Therefore, road racing can be viewed as *essential* to running. If the concept of competition can be established as a necessary *mechanism* of running then boundary drawing for analytical purposes is possible.

Different *mechanisms* may have the same practical consequences. The term *overdetermination* refers to the idea that one effect may be brought about by two or more *mechanisms*. Each of these *mechanisms* may have the power to bring the effect about alone. For example, arguably the desire to be thin in running is

bought about by aesthetic, health and sporting pressures and concerns. Sayer (1992, p.119) also suggests that it is not just change that is caused by *mechanisms*. *Causal powers* are continuously implicated in the day to day processes that make up the social. It is argued that "social structures exist only when people reproduce them" (p.119).⁷⁶ Hence, like ANT and the Foucauldian approach, realism draws attention to the continuous work that makes up the social. *Overdetermination* and the continuous work involved in the reproduction of the social suggest that *mechanisms* are not necessarily identified by looking at significant changes but require a careful study of all elements of the data. I have found this invaluable in understanding the forms of competition and masculine embodiment that were encouraged through running. Although there have been some transformations within this period much has remained static. Both change and stability are analysed in this chapter.

As I have argued above, Sayer's *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* are not too distinct from Mao's (1971) *contradictions*. This is not surprising as his work draws heavily on Bhaskar (1975, 1976, 1979, 1989) and the critical realist approach which in turn utilises Marxist thinking. They are both dialectical materialist approaches. *Causal powers* and *causal liabilities* are the powers of an object that enable and restrict its ability to have certain effects. They are aspects that permeate all features of the physical and social world. In these respects they are similar to *contradictions*. However, Sayer's *mechanisms* highlight the way *internal relations* may not be easily identified by looking at the effects of power

⁷⁶ The potential transformative nature of human action which is enabled by the social is significant here to prevent a view of an overdetermined individual.

because effects may be *overdetermined*. Additionally, *mechanisms* are involved in reproducing social processes and not just in change. An examination of what running or road racing is at a given time is required. It is *necessary* to establish what things are part of the concepts explored to identify *internal* and *external* relations between things. I now examine the way in which stratification is important to realist analysis.

6.1(ii) Emergence and Stratification.

Mao quotes Lenin as defining the "law of the unity of opposites as":

"the recognition (discovery) of the contradictory, mutually exclusive, opposite tendencies in all phenomena and processes of nature (including mind and society)." (Lenin, quoted in Mao, 1971, p.91-92)

Hence, in looking at running we would expect to find similar phenomena in all the data. Sayer's *causal powers* and *causal liabilities*, are viewed as existing within the social relations and structures formed between people, as well as within individuals. For example, in Britain the Amateur Athletic Association and the British Athletics Federation have powers outside of any individual within them, enabling them to make rules that govern athletics at a national level. Power held by people within is not personal but stems from their structural relations with others. Hence, structural power is also important to the study of competition and the embodiment of sex in the data.

In order to conceptualise relationships between different levels of the social the idea of *internality*, *externality* and *stratification* and the related concepts of *emergent powers* and *emergent liabilities* are useful (Sayer, 1992). *Emergent powers* and *emergent liabilities* only exist when some objects combine; and do not exist when each is separate. Sayer (1992, p.119) gives the example of hydrogen

and oxygen which individually do not have the power to put out fires but do in their combination. The same can be said of a running club. For example, it unlikely that police would close roads for a single runner to run a marathon.⁷⁷

Sayer argues that:

"Emergence can be explained in terms of the distinction between internal and external relations. Where objects are externally or contingently related they do not effect one another in their essentials and so do not modify their causal powers. Although they may interfere with the effects of the exercise of these powers." (Sayer, 1992, p.119)

Looking at *emergent powers* can help analysis move between different levels. If new powers emerge through the combining of elements then another level of stratification is indicated. I analysed the data to find those things that could be seen as *essential mechanisms* at different levels of analysis. Appropriate levels of analysis can be established through the identification of *necessary* relations between things.

To establish *mechanisms* necessarily involves the idea of *stratification*. Things are *stratified* because if you look them at different levels (i.e. in different combinations) then their *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* change. The concept *essential* does not refer to the idea that there is an inherent way of being for any one object. Things develop out of what they previously were. Different levels of analysis will identify different *mechanisms*. So, for example, the *casual powers* that might result in an individual man running and his empowerment can be seen as *causal liability* at another level and disempowering for men as a group. Both of these objects (individual man and a group "men") exist but they are at different levels of *stratification* and are, therefore, qualitatively different.

⁷⁷ Unless, it was say Prince William.

According to Sayer (1992), whether *causal powers* are ever activated depends on the conditions. As with Mao (1971) the term conditions refers to other objects which also have their own *causal powers* and *causal liabilities*. The ways in which different objects and their *mechanisms* interrelate within running is important. For example, the lack of participation of women in road races despite attempts to redefine their bodies and the races to facilitate mass entry may be explained by external conditions, such as their relationship with the *cultural landscapes* of running.

Sayer (1992) suggests that reasons can cause events:

"...while reasons are certainly different in these respects from physical causes it doesn't follow from this that they cannot be the causes of certain events". (Sayer, 1992, p.111)

To illustrate this point Sayer argues that it would be ridiculous to suggest that repugnant beliefs are harmless. Reasons do not have to be "true" or coherent to be causes. If a runner states the belief that they are not competitive, and they run for enjoyment, this may be the cause of their running. This is even if I perceive their description of running as unenjoyable. Hence, beliefs expressed in interviews are *causal powers* and *causal liabilities*. The ideas about running and races in the letters and front covers are distinct from the actions of running and the road races. However, they may provide reasons for runners to act in particular ways.

The dialogue in the letters and front covers use concepts believed to be significant to running and road racing. The impact of this dialogue will be qualitatively different from the actual races. It is not only the concepts therefore that have to be considered but the material form in which they are found. The likely impact of

magazines upon individuals is discussed in Chapter Five. The material form of the magazine was also considered in Chapter Four.

Sayer (1992) believes that social theories can provide reasons that explain an event better than an actor. For example,

"... men who cultivate a macho image may not be aware of it let alone know the real reasons it might (!) prompt them to act differently." (Sayer, 1992, p.111)

This suggests that if my explanation of somebody running is that they are participating in a culture that creates and perpetuates sex identity, this can be a more adequate reflection of what is happening for the purpose of social science. Sayer (1992) utilises the term *practical adequacy* to describe the relationship between legitimate social theory and the real world. He suggests that the best social theory can aim for is *practically adequate* theories. This is because theory can never reflect the entirety of the world it aims to describe and explain. It attempts to bridge the gap between what is learned about the world through social science and the world itself. The idea is that in order to be feasible research must result in knowledge that:

"generate(s) expectations about the world and about the results of our actions which are actually realised. ... The practical adequacy of different parts of our knowledge will vary according to context. The differences in success of different sets of beliefs in the same practical context and of the same beliefs in different contexts suggests that the world is structured and differentiated". (Sayer, 1992, p.69)

This is more than saying that theory should be useful because realists are also concerned with the concepts that are applied to the analysis as well as the output. Hence, Sayer argues (1992, p.96-97) theory should be useful in more than one instance to be defined as *practically adequate*. This does not mean it has to be equally useful in all contexts.

The way in which thoughts, ideas and concepts relate to "objective reality" is not easily conceptualised, and raises questions relating to the universality of contradiction. If the analyst can get closer to "reality" with his or her concepts, it raises questions regarding which aspects of objective conditions corresponded to the thoughts of the subject. Both in terms of those who are being studied and those who are studying. This problem is related to the general and the specific and is usefully discussed by Althusser (1969).

Althusser (1969) suggests that analytical concepts cannot be specific and identical to the real. He argues that three generalisations are more appropriate. He uses the terms "Generality I", "Generality II" and "Generality III" as ways of conceptualising the relationship between analysis and the world. Generality I refers to generalisations involved in the day to day practices being studied. Hence, it is not the world in its total that is used in day to day actions but different forms of generality. Generality II is the corpus of knowledge (i.e. sociological) that is applied to Generality I in order to arrive at Generality III. Generality III is the knowledge that results from the application of II to I. Hence, social scientific practice is viewed as a process of transformation and production rather than the identification of essences. Both the things that are produced and the things that are studied are concrete and real, created in interaction with the real world. Consequently they must correspond with the real world in some respects but are not identical with it. Hence, I attempt to produce generalities about running and the theories I use.

Althusser's (1969) view seems to draw out and clarify what Sayer (1992) might mean by the term *practically adequate*. It also clarifies the limitations of getting at the "real world" through a close examination of it. He suggests it is only possible to know the world through concepts, in themselves real and concrete. The world has a reality independent of the (conceptual and sensuous) knowing of it. Sayer (1992) holds a similar view, arguing that this is why things in the world are able to take us by surprise.⁷⁸ These assumptions underpin Althusser's (1969) approach to what social research and generalisation can achieve in terms of understanding the reality of the world. For him as for Sayer any interpretation can only ever be partial.

The relationship between the general and particular is complex, what is particular in one context can become general in another. It is not sufficient to gather enough (quantitative) examples from my data to establish an important aspect of an object. There is a requirement to ascertain that elements are *necessary mechanisms* of a given object through qualitative analysis. Sayer (1992) states why this is the case through his examination of the term generalisation and its relationship to social scientific explanation. In criticising attempts at generalisation through qualitative study, Sayer argues that it can lead to the analyst ignoring: the different historical and cultural contexts within which the exemplars are located; the degree to which *mechanisms* are *essential* elements; distributive unreliability; and the relationship of structures to one another. The races and the competition within them are studied

⁷⁸ This suggests that a phenomenological view based on the idea that the world was only made real through human senses and perceptions, would result in the world not being able to surprise us. This however is based on a particular view of human perceptions and our ability to be conscious of all we have perceived. When perception is akin to the creation of something it could be argued that our senses or ability to create with some aspects of ourselves can still surprise us at the level of conscious perception.

through qualitative analysis, to avoid these pitfalls and I have established whether repetitive visual symbols, words in print and words in interviews are simply generalised statements or whether they qualitatively constitute an object.

Sayer also emphasises the danger of "ecological fallacy" in which individual characteristics are inferred from general statements. Interview data in this study are analysed for the *necessary* elements of concepts I do not use them to make statements about individuals. I exercised caution to avoid making assumptions about individuals in the interviews based on the magazine data and tried to ensure as much as possible that they were directed by the interviewee (see Chapter 3).

Finally, Sayer challenges the goal of social science if it tries to establish "universally applicable generalisations or "protolaws"" (p. 102). He advocates that qualitative analysis be used to help prevent inappropriate generalisations. He suggests that the best social theory can aim for is to arrive at *practically adequate* theories. Rather than producing generalisations, social research should move between the concrete and the abstract. Events in the world should be studied in terms of the *mechanisms* that produce them.

My analysis does not presume that productive forces, practices and economics play the principal role in determining running (i.e. thought) which Mao, (1971) believed was usually the case. Although, he also believed that at times thought and social relations influence the economic base. Having a principal *contradiction* is not really necessary in Sayer's (1992) realist terms. However, the idea of a *principal power*, has helped me in identifying what is a *causal power* and what is a *causal liability*.

For example, if I was studying running from the point of view of "transcendental jogging" the introduction of timing of runs may be viewed as a *causal liability* to its gaining ground. However, once the idea of a *principal power* is introduced elements of "transcendental jogging" may become *causal liabilities* in terms of its relationship with the principal sporting ethos, as it discourages the timing which is central to it. *Principal powers* can change as different levels of *stratification* are moved through. When "transcendental jogging" and athletics work together they combine to produce *emergent powers* that are complementary or part of a single object or concept. Hence, *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* which oppose one another at one level may become unified at another when they become part of the same thing.

A process is viewed as ending when things transform themselves into their opposites. For example, when females become defined as stronger than males. The actual analysis of any process in these terms is difficult. However, it seems that it is not a case of arguing that females need to become stronger than males in terms of physical strength. The nature of, or what constitutes strength is primarily defined by the *principal power*. Hence, for females to become defined as physically stronger may involve a change in what is viewed as constituting physical strength rather than female bodies. This type of change would be viewed as a qualitative rather than a quantitative change. It also suggests that change in the use and definition of terms may indicate small qualitative changes.

From the considerations derived from this discussion I developed the following approach to data analysis:

1. I have looked for the *necessary mechanisms* (*causal powers* and *causal liabilities*) in the data examined. In doing so I have examined the

fluctuating boundaries around "things" that are apparent from the distinction between *internal* and *external* relations.

2. I have identified *emergent powers* at different levels of stratification.

3. A similar mode of analysis is applied to all the data.

4. *Mechanisms* are treated as transitory.

5. I attempt to identify *qualitative* transformations.

6. In looking at the qualitative differences between things, I move between the (practically adequate) theories, concepts and practices used in day-to-day life and those I employed in doing the research. I have assessed the adequacy of my theoretical approach. I regard the knowledge produced through the research as generative rather than as a reflection of *permanent* essences.

7. I examined both *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* as well as the interplay between them.

8. I analysed contextual factors and the way they interact with, and modify the effects of *causal powers* and *causal liabilities*.

6.2 Changing Competition and the Emergence of Road Racing.

6.2 (i) The Emergence of Road Racing: Growing Popularity

I established that racing was a *necessary mechanism* of running by qualitative analysis. Its growth was indicated by quantitative change. The number of letters about races (usually marathons, but also half marathons and fun runs), some 53% of the total, in 1984-1885 indicated that these had become of increasing important to running. As stated in the introduction, the eighties saw road racing reach its height of popularity and it declined somewhat after this although it did maintain adequate participation rates for it to continue. From the outset of the magazine the focus began to shift from well-being and issues of health and fitness (which had dominated the 1979-1980 letters and front covers) to concern with racing technique and organisation. Hence, in nineteen ninety four a reader commented:

"...in the early 1980's when the majority of the field would be running in their first race. Today, most race entrants are experienced athletes. ..." (August, 1994)

However, as I go on to show, the race is only populated by “athletes” through redefinition of the terms “athlete” and the “forms of competition” within the race. The continuing interest in racing is also evident from the front covers in nineteen-eighty four to nineteen eighty five which were all (but two) dominated by pictures of well known athletes (racing stars), such as Sebastian Coe, Steve Ovett and Zola Budd (see fig.6.1). This trend was evident through to the nineteen nineties when the articles advertised on the front covers were also predominantly about training, “running stars” and marathons (see fig.6.2). This differs front covers from nineteen seventy-nine to eighty which more regularly featured articles on the health and fitness aspect of “jogging”. Change was also marked by the title of the magazine which as mentioned earlier was altered from Jogging to Running and then to Runner's World. The changing content of articles and the terms used in the title of the magazine begins to indicate qualitative change as the words are chosen to relate to, and to influence, the activities of readers.

Additionally, all the runners interviewed had taken part in races at some point even though I had not selected them on that basis.

" When we went into it we never had the intention of starting a marathon. Like this time last year if you'd asked I wouldn't have like said we would do the marathon. No I would have said that's far too strenuous." (Interviewee F)

Fig. 6.1 Racing Stars of the Late Eighties and Nineties

Fig. 6.2 The Racing Focus

"Um there was round about 8 or 9 good miles (Me: what on a run?) On a run, yeah. And we used to do like 10k, 10 kilometre races. Just you know, for our own enjoyment, we didn't, we competed in it but we didn't have any sort of like high standards set, or whatever. (Interviewee B)

Those that no longer took part in races felt they had to explain their not doing so:

"I have taken part in one or two races but I struggled and felt embarrassed. ... I run to keep my weight stable and have no desire to improve my times or participate in races again."
(Interviewee G)

Hence, there is a range of evidence that road racing became central to running over this period. However, in order to be viewed as an important *mechanism* it has to be established that racing was a necessary part of running.

The necessity of racing to running as presented in my data became evident through qualitative analysis in which I attempt to establish it as a *necessary mechanism*.

Races could be over any distance from two miles to the twenty-six mile marathon which was the key event, or beyond this to ultra races. The emergence of the marathon as the key event of running cannot be viewed as a "natural" development. This following letter indicates that having the marathon as the chosen event, may have been viewed as against the original "spirit" of "jogging" for some:

"I read with amazement Dave Denyer's claim to be a "genuine supporter of the sport" (RUNNING no 37) when he also states that he only started running as a result of the first London Marathon. Nobody can claim to be a genuine runner if it required the combined attention of the media and commercial interests to get them started! Those of us who were running for years before the sport became socially acceptable had far more subtle reasons for coming into it. Compared with these, the London Marathon is completely insignificant. Roll on the end of the "boom"!" (August, 1984)

The nineteen seventy-nine and nineteen eighty letters do not present entering a marathon as a prime motivator for beginning running. They encouraged people to run by suggesting they should "jog" a little to keep fit. However, the above letter

received several responses which (along with the volume of letters about races)

suggested that it had, by nineteen eighty-four, become so

"I am glad that G Worth (Runners' Forum, RUNNING no 40) represents a small minority of the running population. Like Dave Denyer (RUNNING no 37), I consider myself a "genuine supporter of the sport", and I, too, started training as a result of seeing others taking part in a marathon." (October, 1984)

"The comments of G. Worth are those of a running snob. There are no rules to define a genuine runner - if you enjoy running or jogging and feel good for doing it, that is all that matters." (October, 1984)

These letters do not say that running races is an *essential* part of being a runner on an individual level; they seem to promote the idea that runners can be motivated by anything. Races are not necessarily a *causal power* for each individual runner and it could be suggested that the magazine changed to only represent a subsection of runners (racers). However, the centrality of the race to this period and the way in which it influences and shapes much of what is done and written about indicates its status as a *necessary mechanism* at least to running as presented by the magazine. The interviews can only begin to indicate the broader relevance of this view alongside the mass participation. Much that runners write about, talk about and do would make little sense without the race. For example, their desire to increase speed cannot really be related to concern for health and continues outside of racing conditions.

The race's status as a *necessary mechanism* of running was also evident in the way most "daily jogs", had become "training" sessions and not an activity in themselves. They had become merely preparation for "the race". This statement was typical of those made by the interviewees about their daily or weekly runs:

R: Only if we know there's a race coming up. But now there's no race.

Me: But do you still run?

R: Oh yes. Just to keep in shape in case one does crop up. (Interviewee D)

Even when there are no races planned the runs are viewed as in preparation for future races. This was the case with all the men I interviewed but for only one of the three women.

This existence of the races themselves are perhaps the most convincing evidence of their being a *necessary mechanism* for running. Although every individual does not need to train for races, for races to exist there must be sufficient individuals acting with and upon their bodies in this particular way. The popularity of the races, the largest of which rejected many would be participants, indicated the relatively large numbers training (see below). This was largely but not wholly men whose trained bodies are necessary *mechanisms* of the long distance road race which cannot be completed without adequate training. This illustrates the complexity of both stratification and establishing object relations. In this section I am asserting that the race became a *necessary* component of running more broadly. This draws on qualitative data such as the attitudes and practices of individuals which are essential to the race. However, the race exists beyond any individual contributions.

That the race became the representative event of running also indicates that sports science discourse became the principle *causal power* that underpinned running practice. If "jogging" had kept with its original name and focused on health and fitness it is unlikely a race would have heralded its existence at group level. A day concerned with body fat levels, heart and pulse rates, rather than who was the fastest (or had run a particularly gruelling distance), would more likely have been chosen. It would also be unlikely that injury would have become something that

people would have come to accept as part of racing. This seemed to be the case by the nineteen eighties and throughout the nineties when injury prevention and cure had become something that was regularly featured in the magazine (see fig. 6.3).

Also my interviews suggested that people continued running when they were injured:

"I don't really know near the end of there you have to run I think its two miles up hill like that (tips hand to make a slope). And I was just hobbling up there because it hurt more when I was running up and you have to come down the other side and coming down I had to go sideways. Because if I was running forward me knee was giving way. And there was a lot of people there asking if I was OK and everything. You know and the stewards were saying are you sure you're going to be alright. Because it was quite painful as well and they could see. I can't say I really enjoyed it. I didn't enjoy that. I was disappointed. Because I thought I'd do better. And me mum and dad were there watching. And these finished and they had to wait over an hour, before I finished. When I came hobbling in. (Interviewee E)

" I think the only time I've ever stopped in a race and felt awful about afterwards was when I was sick, because I had bad guts and I threw up after about twenty-seven miles in a forty mile race. But I really wished I'd carried on then, because I felt so awful. (How did you feel?) Well, just leaving something incomplete that you've set out to do." (Interviewee A)

Pushing yourself in the face of such injuries does not seem appropriate if the main focus were health and fitness.

If the *principal causal power* had been transcendentalism it also seems reasonable to assume that running would have been represented by a different type of event than road racing. A day in a conducive setting, for example, where people focused upon reaching transcendental states and adopting appropriate techniques would seem more appropriate.

At one level the three knowledges and practices underpinning running can be

Fig. 6.3 Articles about injury.

viewed as struggling against one another to define running. If sport (with the race as the defining event) is the *principal power* then health and transcendentalism can be viewed as promoting values and techniques that will be variously viewed as *causal powers* and *causal liabilities*, sometimes reinforcing and sometimes contesting the sporting ethos. Racing often requires bodies to be pushed to injury and to be trained to a condition that those in the medical profession would view as unhealthy. Similarly running to achieve transcendental states may work against an ethos of training to improve times of performance. However, at a different level of stratification these three knowledge bases may be viewed as combining to produce running with *emergent powers* that would not exist through any one alone. Racing and the *emergent* form of competition it entailed can be linked to these knowledges. This will be described later. However, they were also shaped by the organisations which impinged upon the road races and also helped constitute them.

6.2 (ii) The Emergence of Road Racing: Organisations and Racing

The road races that emerged during the eighties were not simply large versions of the standard races habitually organised by the Amateur Athletics Association (A.A.A.) (then the principal organisers of public races). In addition to having large numbers of entrants they had their own features which were themselves *mechanisms* in forming the concepts of competition entailed in road racing. These features were not simply a product of the three knowledge bases which underpinned practice but were also shaped by the organisations that were involved in the promotion, organisation and funding of the races.

In Guttman's (1979) typification of modern sports he suggests that they are most usually organised and funded by governmental and amateur agencies. He views the most important functions of sports bureaucracies as being to ensure the universality of the rules and regulations and to ratify records. The magazine suggests these are important features of road racing. However, there is a growing literature on the increasing commercialisation and globalisation of sports and leisure activities (Whannel, 1992; Jarvie, 1993; Maguire, 1993; Lowe, 1998; Rowe, 1999). It is indicated, in running, by the inception of the British Athletic Federation and the omission of amateur from its title. Fund raising for charity, in the world at large, as well as in Britain, was also important to road racing. In focusing on the variety of organisations who influenced road racing the *emergent powers* produced by their interrelations are identified.

6.2 (iii) Race Organisation: Sporting "Associations".

The Amateur Athletics Association (A.A.A.) had long played a big role in governing and regulating racing in this country (Lovesy, 1979). The fact that it already had regulations and legislation that covered road races meant that it was involved from the outset.⁷⁹ The letters in the magazine suggested that the new cohort of leisure runners were not happy simply to go along with existing organisation which often clashed with their ideals and practices.

The letters in the magazine suggest it was not simply a case of leisure runners wanting to take part in A.A.A. permitted races and become categorised as sports people. A.A.A. members also, including fairly elite athletes, illustrated a changing ethos, by seeking to run in non-permitted races even though participation could

⁷⁹ Many of those who wrote for *The Magazine* and were employed by them were ex-elite athletes who had been, and were, involved to quite high degrees with the A.A.A..

lead to their suspension from “official” races and exclusion from recognition of their record achievements. This may have been part of a growing trend of individual athletes seeking independence from governing bodies in order to pursue relationships with a variety of organisations and institutions.

"A.A.A. Rule 5(c) states, "Anyone competing in any Open athletic competition in England or Wales promoted by a Club, Association or Managing Body which is not in possession of a permit for that particular competition shall thereby disqualify himself from competing under A.A.A. Laws." (March, 1984,1)

Throughout the early to mid-nineteen eighties the magazine presented a view of A.A.A. as trying to enforce rules that would allow them to monopolise the licensing of road races.

"I have just read a story in the Portsmouth News about the local half-marathon, and was horrified at the implication that thousands of athletes could be banned from the A.A.A. permit races because they competed in races that did not have any permit." (April, 1984, 2)

These letters perhaps reflected the interests of the magazine. The current A.A.A. regulations did not cater for the majority of its readership. As this letter implies, the involvement of the A.A.A. was usually viewed as being about standardisation and the ratification of records, for serious athletes.

When many of us took to the roads, the A.A.A. did not want to know, but once their organization realised that money was available, then permits became necessary - why? An easy income for nothing. What does the A.A.A. give in exchange for the permit fee? Nothing. Regularly I read of poorly-organised permit races with short or long courses, incorrect finishing and recording procedures and so on...." (April, 1984, 2)

The letter questions the A.A.A.'s ability to do this efficiently and accurately but as an established national body they seem under little threat in this respect, at this stage. What seems to be more important is that the separation of the elite and non-elite seemed to undermine a *necessary* value of mass participation, which was equal right to participation, which became an *emergent* power of the race. Regulating events on the basis of elite athletes alone not only undermined these values but also focused upon, what was to become, a minority of the entrants.

The writer of this letter encouraged runners to take action to alter the A.A.A. rules to bring the organization into line with its new membership.

"I should like to suggest that those who oppose this rule should join together to have it changed. ... The A.A.A. does not cater for the vast army of their new membership who are non-competitive, non-serious, short-distance joggers, but these men, women and children do need the benefits of organised events which provide motivation as well as the enjoyment of participating with other runners and joggers." (March, 1984, 1)

The editors reply suggested that through co-operation under the leadership of the A.A.A. and the British Association of Road Races (Barr), a new organisational compromise could be reached.

"The Editor writes: ...(quoting from an A.A.A. official)⁸⁰ "I accept that some races are not organised in a proper manner, but if you come away from a permitted race and are dissatisfied with the organisation, then you should send your complaints to the A.A.A. or the county associations.... The major race promoters (who have recently banded together to form Barr, the British Association of Road Races) are working with the A.A.A. because, like us, they are concerned that races are organised in an orderly manner.

Fun runs are accepted by us because they get people interested their own fitness and the sport as well as raising money for charity. However, when competitions are held, with "official" results issued, prizes awarded, and the A.A.A.'s rules are not adhered to, then athletes risk breaking not only our rules, but also the internationally accepted rules of competition especially those concerning amateur status." (Editors reply, April, 1984, 2)

This reply from an A.A.A. official illustrates how those involved wished to reach a compromise. To attract a growing new membership and prevent new organisations taking its members the A.A.A. had to introduce new regulations. Eventually regulations were derived that allowed all to compete, whilst records could still be ratified.⁸¹

Once road races had become dominated by non-elite athletes the A.A.A. had other *causal powers* to contend with and a straightforward sporting agenda could not be followed. This was in its own interest because the A.A.A. did not want to discourage such widespread enthusiasm for athletics. It maintained some control via publication of things such as "best race lists" which as one letter noted (April,

⁸⁰ my addition in brackets

⁸¹ The categories involved are elite, club members of all levels and non-attached runner's. Those that do not belong to A.A.A. affiliated clubs may have to pay a slightly higher fee for races.

1989, Star Letter) excluded highly popular races, in this case the "Robin Hood Marathon" in Nottingham a fairly major British City Race which had maintained a good entry level and reputation for several years, if they were not "permitted".

The conflicting *causal powers* from the new group of runners helped form the organisational structures which emerged. The form that road racing took helped form the types of runners and clubs. If racing were to be promoted as a means of achieving the health and fitness of the population then a sporting agenda could not be followed. Similarly if athletics wanted to be seen as having a social conscience it could not exclude and disregard those running for charity. Large races required funding and it is unlikely events would have taken place without commercial backing.

This movement was not simply derived from runners, there were many international interests that would have benefited from the promotion of road racing. The clothing and shoe companies could only benefit from the rapid growth of leisure-sports like running.

Whilst the A.A.A. (and subsequent and allied organised sporting organisations) and its members were a major influencing factor on the race, sporting concerns (such as accurate measurement, timing, ensuring that the fastest could compete in equal conditions, the ratification of records and conditions that did not threaten national or international athletics regulations) remained a priority. The involvement of sporting organisations can be seen as a *necessary* component of the road race and shapes the way that the race is organised. For example timing every runner.

6.2. (iv) Race Organisation: Raising Money for Charity.

Charity organisations were (and are) highly involved in road racing. For many races sponsorship details are sent out with the race information. It was an issue often discussed in the letter pages.

"Readers of The Fund Runners (RUNNING, no 33) who ran in the Glasgow Marathon and were sponsored for the Cancer Research Campaign will have been puzzled to read that the Cancer Research Campaign only received £25,000 from all running events in 1983. Some of them will have been told by me that they had helped to raise over £30,000 from that one event alone. The reason is that the Glasgow Marathon figure was not included in your survey. ..." (March, 1984, 13)

"The Editor writes: Major Harrman's letter illustrates the problem we found-that the figures quoted by the charities' central offices often reflect only the tip of the iceberg as it may take some time for information to filter through from their regional branches. ..." (The Editors reply, March, 1984, to 13 after 15)

Some races specifically link themselves to particular charities. For example, in a small town in the Peak District the money raised through a 10 mile race was all donated to one charity (Interviewee A).

Charity involvement did not always work well from the point of view of some runners. Although, the practice of sending out charity sponsorship details with race details is still practised and an important element of races, there were clashes of interest between raising money for charity and "the competitive race". One letter, concerned about TV coverage, reflects the clash between the sport and the spectacle created by participants in fancy dress raising money for charity, suggested that the cameras should focus on the elite athletes.

"...And while these top runners were coming in, we were fed repeated views of London (very pretty but hardly appropriate at the climax of a big race) and shots of the man dressed as a kangaroo. We had seen him once: was that not enough? ..." (July, 1984, 6)

This next letter suggests that **organisers** focus on charities and disregard the runner.

"... With the ever-increasing cost of races, is it too much to ask the organisers to think of the entrant? Do we have to be continuously bombarded with details of sponsorship? Is it not time that more care was taken with regard to the course, marshalling, feed stations and the well-being of the runner?

What about a grading system so that runners have an idea of the type of course and standard of organisation of the many races now available?" (October, 1984, 6)

It appears that charity involvement produces *causal liabilities* with regard to the sporting ethos. It also produces *causal liabilities* which clash with the consumption elements of racing which I discuss later. However, charity activity is also a *causal power* in terms of the race as a whole in that it gives the race a "community" spirit and a social value that it would not otherwise have. It is also a *causal power* in making the race visually stimulating for the spectator. This is demonstrated visually through the fancy-dress clothing of many charity runners, the collection buckets they carry and the t-shirts advertising charities. If money is raised for charity it does not really seem to matter in what time people finish. Runners wear costumes which inhibit speed. In one race I watched four people wore fireman's uniforms and carried another on a stretcher on a blazing hot day. Sometimes individuals representing the group for whom the money is raised will be part of the race. For example, they are pushed in wheelchairs. This contributes to the race's value as spectacle but subverts the sporting ethos undermining the idea that speed is important. The charity allows the race to be justified in terms of the broader community and promotes the idea that through personal effort runners can help others. This ethos is reinforced by major public sporting figures who frequently associate themselves with particular charities.⁸²

This charity element of a race can also contribute to the emotive value of the race for the spectator. At a "Potteries Marathon" one year this was made particularly apparent when the "fun runners", many of whom were raising money and some of whom were

⁸² The whole running movement of this period seemed to be located in time when charity work through challenging physical feats became popular. These could be challenging in the sense that they required a lot of training or that they required a lot of courage. For example, running a marathon or doing a parachute jump. This was made highly public by people like Jimmy Saville who hosted a popular TV program in the nineteen seventies "Jim'll Fix It".

dressed in costume, set off ten minutes before the "competitors". At the starting line a local radio station played dramatic fanfare music (Fanfare For the Common Man) and praised the heroism of those running, by focusing on the distance. They left in a moving atmosphere that seemed to be designed to bring tears to the eyes of the observer. When the "real race" started the music went off and the commentator called the "lads" to the starting line to get on with the "real business".

Despite its secondary status to the sporting competition, the charity element of the race can be viewed as an *essential mechanism* of the race and to the concept of competition that can be derived from the race. The sense of achievement (and competitive success) is never completely lost as the distance alone seems to provide this. Individuals and groups who run for charity imply that individual effort can and should help others. Charity running goes on alongside the sporting event and inside the whole event. This contributes to the *emergent event* which is different from a sporting contest. The race does not only exist for the health and fitness of the participants, nor the sporting achievements of the athletes but is also for the good of the community. In particular it benefits those less "able" to help themselves through the heroism of the runners who also turn it into a spectacle.

6.2 (v) Race Organisation: Local Government

The people who organised events were a combination of local sports enthusiasts, those concerned to promote and oversee local interests (i.e. local government, local businesses), sports organisations and national and global companies. Among them there were both concordant and conflicting interests. The major funders of events had influence over the nature of the event. In towns and cities local government often provided funding and support and viewed the events as promoting the locality. Apart

from anything else it **could** bring in a huge influx of "tourists" and become a regular "community" event.

Local approval and cooperation is *necessary* for races to pass through streets. Police are usually required to re-direct traffic and to close off roads. Residents are required to be tolerant of short-term disruption and long-term damage which at times causes problems. The Chester race, for example, was felt to be eroding the ancient walls of the city. Local government can be a major funder of events, as when, for example, the Greater London Council (GLC) generously funded the London marathon and was then abolished fuelling fears that funding would disappear with its abolition. One letter suggested that local government funding may bias the selection procedure.

"... I realise the GLC has given a lot of support over the years but it should be recognized that London is the prime national event, without preference to Londoners. ..."

However, local government support even at a low level is a *mechanism* of the race because it would not exist without it and it also grants ownership of races to communities.

6.2 (vi) Race Organisation: Commercial Interests

The commercial sponsors of races associate their name with all that a race stands for. Each company relates to the ideals and behaviours of the races in a different way. For example, Gillette emphasised the masculinity of running; Coca-Cola draws on the youth and vitality and usually portrays in its advertising the uniting of peoples across boundaries (national, age, and economic).

Names like The Flora [margarine] London Marathon indicate how extensive sponsorship and funding by the commercial sector can be. The question of who is responsible for

funding individual competitors and events is complex and controversial from the point of view of the elite:

"...This event was staged on the Eurovets' behalf, and the levy is their only source of money. Who else would fund them? The BAAB (British Amateur Athletics Board)? Mark McCormack's International Management Group? As will be seen from my report in this month's Vets Column ... we may in future, get a modest contribution from the European AA. ... Whenever the Europeans are staged, 25 of the 26 competing countries are going to have to make their own way out of their own pockets. To compete in the Rome World Champs next year could cost Don something like an additional £450 for travel, hotel, holiday from work etc. Who is going to pay for him? Nike? the A.A.A.? The BVA (British Veteran Athletics Federation)? Maybe but they wouldn't pay for anyone less elite". (The Editors Reply, November, 1984)

The arguments about who should fund sports people are not just economic they also affect the status of sports more generally and the rules and values that go with them.

These controversies about funding are not however a recent phenomenon. Debates about amateurism, professionalism and soccer, for example began early this century (Naughton and Chandler, 1995). More recently, there has been controversy over the sale of Manchester United to Rupert Murdoch and the ownership of British football teams in general. Hence, as this letter notes neither the context (of increasing commercialisation) nor the objections were new:

"It is regrettable to see athletics following the path of other, formerly noble sports such as soccer, cricket and tennis, which have declined into spheres where one part is business (the professional participants are in it for the loot) and the other is the amateur section (where people are looked upon just as "punters"). Top line athletes are now moulding themselves into businessmen and women and cannot be regarded as sports people. I will always prefer to turn up and watch an amateur event, be it track, road or country, rather than pay to see the elite parading their endorsed goods". (December, 1984)

However, in this context the debate was not just about elite athletes but was an event which included many leisure runners whose entry is perhaps best classed as an act of consumption rather than in a sporting contest. Once running is classed as an act of consumption with the person buying the right to participate then self-funding is no longer controversial. This aspect of participation had a major influence not only over the race but over the way that competition was enacted within it. It was as if the spectators had started participating in the event.

The sponsors were not the only commercial interests, who stood to gain. There were also the endorsed goods that were worn by top athletes. Major events provided a good

opportunity for advertisers who had a participating audience who may be willing to copy elite athletes and in addition provide a pageant of branded products. For, major events like the London Marathon this can reach a global audience.

The interrelationship between the different organisations involved suggests a fragmentation of control and ownership in long distance running. The amateur, professional, commercial, charity and health interests are all *necessary mechanisms* that constitute this as a multifaceted event. Their coalition can be viewed as being based on *causal powers* that did not entirely or always coincide but which could find expression through the race. There had to be some level of concordance for this to happen. Concordant interests are evident through the way that some of the effects of these *causal powers* are *overdetermined*. The importance of lower body fat for health, performance and bodily aesthetics, for example, united health promoters; sporting associations keen to raise their membership, as well as commercial and advertising companies who could utilise ideal sporting bodies in promoting their products. Coinciding interests enabled an organised road racing to emerge despite inevitable conflicts. The form of racing that emerged was constituted by the organisations described above, their knowledges, values and ideals and the knowledges of the body that underpinned running practice, which together produced the *emergent powers* of the race. These encapsulated particular forms of competition within the organisation and performance of the race. I now turn to a different level of stratification in order to identify the components of the race which are *necessary* to the form of competition it encapsulates.

6.2 (vii) Changing Competition.

Within the race there are several forms of competition which are significant to my overall argument about competition, social inclusion and a changing embodiment of middle-class masculinity. First there is competition for the categorised sporting contests. Second, each individual is pitted against themselves through the concept of the personal best. Third, they are all competing with the distance. Finally, those in races are often competing with significant others. I begin by examining the structure and organisation of the race and identify those *mechanisms essential* to the race and which help create these forms of competition.

6.2 (viii) Entering the Race.

In large road races, there are usually two forms of entry. One in which there is a chance to qualify to compete in a race (or sporting event) through performance. This is by its nature, limited to the elite athletes in each category. Those who qualify are guaranteed entry into large events like the London Marathon. However, for the majority of people entering marathons and half-marathons was based upon the payment of a fee, the submission of an application form and either random selection by the organisers or the first to get their application forms in could participate⁸³. For races which were not so popular everybody could enter.

A new method of selecting the mass of participants can be viewed as an *essential mechanism* of the road race because qualifying through performance would be at very least difficult for such a large number of entrants. It would also go against the ethos of the race and prevent it embodying the values and meaning of this type of selection procedure. This entry system has its own *causal powers* and *causal liabilities*.

⁸³ For example, entry for the London Marathon was based on random selection by computer for the majority.

Entry on the basis of random selection incorporates the idea that everybody **is entitled to enter and that** everybody's effort is important regardless of finishing time. The form of competition it **entails** is one in which each individual is pitted alone against the distance and much of the prestige comes from completion alone. Selection by qualification does not incorporate these values because the focus of competition is others, **it a**llows only the fastest to compete **and** suggests that only the very fastest are valued and worth watching.

This entry procedure requires that suitability for entry **is** assessed by each individual, **involving** an element of trust, **because** for the race to succeed as an event it is *essential* that sufficient individuals do unsupervised work on the body. The ethos **is** one that involves the idea that it is the taking part that counts **but** that should the opportunity arise training to participate is **also** important. This involves taking on the values and practices of those entering the race even if you cannot enter yourself.

A *causal liability* of the selection procedure **is** that all may not be able to enter because in large races there are too many applicants. A^lthough ther^e were objections in the letter pages, most letters were fairly accepting of the principal by which entry was granted. Nobody I interviewed complained about the selection procedure for races. Additionally, if it had been **too** problematic **i**t is likely that different selection procedures would have been adopted.

People's acceptance of the idea that you may train and not get to enter all the races you want to, seems to be an important *causal power* of the race. This attitude is typified by the following letters:

"It was with surprise rather than disappointment that I received my rejection for the 1984 London Marathon. As one who in the last 20 years has single handedly consumed over 7,000 Mars bars, I would have expected that the computer would have been programmed to give number 0001." (March, 1984, 4)

"I've just received one of the dreaded postcards from the London Marathon. So did a lot of runners, I know but most of us ran last year, and in previous years. Although I feel a bit down and upset, it's good to let other people have a go for the first time. I will be on the 21-mile watering station, cheering everyone on." (March, 1984, 2)

The selection procedure fosters the value that there is an element of chance in your actual participation no matter how hard you train. This is underpinned by the way in which training is valued in itself in terms of developing individual well-being. Although daily jogs seem to become training in this later period it is also important that they see this training as having a broader focus than the race.

New selection techniques incorporated certain values which establish them as a necessary mechanism of the race. To allow qualification to be based upon non-performance related criteria depended upon new procedures which had to be applied and or even created to facilitate mass participation sports. Hence, it is not just individuals that need to have particular attitudes but the organisation of the race also had to conform. Selection techniques such as "first come, first served" and "random selection" can be viewed as necessary to the existence of large road races. The two selection procedures also differentiate elite and non-elite athletes but there were other mechanisms of the race by which entrants were divided and the form of competition, they were involved in, created. One of these was the way in which entrants had different purposes for entering.

6.2 (ix) The Purpose of Entry: Being a Competitor?

Although mass participation was the ideal of the race, the degree to which all entrants in a race can be viewed as having an "equal opportunity to compete" one of Guttman's

(1978) defining characteristics of a modern sport, is questionable. Competition for winning the race is, in practice, limited to relatively few. Some races were used as a basis for qualification for future races:

"I would like to add my comments to D Kennedy's letter on the Pearl series (RUNNING no 42). I also ran in the Pearl Half-marathon in Belfast last year and finished 25th. On reading the results, I noticed that my name had been omitted. I thought it must have been a printing error and waited for my invitation to the grand final in Birmingham." (February, 1985)

Elite athletes were prioritised allowing those who stand some chance of winning or doing exceptionally well to start in the front.⁸⁴ In popular races, the field is so large that fast runners starting at the back, would not be considered to be competing in a fair race where the conditions of competition were equal. This equalisation of the conditions of competition is a *necessary mechanism* for the sporting competition of the race.

It seems the races consisting of several categorised sporting competitions take place between relatively few of the participants, but the data suggested there was still a great interest in the placing of the top runners:

"The commentary was generally ill-informed. Seldom were we told the names of any leading contenders beyond the first three or four. Only once - and late in the race - were we told the position of the race favourite and last year's winner. ... Times were not available at crucial points... At the finish line, we were shown useless back views of the recovering winners when other, top placed runners were finishing unseen by the cameras." (July, 1984)

It was this aspect of "the race" that seems to be more equivalent to Guttman's

"modern sport" and the elite category were an important *causal power* in defining the whole event as a sporting contest, giving additional prestige to the mass of participants.

⁸⁴ As well as this being referred to throughout the magazine when races were discussed, I have myself witnessed this at The Potteries Marathon on several occasions.

It is possible to view major races as containing two types of event within them, a typical modern sport based on equal chance of qualification, and a mass event with selection based on equal chance of participation. This view is supported by another excerpt from the letter immediately above, which indicates that the race is a two-fold event:

"The London Marathon is a people's event, but it is also a very important race for thousands of athletes. Its presentation should have been treated as such, and not merely as a carnival event." (July, 1984)

The races can only be viewed in total as a "modern sport" if most of the entrants are ignored. The duality of the event resulted in the category of "athlete" being broadened to include many not previously so classified. It is mainly through the non-elite that changing notions of competition emerge. The presence of elite athletes is necessary for the rest of the entrants to be classified as participating in a sporting event or it would become something else and the mechanisms of the event would differ.

Participation was not a straightforward case of enjoyment and the term "competition" still seems appropriate to most of those who were not elite athletes. This was partially through their competition with themselves. This is encapsulated in the term personal best (P.B.) and in the constant self-monitoring of running times:

"... I was anxious about racing at first and was sure that the athletes would consider fun runners like me to be a nuisance. But after 21² years of gradually improving my own personal bests at various distances, I am still amazed at the warm and friendly atmosphere which is felt throughout the races". (October 1984)

"The runner behind me said we had done roughly 1:32:22, but it would have been nice to have this confirmed. ..." (October, 1989)

"I am a dedicated runner who pays a lot of attention to PBs, training times, etc. ..." (June, 1994)

Although most people stand little chance of winning the race their constant striving for improvement puts them in competition with their previous selves. In the interviews even where people did not time themselves precisely on their training runs they were at least

vaguely aware of the timing. The two women (B and G) who had rarely or never competed, timed their runs sometimes, and evaluated good and bad runs in terms of speed.

In addition to individuals being in competition with themselves, the interviews suggest that people did not feel entirely neutral about the other participants in the race. They grouped and assessed themselves according to age, sex, their experience and training and had a good idea of whom they should finish before, after or at about the same time.

"But, there's some people at my work who do marathons, and some people I used to go to school with. And I see them sometimes and I always want to beat them. Definitely. Especially this one I used to go to school with he's got..., he's in the running club and he thinks he's brilliant. That was Uttoxeter.' And we beat him as well. So I was chuffed with that."

(Interviewee D)

This data comes from qualitatively different sources, letters and interviews but the concern with personal timing and finishing before certain categories of people can be viewed as *necessary mechanisms*. If people (even the slowest) did not try to run as fast as possible the race might take days. If people ran but did not complete it would be a different event. The only shamed category in a marathon are the non-completers. Berkling and Neckel (1993) suggest this is because this group have been publicly shown to have over-estimated themselves. The examples of my interviewees running through injury above (Chapter 5) illustrate that finishing the race is the major priority for entrants.

Charity runners including fancy-dress participants are paid on the basis that they finish the race. It is not for speed. Many of those running for charity would have been entering the race anyway and their completion speed may still be important to them. For these people it is the completion that is important but it is still a form of competition. First, one with themselves including their own bodies to push themselves

physically through the training period. Second, one in which they try to avoid the public shame of non-completion. They do not have to worry about competing with their sex and age group. Their status as charity runners also signals their lack of concern with fast timing, particularly if they are not dressed for running.

There are often three groups of runners within the race, each with a different motivation for being there, but all with a strong predilection to finish the race.

They are all involved in forms of competition, although they differ slightly. This is not to say that this creates hostility between runners. Both the magazine and the interviewees suggested much camaraderie and encouragement passed between runners. However, these forms of competition which are the purpose for entering a race all involve finishing the race and for most as quickly as possible. For most big marathons competitors finishing times are published in local and sometimes national newspapers, giving extra motivation and indicating the importance of timing. Having a large group of people all motivated to finish the race as quickly as they can is viewed as a *necessary mechanism* of the race because, without this, it would not be the spectacle of success through effort that it is.

To motivate such a broad range of people into such hard work on the body is complex.

The most public and respected form of accolade is to achieve a position in the race.

This could not be the case for many entrants in a large race. However, the broadening of the terms "athlete" and "competition" enable men and women of different age groups

to "compete" in the race. In mixed road races it is usually senior men who finish

first. If there were no other sex and age categories and one form of competition it

is difficult to see why other groups would take part.

6.2 (x) Broadening Competition: Increasing Categories.

Incorporating a number of categories within a single race seemed popular in published letters although they often wanted the categorisation made clearer:

“Why can't race organisers use a colour-coded system when issuing numbers, such as follows: senior male – blue, senior female – red, vets 35-40 female yellow etc.. (September, 1989)

However, this element of the race can also be viewed as a *causal power*. Without this the race itself would have seemed irrelevant to most categories of entrants. People were used to sports being for a single category of people most often young adult males. It is tempting to think of the inclusive nature of races erodes difference and it does in the sense that its structure and organisation defines all adults as potential participants. However, the categories there in the name of equalising the conditions of competition are also *causal powers* in differentiating the participants. There are few occasions when adults are publicly put in such age and sex groups based on the different abilities of categories of bodies. The race encouraged people to view their bodies in age and sex based ways and to utilise this in their reflexive views of themselves.

This categorisation of bodies had its *causal liabilities* if inclusiveness and a veneer (at least) of equal treatment is considered the goal. This was evident in a debate featured in the letter pages in which the issue of their being lower prize money for women was discussed.

“...it simply cannot be accepted that “both achieved the same feat”. The average standard of training and fitness attained by male runners is usually much higher than that attained by women. ...” (February, 1990)

“Mrs S Field needs to understand the facts of life. Fewer women than men enter races and therefore contribute less in entry fees. I think women attract more than their fair share of prize money. ... After all I cannot recall there being special prizes for men in jam-making and flower arranging competitions.” (February, 1990)

“Surely the reason that women receive less prize money than men is that far fewer women compete in road races. If on average less than 20 per cent of the field are women it would hardly be fair if they were allocated 50 per cent of the prize money. ... “ (February, 1990)

This debate brings out the way that, at the elite end of the scale at least, men and women were truly divided and treated unequally. However without this division few women would win a prize and there would be less motivation for women to enter at all. Consequently, the division is a *causal power* which divides men and women who become one analytical object as part of the same race and activity.

The letters indicated that the categorisation of runners was widely accepted as a positive thing:

“The Sunday Times National Fun Run is rightly regarded as one the year's great running events. One of its special features is the categorization of sexes and ages - I run with and against my peers. This greatly adds to my enjoyment, allowing a true time assessment by measuring myself against my old adversaries”. (September, 1984, 5)

Runners accepted that ^{age} along with sex (above) were ^{the most important features} for ^{categorising bodies.} ^{people relate to and assess one} ^{an} other and themselves utilising these criteria.

In many ways the race can be viewed as a public display of ^difference and hierarchy, ^with a senior male usually coming out on top. However, if ^{these categories are} ^{causal} ^{power}s in dividing and differently valuing men and women they also have their *causal liabilities*. The fastest women and veterans ^{beat most of the men; and this gives} ^{it} the radical potential (and *causal liability*) of overturning embodied sports hierarchies. For example, sometimes veteran women come in before the first senior woman as in the 1997 Potteries Marathon. However, with the aggregation of results and the concentration on the top runners this is somewhat, but never totally, obscured.

This categorisation can be viewed as an *essential feature*, and therefore a *mechanism*, of the running movement for this period. Without these divisions it would be a different event with random and uncategorised bodies. Without prior judgement as to their ability, there would be different, or no, preconceptions about which category of body would finish in first, second or third place. **Individuals who were not concerned with finishing first would not have the same methods of assessing their ability. Without these categories it would have been less easy to appeal to a broad group of adults.** If road racing was to become a mass-participation sport, which involves communicating its practices, ideals and values to as many members of society as possible, it needed to send particular messages to potential runners. This categorisation was one of the means by which it sent the message that all categories were welcome.

Increasing the number of age categories within sexual groupings allows for (and in this case creates) the expansion of sporting practice and ethos beyond young adult males, **in much the same way as the magazine itself promoted running as an aid to well-being for a wide variety of people.** Although it may appear simply to equalise the conditions of competition its effects involve expanding sporting ethos and practice. The inclusion of all categories in the same race not only provides a public display of individualism (as suggested by Berking and Neckel, (1993) it also invites public comparison of categories.

6.3 The Consumption of Achievement: Male Middle-Class Masculinity and Social Inclusion

Runners are consumers on a day-to-day basis in the sense that they are involved in the consumption and production cycles associated with running shoes, clothing and

dietary products (Featherstone, 1983, 1990, 1991; Bauman, 1998). That is, they are involved in the simultaneous consumption of goods and the productions of signs and symbols associated with late-capitalism. Also, they pay a fee to the race organisers for the services they provide. In this section I examine both the services provided and the signs and symbols produced. I assess the extent to which these are *necessary mechanisms* of the race and also the way that running encourages praxis relevant to the male middle-class in contemporary Britain.

So far my analysis has focused upon two levels of stratification. I first examined how running was characterised by the race which was an *essential* element of it. I then focused on elements of the race considering it as a single object and drawing boundaries based upon some of its *essential mechanisms*. I continue at this level of analysis uncovering some of the *mechanisms* of the race which both define the race entrant as a consumer and all completers as successful. I then change my focus and identify praxis that is encouraged through running and is also important to being a successful member of the middle-class in contemporary culture. This is a different level of stratification. I also relate this to the concept of social inclusion a key term for contemporary British government which has much in common with the idea of mass participation. The middle-classness examined is considered masculine not because only men have these qualities, but like the race they draw on existing masculine praxis and social arrangements are similar, both obscuring, drawing upon and reinstating sex difference. The masculinity examined is middle-class because: runners are largely male and middle-class (Smith, S., 1998); running promotes and values the hard bodies typical of the middle-class in late modernity (Mellor and Shilling, 1997); and, others are encouraged to see the embodiment of male-middle

class masculinity as being the peak of well-being as I have suggested throughout this thesis.

6.3 (i) Racing as Consuming Achievement.

As stated above, the majority of entrants paid a fee to compete. In this section I describe how this act of consumption produced *mechanisms* which defined the participants as successful no matter where they were placed overall.

All those who completed races got commemorative medals or alternative mementoes.

This contradicted the usual model for "modern sports" of rewarding the first three places in a categorised race.⁸⁵ The benefit of giving awards to everyone was only occasionally questioned in the letter pages:

"... Of course, the organizers will claim that you now get more for your money - a medal or a certificate. But if everybody gets one, how can the medals be recognized as symbols of achievement? It has never been a great achievement to complete a 10-mile race before, yet quite a few races of this distance are now giving out medals just for finishing. It seems that we are devaluing standards - why can't prizes be restricted to the better runners and so limit entry fees? ..." (February, 1985)

Most of the letters referring to commemorative awards debated or praised their quality, rather than questioning their existence.

"... The marshalling at junctions was superb, drinks every three miles and the final prize of a truly beautiful medallion struck by the Birmingham Mint was worth the effort and expense. ..." (July, 1984)

The awards make an achievement out of completion. This can be viewed as a *mechanism* of the race as it provides an external symbol of achievement and gives material substance to it as something to consume.

Money prizes were still given to category winners more in keeping with the "modern sports" ethos but a causal liability in terms of promoting the idea that all participants were equally valued. Prizes for all, however, encouraged people to see

their own performance as worthwhile and worth paying for. This practice can be viewed as another causal power which, whilst seeming to contradict previous "modern sports" by not just valuing "the best", actually seemed to encourage more people to participate and become the best they could be, which is perhaps why Berking and Neckel (1993) call running the most modern of modern sports and Bale (1993) associates it with post-fordism.

That entrants viewed the completion of the race as an achievement was evident through their willingness to purchase finishing photographs. Presumably if they did not value the achievement they would not have bought them. The letters indicated that they did this even if they were not always happy with the price:

"I have recently run in two races where photo proofs were sent soon after the event. The cheapest photos cost over £5! When I send my own photos for processing, I'm charged £6.80 for 36 exposures, and I'm sure the processors aren't making a loss. How much longer are we going to put up with these prices? Perhaps such races should take a leaf out of the Potteries Marathon's book: personal finish line photograph and results brochure for just £1." (September, 1984)

"... The bonus was at the evening reception when full colour photos (at only £1) were ready. Well done, Jersey - you gave me a most enjoyable and competitive weekend." (July, 1984)

Participants consume a race that in turn produces signs of their achievement. These symbols are a causal power of the race because they enable the masses to achieve. This is necessary for mass participation.

The magazine presented its readers as consumers of races in other ways too. It gave them the space to comment about facilities, organisation and the cost of races.

"...I should like Mr London and other race organisers to give runners a break and start sending out race details earlier. ..." (April, 1989)

"How can the Berlin Marathon be relegated to the also-rans in your list of the world's top 10 races (RW January)? Which of the 10 chosen offers a better package than this?"

85 I use this in Guttman's sense.

- Breakfast run to the Olympic Stadium with ample takeaway breakfast and showers provided. ..." (April, 1994)

However, racing is a particular kind of consumption in that it is not only the taking-part that is being bought but also the opportunity to achieve in public is being paid for. The symbols of achievement were produced by the organisers but (at least partially) paid for by the runners.

In sum, these conceptions of achievement were both enacted and created through the following *mechanisms* of the race which were underpinned more broadly by the values of running. These were the concept of the personal best with its ethos of continuous individual improvement; the introduction of medals for everybody and finishing photographs to symbolise and constitute achievement. Completion (at any pace) could also be viewed as an achievement when money was raised for charity. Although the commercial aspect of the race meant that people had to pay for the chance to compete and to receive the symbols of approval, it also helped to promote equality. It gave runners (consumers) of all levels the right to comment on race organisation and to feel they had an equal right to be there. It seems that without the introduction of these *mechanisms*, racing and running would not be the same thing. For example, without the P.B. contestants would not be integrated into the ethic of continuous improvement. These facets of racing required changes at the organisational level which enabled the focus of competition for most participants to be with self and/or significant others who they and the race categorised by age and sex. The praxis of running relates also to a changing form of middle-class masculinity as I demonstrate in the next section.

6.3 (iii) Middle-class Masculine Consumers and Social Inclusion.

Some of the links that have been made between sport, leisure and class were explored in Chapter Two. I suggested there that through leisure and work people come to embody praxis which involves ways of thinking, being, enacting and relating towards others and themselves. I also suggested that social processes were both enabled and restricted by physical bodies. The relationship between the body and the social (including social class) is viewed as a mutually constitutive process. In this section I do not wish to infer causal relations between running and all middle-class masculinity but I do want to suggest that running was part of a broader cultural change in leisure practices which contributed in a mutually constitutive process to a transforming middle-class masculinity.

Most recent references to running situate it as a Californian sport, radical in the sixties but now part of a conformist middle-class, professional culture. For example, Berking and Neckel (1993) suggest that it is mainly middle-class men in their late thirties and forties, those in the professions, who participate in large urban marathons. Similarly Savage et al (1992) analysed the British Market Research Bureau's "Target Group Index" from 1987-1988 and suggested that:

"it is the group employed in education and welfare and whose general outlook and circumstances re associated with cultural capital but who do not form a particularly affluent group. 'Healthy life' for these people certainly incorporates yoga, jogging and abstinence from alcohol, but it also includes more established, somewhat less individualistic, forms of exercise such as mountaineering and rambling." (Savage et al (199), p.113)

They also note that this adoption of Californian sports was in the process of spreading to more affluent sectors of the middle-classes, this group paradoxically having the financial means to indulge in unhealthy consumer goods whilst at the same time engaging in health- promoting body culture. They continue to suggest reasons for the growth in popularity of such sports by drawing on the work of Bourdieu. They argue that healthy lifestyles (or perhaps the symbols or bodies indicating healthy lifestyles)

contribute to the emergence of the middle-class. Fitness programs such as those adopted by runners are viewed as being promoted as related to professional achievement; or what Featherstone (1991, p.172) called a “more marketable self”.

Featherstone (1991) suggests that body-maintenance techniques are part of consumer culture where people are made increasingly self-conscious about their bodies, constantly monitoring them for imperfections which it is their responsibility to put right. Ideal bodies are made popular through a flood of media imagery and from Featherstone’s (1991) point of view the thin narcissistic body becomes the body of consumer culture. He suggests this has spread from women, to men and from younger to older age groups:

“for notions of ‘natural’ body deterioration and the bodily betrayals that accompany ageing become interpreted as signs of moral laxitude” (Featherstone, 1991, p.178)

In this body he suggests that:

“the inner and outer body becomes conjoined: the prime purpose of the maintenance of the inner body becomes the enhancement of the appearance of the outer body.” (1991, p.171)

I have presented evidence of this growing culture of individualism throughout. It brings a limited freedom in its encouragement to detach from the family and engage with consumer culture in the selection and practice of appropriate bodily knowledges and techniques. What is missing from Featherstone’s (1991) analysis is the way that the practices upon which bodily improvement are based have their roots not only in female culture, but also in male culture and the development of masculinity.

Consequently, the body and embodiment that is being extended throughout these various groups values the young masculine body above all others. Although males are encouraged to take on bodily aesthetics in a way formerly typical of females, the sporting values which provide the knowledge bases and the context for this do not

value feminine bodies or older bodies. No matter what work older people and females do on the body they remain in inferior categories. They are deemed to have “natural” elements to their bodies that they cannot overcome. Running can be viewed as contributing to an extension of body fetishism to all adult groups.

The race provides a public display of the overall “superiority” of the masculine body, obscuring differences based on social factors, whilst appearing to provide a forum in which hierarchies could be overturned if a “natural” difference did not exist. In addition to this an analysis of the race reveals more about the type of individualism that is being embodied in and through contemporary Britain through leisure-sports such as running.

In order to assert that the race encourages praxis which is important to middle-class masculinity it must be shown that embodied practices encouraged through running are *necessary* to it. The concept of embodiment is necessary to link these. Identity as a concept ignores the body or has it as an additional concept (i.e. to class, race, ethnicity etc.) rather than a central analytical concept through which all others must be viewed. The race encourages the praxis of publicly displaying achievement and the materials that symbolise that achievement (i.e. the medals and photographs) are an important and valid way of achieving social value. *Necessary* to the value system of contemporary consumer culture in general is that things owned and gained through “hard work”, including personal skills, are viewed as symbols of achievement, even if as consumer culture extends to include the education system, they are increasingly dependent upon the ability to pay. The process described by Savage et al (1992) in which “healthy lifestyles”, themselves consumer goods, extend to the wealthy middle

class, is also accompanied by another process. In this the skills and working practices of that middle-class group who have only cultural capital become part of consumer culture. Education is increasingly talked about in this way by the media and individuals (Allat, 1995) and leisure has become a site for self-improvement and the acquisition of skills and knowledges in a process of life-long learning.

Races and running culture instil values which suggest that individuals should be prepared to work on their bodies even if they cannot participate in the races they wish to, and at acquiring skills and achieving the best you possibly can (as with the personal best). Middle-class work culture (and increasingly beyond) requires that individuals view the acquisition of skills as important not only in terms of their ability to do a job but in terms of their self-development. Hence, if they end up never or rarely using a particular skill it remains personally valuable and an achievement of the individual.

Much of what comes under the umbrella of “social inclusion” seems to require that individuals adopt similar praxis to that of runners. Individuals are considered “included” if they are prepared to develop their skills. Increasingly this is detached from the real prospect of ever use these skills for “gainful” employment, or at best often only short spells of temporary employment in a post-fordist climate. In fact for some theorists work is an unlikely future for everybody (Gorz, 1982; Byrne, 1995). Although these are policies of social inclusion they are, by definition, also applied to those who are “excluded” for example, the “unemployed”, the “disabled” and women, particularly single parents. Inclusion, in general, seems to involve taking on the values of the middle-class male. Everyone is encouraged to participate in a work

and training culture in which males who are middle-class are the most successful and have the embodied skills and social practices which facilitate their success. Policies aim at alleviating childcare difficulties, identifying suitable forms of employment for the disabled. They do not take into account that the excluded have been part of a differently embodied praxis and a different set of social relations which will disadvantage them but also which they may feel is more valuable than what they are being offered. For example, in Britain, feminist studies of work often suggest that women prefer to put home responsibilities first (Hakim, 1991). This has often been questioned and/or viewed as women's complicity to their exploitation, it may be however, because they find it a more satisfying form of labour. Hence, the idea of social inclusion can be viewed as rejecting alternative value systems which are also often degraded.

Although this is a very broad context in which to locate running, an activity which is carried out by relatively few of the population, my claims have some validity if the concept of embodiment is applied. Dispositions and ways of being, learned in one social arena, are extended to another through this concept. However, my application of sociological perspectives to embodiment is insufficiently informed by a detailed knowledge of other disciplines relevant to the body.

6.4 Assessing the Realist Approach.

My use of a realist approach has been successful in helping me to identify some of the *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* which constitute the race and inform the notions of competition within it. Realism like Mao's (1971) theory of *contradiction* has the ability to include physical and material phenomena in the same type of analysis and therefore does not, of itself, either include or exclude a

study of embodiment that incorporates the body. The specific study of incorporation processes is required for a more thorough analysis of embodiment.

Although it seems that realism pays greater attention to the problem of stratification (Sayer, 1992) this is still difficult. For example, when I have looked at the qualities of middle-classness suggesting that this is a masculine praxis through which groups outside of the male-middle class are devalued it is possible, but perhaps tenuous, to relate this to running and other leisure cultures. The concept of embodiment can help to do this but it is hard to claim validity when so little is known about what goes on in the body in this respect. Hence, I advocate more interdisciplinary studies around the concept of embodiment.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.0 Introduction

In this concluding chapter I will start by returning to the introduction to my thesis and summarise the argument I outlined for picking running as my topic of study. I then outline how I used my literature review in Chapter Two, to conclude that there was value in utilising three different theoretical approaches to my study of running and embodiment. Next, I discuss the selection of the three theoretical approaches and what I found through my utilisation of them in my analysis of the data. Although my presentation of my argument largely follows the order of the chapters I incorporate elements of analysis from different chapters where I think this is helpful. I will then go on to describe what I believe are the shortcomings of the argument and suggest how these might be tackled by future research.

7.1 Running and Embodiment.⁸⁶

I remind the reader of how I selected the particular topic of long distance, leisure running as the focus of research for this thesis for several reasons, arising from the nature of leisure-sport in general and running in particular. Some of my justification is based upon considering running as part of a more general category leisure-sport; some of it is based on the particular features of this activity. Thinking about my material made clear the weakness of conventional approaches through gender and I decided to revert to the concept of sex since the reality of embodiment makes the distinction misleading. This has proved fruitful enabling me to focus on the differentiation arising from embodiment. I have elicited from the magazines and interviews, as I hoped to, the evolving praxis of running

⁸⁶ For an elaboration of all the arguments in section 7.1 see chapter 1.

which creates and perpetuates differentiation. Each of my theoretical approaches has, as I intended, facilitated a focus on different aspects and levels of this process.

Sport in general involves work on and around the body and has been viewed as part of embodied processes (e.g. Featherstone (1987), Featherstone, Hepworth and Turner, 1991; Theberge, (1987) ; Hargreaves, 1994; Shilling, 1994; Shilling and Mellor, 1997).

Embodiment in all sport is inextricably tied to sex, age and class processes (e.g.'s Brohm, 1979; Clarke and Chritcher, 1985; Bourdieu, 1988; Sugden, 1990; Pink, 1996 Theberge, 1991; Hood-Williams, 1995). Running is often associated with the middle-classes (e.g. Savage et. al 1992; Berking and Neckel, 1993; Smith, 1998). Running in common with other leisure practices has been viewed as related to lifestyle choices and consumption practices of a largely masculine group. The study of women as runners has usually been in relation to the degree to which it is, or can be, an empowering activity for them (e.g. Dyer, 1982; Campbell, R., Minten, S. and Bond, C. 1998) and unrelated to class. Here as elsewhere segregating class and sex from each other has been unfortunate. My aim has been to show how running interrelated with the embodiment of sex interrelates with class and age and links to other broader social processes. In this conclusion I describe the major findings and benefits of utilising each of the approaches especially in terms of the embodiment of sex in order to evaluate theories of embodiment.

Running is historically one of the earlier phenomena which sociologists have grouped together under the rubric of the sportisation of society. The ideological link between sports and health, and upon which practices such as running often depend, is difficult to justify utilising scientific and medical research methods, need to be supplemented by sociological analysis (Luschen, Cockerham and Kunz, 1996). I also wished to analyse the

mechanisms and consequences of this ideological link in the context of running. Why and how it emerged at this particular time and its relationship to the general culture has been a major concern.

The relevance of the growth of exercise cultures has been interpreted in different ways. Sociologists of class identify a new stratum of middle-class consumers, geographically and socially mobile. Medical sociologists view it as being related to changes in the conceptualisation and organisation of health care (Coward, 1990; Bunton, 1997). Sociologists of embodiment claim that the hard bodies developed through exercise techniques by the middle-classes are related to their perceived tenuous position (Mellor and Shilling, 1997). Realist theory suggests that when there is change in one area it is related to changes in others and the potential links between these changes have been explored. Using a magazine dating from the late nineteen seventies allowed me to look nearer to the start of this process than I could have done using only interview data. This allowed me to examine the possible social changes linked to running.

In terms of Eichberg's (1989) trialectic, which attempts to classify and define sporting practice, running can be viewed as spanning all of his three categories. Hence, it is at once an achievement sport; a fitness sport; and a bodily experience. An overt attempt to amalgamate these three elements seemed to me worthy of study in itself. In addition to these three, running is also, because of the physical location in the streets, a form of public display or spectacle. Running certainly (along with other leisure sport activities) is related to consumption. The magazine offers readers the opportunity to participate in a particular bodily ideal and experience, at the same time as it encourages them to buy into a consumer culture that focuses around a particular range of products (i.e. running equipment and race

participation). Shilling and Mellor (1997) suggest that in the period since the reformation there has been an opening up of the space between bodies and the experience of bodies, allowing culture to intervene and mediate bodily experiences. How you experience, shape and work on your body is now presented as a lifestyle choice. The location and characterisation of running within a consumer culture complicates my consideration of sport and its relation to Eichberg's trialectic. I suggested that running would be better analysed utilising a paradigm of embodiment. A central concern of this thesis has been how these changes effect sexed embodiment.

In the next section I illustrate how my review of the literature shaped my theoretical approach to the data.

7.1 (i) Sex and Sport

In the review of the literature I analysed the way that theories of embodiment might help to theorise running as a leisure-sport associated with the specific forms of embodiment associated with contemporary culture (Mellor and Shilling; 1997). Drawing on Merleau-Ponty (1962) I suggested that different theories emphasised different aspects of the interrelationship between leisure-sport, sex and embodiment. If I had adopted only one theoretical approach I felt that certain aspects of the data would be emphasised and others neglected. A more fruitful way of approaching the data was to take a range of different theories to explore different aspects of the data and the different analytical potential of theories. This is one of the major questions I have addressed in this thesis and I return to it in detail at the end of this chapter.

My initial analysis of the literature had suggested the kind of theory I thought would be useful and I picked out the key things I felt they should be able to do in order to examine the embodiment of running. First, they needed to be able to explore embodiment itself, an approach to the body that conceives of the relationship between the social and the body as interactive, developmental, transformative and always incomplete (Csordas, 1990; Shilling, 1993). Second, as part of this interactive process involves the material, the theories should be able to incorporate this into social analysis. Third, I wished to interrogate the idea that these processes could be conceptualised as occurring at different levels of the social in such a way that I could assess different elements of running and how it related to broader social and cultural phenomena. Finally, I needed to be able to analyse transformation, change and continuity. The theories I selected were perceived to have varying strengths and weakness in relation to the theoretical requirements I had at the outset and I have explored these throughout.

7.1 (ii) Selecting Actor-Network Theory

The process of selecting theories rested upon my broader reading of social theory and the literature review I had already carried out. Drawing on Hearn's (1987) discussion of *gender* relations (and other literature), I identified running as a "point of reproduction" (of sex) an area of culture preoccupied with maintaining and defining sex divisions. The term *division* implies a process of dividing one from another, which suggests that masculinity and femininity should not be studied in isolation but as part of a process of sexual differentiation.

One of the reasons I selected actor-network theory was because theorists utilising this approach (Mol and Hirschauer, 1995; Strathern, 1997) referred to the body and conceptualised embodiment as a process of differentiation. For example, Mol and Hirschauer's (1995) article analysed the ways that divisions between the sexes are produced in many locations. Hormonal differences are created in the laboratory as much as in the body. Without the laboratory they would not exist. The measurement, quantification and methods of averaging groups is viewed as having an important role in creating two sexes. When it became available I seized on Strathern's (1997) article (itself influenced by actor-network theory) which identifies gender as a process of differentiation which is conceptualised and analysed in two different ways through comparison and division. Comparison refers to the way *gender* is analysed in terms of the degree of difference between male and female. *Division* is identified from anthropological examples of cultures which view their cultures and the individuals within them as androgynous wholes which have to be divided in order to separate the sexes off from one another (ibid. p.44). The work of *comparison* also a means of transforming what constitutes *division*

between the sexes and what it is to be either male or female. Hence, actor-network theory also had the potential to analyse transformation over a period of time.

Actor-network theory was also chosen as a theoretical approach because of its ability to examine the embodiment of running as a process which involves the enrolment of heterogeneous materials. Much actor-network theory focuses upon the material elements of the world and their role in the social. For analytical purposes they are treated as actors. All elements of the social including people, things and ideas are treated in a non-hierarchical way. This fitted with the view of embodiment I presented in Chapter Two in which I suggested this involved the co-production of sex divisions through bodies and the material world. In the case of running this involves clothing, landscapes, ideas, bodily parts, bodily activities, the magazine and many other elements. These are all viewed as components of the embodiment of running which is both a hybrid process and involved in the creation and transformation of hybrid phenomena.

Actor-network theory can be viewed as a theory that is incapable of conceptualising different levels of the social. However, Strathern (1997) suggests that analysis in actor-network theory should involve examining where and how *networks* are cut. The social is involved in producing its own levels which can be identified through analysis. She suggests that in social life ownership often cuts networks creating actual and analytical distinction between elements of the social. The question of how or whether the social should be conceptualised in terms of stratified levels is not an actor-network question because the hierarchical nature of *networks* is not really an issue for these theorists. However, it is an issue I have raised with reference to the other theories I have utilised, because there are arguably important differences in the materialisation and the power

effects of different aspects of the social, for example, between an individual and an organisation. However, my view of embodiment suggested that it is the concepts utilised which define the boundaries between levels and subject/object relations. Actor-network theory involved a micro-sociological analysis, whatever the level. The difference in power effects is perceived as related to the types of materials involved in social processes analysed. Through my analysis I have addressed the issue of whether or not these differences should be conceptualised as stratified.

Actor-network theory therefore was selected because it could conceptualise processes of differentiation and embodiment in a processual manner and by taking into account the material hybridity. It also enables an analysis of the multiplicity of locations in which the embodiment of running is produced. It enables an analysis of transformation and change; and I believed, and through my research have confirmed, it provides a means of conceptualising different levels of the social, but is weaker in examining the relationships between levels, because it is too cumbersome.

7.2 ANT.⁸⁷

In Chapter Three, as in each of the chapters where I analyse data, I began by situating the magazine and interview data. From the point of view of actor-network theory the magazine could be conceived of as an *immutable mobile* and a device of *interessement*. That is, to say it can be viewed as something that is transported through space in a form that is comprehensible to those it is transported to. It is also a device through which the running movement can be viewed as trying to secure different actors (i.e. a device of

⁸⁷ A detailed exposition of how the data are conceptualised utilising actor-network theory can be found in Chapter 4.

interessement). For example, it brought together ideas about bodies and the benefits of running along with information about races and where to buy the consumer goods that became a necessary part of running. Both the magazine and interview data and the ideas contained therein are elements of running *networks*. These *networks* contain processes, which differentiate categories and elements that make up the *network*. These processes are materially heterogeneous. It is these processes I have described utilising actor-network theory.

7.2 (i) Appealing Across Categories: All Bodies Need “Running”.

The letter pages and the front covers were an important part of the magazine’s overall appeal and help constitute its ability to *enrol* individual runners. To incorporate the broad group of people it wished to attract it had to present itself as representative of a *problematization* of the body that was appropriate for these groups⁸⁸. Early on, the magazine attempted to *enrol* women whom it then perceived as being concerned not to develop muscle. It also presented running as something that could help overcome the worst effects of ageing, even for those custodians of the body that had been most lax. That is, they had enjoyed a slovenly (non-active) lifestyle and engaged in abusive consumption practices. To do this it had to enrol elements of bodies that were viewed as having a common set of needs regardless of age, class or sex.

The particular *problematization* of the body the magazine put over attempted to define different *actors* and the relationships between them. The hearts and lungs of all bodies were presented as requiring exercise and the raising of pulse rates during it. Certain foods, alcohol and nicotine were viewed as bad for all bodies. It was also suggested that it was

⁸⁸See chapter 3 for an explanation of the term *problematization*.

possible to evaluate the relative fitness of all bodies by the same means. The ultimate test and measurement of fitness was presented as being one's ability to run. The magazine's *problematization* of the body attempted to transform leisure running into a non-sexist, non-ageist activity for adults. At the outset of the magazine this was a relatively novel *problematization* of the body, which attempted to redefine relationships between the body, sex and age.

To promote its *problematization* of the body, the magazine drew on actors from the various elements of the social. In its early days the magazine worked hard to establish the relationship between body fat, a sedate lifestyle and not running for all members of society. In doing this ideas, food, clothing, bodies, scientific research and much more were *enrolled* to posit the individual as the custodian of their body who is neglecting their responsibilities. The result of this mistreatment is presented as having consequences that I have viewed as being akin to a *chronic illness*. The symptoms being a fat body, lethargy and a general feeling of discontent.

The successful, *enrolment* of individuals, to this particular *problematization* of the body, is both indicated and encouraged by the letters. They relay mini-autobiographies to the reader that chronicle days of unfitness prior to running; an acceptance of the magazine's *problematization* of the body; and, days of fitness after taking up running. The letters from older adults, younger adults, men and women encourage all to run and counteract the symptoms of this *chronic illness*, which will return, unless running is continued. It also required appropriate modification of other lifestyle habits such as eating too much of the wrong foods.

The interview data suggested there was some acceptance of the magazine's *problematization* of the body but most questioned aspects of the *network*. In this conclusion I have presented the magazine's portrayal of the *network* as coherent but Chapter Four illustrated that it represented and contributed to the heterogeneous world, upon which it drew and was itself contradictory.⁸⁹ The individuals embodied both the heterogeneity of the *network* and connected to different elements of it. This often depended upon whom and what they had come into contact with that had informed their practices and beliefs. The individuals also *embodied* the heterogeneity of the *network* in their connecting to different time periods as presented by the magazine. However, even when they rejected many of the ideas presented by the magazine they also illustrated they were themselves in dialogue with such ideas and knew of their existence.

7.2 (ii) The Categorisation of Bodies By Running: The processes of differentiation.

When the magazine drew parallels across bodies that were conventionally categorised as distinct groups, the *actors enroled* were simultaneously involved in a process of *differentiation* by sex and age. The processes of *comparison* and *division* that lead to the transformation of the ideology that underpins *differentiation* can be seen at work here. So when for example, the reduction of body fat was presented as a unifying goal for different groups, these groups were also *compared* in this respect and judged as having differential relationships to their body fat. The same processes can be seen at work in relation to lifestyles, and levels of activity. Categories are produced both inside and outside individual bodies and across space and time.

⁸⁹ As I illustrate below there was a strong sporting element which encouraged runners to push themselves to injury rather than health and

Through quantification among other social processes, bodies are differentiated and women, men and age categories are produced. For example, women as a group are deemed to have more fat through their having breasts and carrying more fat around their hips. Men are addressed, as a group whom it is assumed will carry less body fat; they are a socially produced category. Age is presented as the other most significant difference between people. Growing older is related to higher levels of fat. Through quantification a group of heterogeneous individuals become categories, “men” (often an unnamed category in the magazine) “women” and “veterans”, terms through which the magazine addresses its readership.

Differences between categories are produced on many sites and several parts of the body are brought into this process of *differentiation*. The knowledges, which inform this process are discussed in greater detail below. Bodily parts *enrolled* are those, which are deemed to be important for running performance (e.g. hearts and fat). As I also suggested in Chapter Six groups were also *differentiated* according to the sporting performances of the elite. All men were considered to be more suited to running than women partially because the fastest men out perform the fastest women. Younger adult bodies were viewed as more suited to running than older adult bodies because it is usually elite athletes from the senior category who finish first in races. These assumptions underpinned the magazine’s references to people and in differentiating bodies in this way it compared them to a statistically generated norm and created a hierarchy. Hence, by *problematizing* the body in terms of running as a sport the ideal body became one that shared the characteristics of a male aged between eighteen and forty.

In the individualising process, that permeated the running network, female bodies and ageing bodies are not highly valued; and individuals are made morally responsible for aspects of sex and ageing. In the sports arena all body fat is presented as being caused by the mistreatment of bodies by individuals. Even pregnancy became something to feel embarrassed about. For men the high expectations of their performance can also be viewed as having negative effects. Men (as a group) are viewed as having a bigger lung capacity and lower fat levels than women and this is believed to aid running performance. This process creates expectations of men and becomes a means through which they interpret and act upon their own bodies, embodying a process in which men expect to run faster than women.

To summarise, in attempting to *problematize* the body in terms of running, all bodies are presented as having the same needs, but at the same time bodies are categorised in terms of their “natural” attributes which differentiates them. Although running was originally presented as something new, “jogging”, it was immediately located primarily within a sporting arena making other knowledges subservient to sporting values. This had consequences for the way the process of *differentiation* by *age* and *sex* took place.

7.2 (iii) Transcending Categories

One of the contradictions which permeated the magazine was its suggestion that running could help overcome the restrictions of being a member of a category, whilst simultaneously retaining the categories in addressing, organising and describing runners. Fatness, ineffective lung capacity and poor circulation were presented as due to mistreatment and people were very directly invited to overcome the effects of ageing and the bodily abuse it viewed as usually accompanying it. It was indirectly inviting women to

counter being female. With the *enrolment* of body fat to persuade people to run came the covert suggestion that aspects of women's bodies, usually associated with childbearing and child-rearing, were something to be overcome. They were disabling when it came to running. Running, was a way in which these embarrassing aspects of femininity could be overcome.

In line with this view, individuals were presented as proud that they did things that overcame the "natural" categories, of age and sex. Individuals could however, never escape the categories because there was no substitute for these ways of talking about people. They were enshrined within the pages of the magazine, in the words and pictures but also in sections of the magazine that were particularly for women and veterans. The "neutral" parts of the magazine were addressing people who were neither veterans nor women (i.e. young men) unless otherwise stated; reinforcing the idea that senior men are the norm and the "making them visible but not questioned" (Hearn, 1998).

Individuals were encouraged to use running to overcome aspects of their bodies that were particularly associated with age and being female, but they could never entirely escape these categories. In order to accept the magazine's *problematization* of the body individuals were encouraged to detach themselves from ways they had previously thought about the health and fitness of their bodies. Also, to disregard the judgements of others (non-runners) and adopt an individualistic approach to health and fitness.

7.2 (iv) Individualising Health and Fitness, Cutting Networks.

According to Donzelot (1990), with the professionalisation of health care, women became the bearers of “doctors” knowledge and disseminated its practices within the family (e.g. dietary). Running (along with other health and fitness activities) was found to undermine this order, drawing on different *networks* of ideas and practices around the body that can be viewed as contributing to individualising processes.

Runners were encouraged to ignore the views of those around them if they questioned the value of running. In the letters people were presented as running despite their family’s disapproval and derisory comments from passers by. This again encouraged individuals to take personal responsibility for their bodies and their maintenance and to disregard their previous practices and sources of information. In actor-network terms they were encouraged to *cut* themselves out of their current *networks* and locate themselves within new ones which had different organisational, knowledge and institutional bases. It is these organisational and institutional bases that were the subject of my next chapter. Before I go on to describe these findings which utilised a Foucauldian approach I first summarise the major points I raised through my adoption of an actor-network perspective.

7.2 (v) Summary of Actor-network Findings.

Through actor-network theory it was possible to dis-aggregate the body both in terms of its organs and parts and analyse how these were *enroled* in differentiating and creating sex and age categories. Through exclusionary and neutralising practices the magazine created categories that were outside of this process, non-white ethnic groups and the non-middle classes. The magazine attempted to *enrol* different groups by appealing to the sameness of bodies in terms of their requirements for health and fitness. This seems to be a move against

categorisation and to be aimed at equality. Contradicting this trend, and in doing this in a running (and sporting) arena the magazine enrolled those aspects of the body significant to running and the running performance of elite athletes. This resulted in all bodies being *problematized* in terms of and evaluated against those male bodies that were performatively and statistically constructed as the best runners. The links between bodies, lifestyles and health and fitness that the magazine attempted to make became more durable over this period. This is indicated by the increasingly slim and muscular bodies on the front cover of the magazine and a broader social trend for females to be slim with toned muscles (Hargreaves, 1994).

These categories are produced on running tracks, in road races, in sports science labs and through biomedical practices and these aspects of differentiation are examined through my other theoretical approaches. *Differentiation* is therefore produced both outside of any individual body, and within and through individual bodies. The bodily parts utilised in this *differentiation* are usually associated with sex as opposed to gender, because they are created within sporting and biomedical arenas. For example, it is believed that heart rates of men as a group is more suited to running, than those of women as a group, because of “natural” physiological differences between the sexes. This means that categorisation which takes place outside of individual bodies was not overturned by the bodily practice of running, which was in some ways based upon the idea that these could be transcended, but also by the practised transcendence by particular individuals. Consequently, these categories remained and were hierarchically evaluated.

In order for people to take on these new health and fitness practices and ideals it was *necessary* that they broke with past systems of praxis. The individualisation of responsibility

for health and fitness was encouraged through evaluative approaches and by runner ignoring their family and neighbours instead, drawing on the praxis put forward in the magazine, which is itself contradictory and involves choice. Individual interviews suggest that this is what runners do; accept and reject various aspects of a heterogeneous network whilst between them helping to sustain its durability.

7.3 A Foucauldian Approach

Foucault (1979, 1980, 1984, 1988) has been utilised and explored by many theorists of *embodiment* and gender (e.g. Shilling, 1993; Theberge, 1987, 1991). Butler (1993) suggests sex is materialised through discursive practices which do not pre-exist this materialisation. My choice of the term sex in this study was partially based upon my reading of her analysis. I chose Foucauldian theory partially because of its potential for exploring the materialisation of embodiment as a process involving dividing practices and which is achieved at various levels of the social. When these processes are rooted in repetitive practice transformation and change is always a potential.

In the interpretation of Foucault I have adopted power relations permeate all aspects of the social world; enabling an incorporation of the material into social analysis. *Strategies of power*, which are made up of many discursive elements, constitute *power knowledge* and permeates all aspects of my data as *discourses*. Both actor-network theory and Foucault's work have been posited as post-structuralist and to some degree analysis that utilises them both is similar in that the goal is to uncover something that is hidden. However, Foucauldian analysis, does not involve the slow building of *networks* that can be a laborious task when different levels of the social are involved.

I wished to examine running in relation to its organisation running and the concepts of health and fitness employed. For example, it is possible to see *discourse* about organisations as part of the same strategy of power as *discourse* about the body and as part of the process of embodiment. Consequently, whereas I chose actor-network theory to look at the *networks* of ideas and things that were involved in producing the *differentiation* created through the running body, I choose to utilise Foucauldian theory to examine how this related to the knowledges involved in producing running *discourses*. I wished to examine the relationship of these to the praxis of running and to locate running within the broader social and cultural field.

7.3 (i) Findings of the Foucauldian Approach.⁹⁰

In my Foucauldian analysis I drew significantly on “The Subject and The Power” (1982) a later work of Foucault’s in which he summarised what he viewed as the aims of his previous work. He claimed his work addressed the issue of how individuals came to be *subjects* which involved three modes of *objectification*; *scientific objectivising techniques*; *dividing practices*; and, *subjectification*. The data was analysed for evidence of these three modes of *objectification*. The particular data analysed was partially driven by the theoretical approach but also by my own concerns to cover significant aspects of the data. Consequently, in utilising actor-network theory my focus was on the earlier magazines and the attempt to *enrol* individuals into what was then, a relatively novel activity. In Chapter Five my focus was on the way in which the *discourses* about the body were informed by *scientific objectivising techniques*; how the *cultural landscapes* of running were involved in *dividing practices*; and, how heterosexuality is promoted as a process of *subjectification* within running. I also located running within broader culture by examining it as an oppositional *discourse* and by looking at what opposed it. The Foucauldian approach I adopted was also particularly useful for looking

at the power relations involved in the production of the *discourses* in the letters and front-covers. I examine these different aspects of the data in order to illustrate how the processes I identify are heterogeneous and permeate all aspects of it.

7.3 (ii) Scientific Objectification

Scientific objectification refers to the way in which aspects of people are turned into objective knowledges. In my actor-network analysis elements of embodiment through running were presented to illustrate how the processes of *differentiation*, present in the earlier stages of the magazine, were developed and made durable. This involved significant changes, such as the increasing acceptance of muscle as desirable for women. However, this simplifies the field as there was more than one *scientific objectivising technique*, which informed running and contributed to the ways in which people *subjectified* themselves. I broadly divided these into those related to; sports; biomedicine; and holistic health. These were not entirely discrete categories as there was overlap and exchange between them. However, the goals of each of these knowledges and the institutions through which they are created and disseminated varies and is often contradictory. Running is also permeated by consumer culture and contributes to and draws on broader bodily aesthetics. As will be discussed through my realist analysis for some, its primary function is to raise money for charity.

7.3 (iii) Sports Sciences.

There are many components to the sports sciences such as sports medicine, exercise physiology and biomechanics (Waddington, 1997). Sports sciences underpinned many statements that were made in the letters, as I illustrated. Ideas from sports science, were also stated more explicitly in response to readers letters', by experts. They were the topic of many

⁹⁰ For an explanation of the terms in this section see Chapter Four.

articles as is indicated by the front covers. They sometimes informed interviewees' discussions, for example, about diet as well as their views about warming up and injury.

The growth of sports medicine can be viewed as being tied up with a process of *medicalization* of society including sports (Waddington 1992) and the growing amounts of leisure-sports and activities along with the increase in the numbers of those involved in them. This expansion may be seen, as one of the goals of the sports sciences also, because rising employment and a growth in this sector, was a desirable outcome (Gillick, 1984). Sports science knowledge aims to increase performance in sporting terms, and to monitor and to supervise, bodies whose performance is outstanding. Sports sciences provide the basis of training regimes. They underlie and inform the expert knowledge about the capability of bodies and lead to dividing practices based on performance related criteria.

Those factors that are viewed as relevant to performance are seen as being a quality of individual bodies (as opposed to *embodiment*); other elements of runners lives', such as their economic status, their social *class*, their ethnicity and their sexuality are largely excluded from discussions of running. A similar agenda is followed with reference to ageism; people of any age are encouraged to run.. Sexism, which objectifies women in terms of their sexuality is rejected by the magazine. However, bodily aesthetics permeates the discourse of the magazine as was seen in my analysis of heterosexuality. Additionally, internally to sports science *discourse, dividing practices* are reduced to bodily qualities, the appropriateness of training techniques and the time dedicated to training.⁹¹ The *scientific objectivising techniques* of

⁹¹ Where women did refer to the things in their lives which made running difficult they tended not to complain but stated their list of responsibilities as things which indicated the extent of their achievement. They rarely said they could do better had they not all this to do. It was presented in a

sports-sciences shape and restrict those elements that are considered relevant to running success.

In the magazine an increasing tendency towards sporting values (including sports science) was apparent. Those following a strictly sporting agenda often push their bodies to extreme illness and in health terms unfitness.⁹² People become *subjectified* to a knowledge, which suggests that the most important thing about their bodies is that they run well and then all else will fall into place. This was accepted to some degree by all of the runners I interviewed. Most felt that their running improved the performance of their bodies in general including their performance at work. Hence, running produced a *discourse*, which permeated ideas about good health.

My interview data contained some *oppositional discourse*, by all of the runners I spoke to. One was concerned with not getting caught up with running to improve time. She ran for fitness the same route five days a week for health and bodily aesthetics. Another runner through his practice, came to think he was injuring his body rather than promoting all round fitness. However, they invoked *discourses* which had featured in the letter pages of the magazine at least at some stage over the period of my analysis. Bodily, they still adopted sporting techniques that would allow them to run to their maximum required performance without injury.

positive way. The more elite woman runner I interviewed did mention inequality in sporting terms. .

⁹² One of the examples from my interviews was the man who could not walk when he got out of bed in the morning even though his running performance was at its competitive best. Lesser examples, were of those who continued to run to the end of a race they had entered even though they were injured

7.3 (iv) Biomedical Discourses.

Biomedical *discourse* was another *scientific objectivising* technique that informed running. Information about consumption (of foods) along with research from the late nineteen-seventies, which linked heart attacks with a lack of aerobic exercise, suggested running would promote good health. Debates about the validity of this research still continue (Luschen et al, 1996). Nonetheless, jogging emerged to some degree from the utilisation of sports techniques in heart rehabilitation in America (Gillick, 1984). At the outset the magazine promoted running as jogging a new technique to promote good health.

Medical opinion in *the magazine* was never presented as necessarily “right” and was sometimes scorned as “wrong”. The letters selected and combined elements of all the *scientific objectivising techniques*, which often contradicted one another and were internally inconsistent. This helped undermine the idea that knowledge about the body and responsibility for its care lay with one professional group. If definite answers could be provided, that applied to all, this would not encourage an individualising process. In order for this to happen people needed to be able to *subjectify* themselves through knowledges and practices they had chosen. It has been the opinion of some authors that this uncertainty was necessary to support the growth of neo-liberal health care regimes and declining state care (Coward, 1990; Bunton 1997).

This approach to knowledge about the body and its health offers knowledges (and practices) as *technologies of the self* through which individuals can gain self-knowledge and through this evaluate personal health and fitness with, an imperative of continuous self-improvement. However, if running performance is maximised beyond a certain point, there is a contradiction

and risked further injury.

because it can cause ill health. In addition the notion of health and fitness is heavily based within the sporting dialogue which links in a causal chain fast long-distance running with slim bodies, aesthetic beauty, and personal economic and social success.

7.3 (v) Holistic Health and Transcendental Running.

Apart from having its roots in the medical world of heart rehabilitation techniques, *jogging* as opposed to running, also had partial connections with transcendental and holistic notions of health (See for example Rohe, 1974). This early involvement of Eastern-based modes of thought suggested that running could be part of an alternative way of knowing the world and locating the body within it. It suggested that running could provide an escape from *subjectification*, or an experience of *communitas* with a world beyond that which is usually experienced. These less clearly conceptualised *scientific objectivising techniques* suggested that a higher state of consciousness could be achieved through running. This idea was never very well accepted in the magazine but it was supported by a few.

In my analysis I suggested that although holistic health and transcendental discourses did not seem very successful in a running arena they did permeate and influence it, broadening notions of health and ill-health to incorporate the “whole life” of the individual. The notion of what running could do for you, that was common both in the magazine and the interviews went way beyond improving running performance, heart and pulse rates, fat levels and lung capacity. It was believed it prevented colds and flu; general function in terms of work and ability to enjoy life; improve life after a traumatic event like divorce; better your sex life; and even “cure” unemployment. In addition to this holistic health techniques, such as yoga were promoted within the magazine. Hence, I argued that holistic health ideals did become incorporated, into running *discourse* and *scientific*

objectivising techniques, even if it only encouraged a broader acceptance of “non-scientific ideas”.

To summarise, holistic conceptions of the body had the potential to challenge the mind, body and society relationship. However, removed from their cultural context into British society, they seem to be reduced to a set of individualistic techniques within the magazine. So for example, yoga was a set of bodily techniques that were used to improve suppleness, increase relaxation and by extension running performance. “Runners highs” which could be interpreted as transcendental experiences were most commonly explained in terms of endorphins (a chemical reaction) i.e. in biomedical terms. Holistic health *discourses* also had the effect of challenging the way in which the location of medical knowledge could be viewed as existing within any one group of professionals. It broadened the ways in which runners talked about health and fitness but the solutions they proposed involved individualistic techniques as opposed to fundamentally challenging mind, body and society relationships. For example, they did not locate the problem within working practices, or if they did only sought individualistic solutions to the difficulties they felt resulted from them.

7.3 (vi) Interrelationship With Other Forms of Subjectification.

These three *scientific objectifying techniques* have been extrapolated from the data to produce a simplified view of the knowledges that inform running. However, these discourses themselves are informed by and linked to other *discourses* and *scientific objectivising techniques*. Hence, *the magazine* was imbued with other power relationships. For example, the masculinity sports and war *discourses* which have permeated British society since the last century (see Nauright and Chandler, (eds) 1996) prevail and help constitute the *discourse*. The same can be said of the link between exercise for women and bodily aesthetics, resulting in women’s increased muscularity through running, being sexualised (Hargreaves, 1994).

Similarly, although not so apparently, *ethnicity*, *class* and *sexuality* also underpin the *discourses* of running magazine; both through exclusion and the neutralisation of a white middle-class and heterosexual language.

My discussion has largely focused upon those *scientific objectivising techniques* pertinent to running, but interrelationships with other *scientific objectivising techniques* of contemporary culture are also important; as are the myriad of *dividing practices* that contribute to the overall *power effects* of running. This is what I focus upon in the next section.

7.3 (vii) Dividing practices: Modern Sports and Cultural Landscapes.

Dividing practices, I suggested involved the differentiation between runners and non-runners. *Systems of differentiation* are those differences which are mobilised in dividing runners one from another. *Systems of differentiation* could be identified, by looking at almost any element of my data. However, the way space was utilised was a particularly important aspect of running outside of the race (the race was analysed in Chapter Six). In my exploration of running and space I utilised the term *cultural landscape* from Bale (1994) to draw attention to the mutual shaping of space and running culture that is a result of their relationship. In my discussion of *dividing practices* and *systems of differentiation* I focused on two issues. First, the way in which contemporary running reshaped the *cultural landscapes* of long-distance running which was a part of its transformation from a sport to a leisure-sport. I suggest that hierarchical relationships were produced through interrelationship with the landscape. In this section I describe the most significant elements of my analysis of hierarchy. Second, I examined the way in which the bodily experience of running encouraged feelings of similarity among runners. I adopted an analytical term conceptualised by Victor Turner (1969) *communitas*. The *cultural landscapes* of running were viewed as important elements of the

system of differentiation within running and as providing an arena in which those dividing practices could be underpinned by experiences of *communitas*.

7.3 (viii) Landscapes, Hierarchy and Achievement.

The *rationalisation* of landscapes is intricately linked to the notion of competition in modern sports. Landscapes need to be rationalised if records are to be achieved.

Competition within running is both with landscapes and is achieved through them. Under non-racing conditions, any terrain is adopted and *systems of differentiation* are based on the different types of landscapes, the degree of difficulty attached to them and the different distances covered. Running enables any place to be turned into a *cultural landscape* for running. The data provided an example of a ship's deck and a hotel stairway as well as the more conventional streets and rural settings. They most often could be turned into miles by the runner, either through estimation or the use of a mileometer. In this sense any landscape could be rationalised.

In this chapter I examined three different features of landscapes, which seemed to be important in terms of the *system of differentiation* within running. These informed runners about themselves and other runners and included; the degree to which hazards and misfortune had to be overcome; the visibility of runners; the ways in which landscapes could be abstracted to miles. *Systems of differentiation* and the associated hierarchies are created out of a complex interaction between these aspects of space and the bodies running through them which have different relationships to the space. The interaction between these underpins the way in which *dividing practices* operate.

7.3 (ix) Hazards and Visibility.

Runners are presented as having hazards to overcome in all the *cultural landscapes* of running they occupy. Overcoming adversity is mobilised in *dividing practices* and in *systems of differentiation*. In races the things to be overcome are competitors for the race or “significant others” for particular runners, this is discussed in my realist analysis. In starting to run or training, overcoming hazards is presented as runners achievement. The hazards include road traffic, wobbly paving stones, other people, domestic animals such as dogs and cats and hills. The more difficult the landscape the greater the prestige. Utilising a diverse range of hazards enables status to be gained by all runners and allows for intricate and minute *systems of differentiation*.

Categories of runners can be viewed as having different relationships with these spaces. These relationships to the environment precede running and extend beyond it. For example, it is common for women’s discourses to refer to urban and rural environments that are unsafe for them if they are alone. Hence, women runners often enrol other people or dogs to help them feel safer when running, particularly at night. Women and men have different relationships to the environment prior to their starting running; as do older and younger runners. Older runners are more likely to be harassed by passers by. According to Greg Smith’s (1998) findings these relationships may be modified by improving running speed, running more often or through being assertive. However, what these different relationships to the *cultural landscapes* of running suggest is that some runners, women and older men, have more hazards to overcome, in order to occupy them. Running in public could not be avoided if you were to become a runner, apart from needing to be outside to cover long distances, visibility may have had an ideological function. It raises the profile of running and provides visual evidence for those around that the care of the

body is an individual's responsibility. Hence, I suggest that the individualisation of health that running promotes involves a masculinization of well-being.

Racing spaces which are discussed through my realist analysis also contained a masculine bias. In the *system of differentiation* within running, racing spaces are the most highly valued. They are ultimately the place where the results of training are tested. However, they are spaces where male participation is much greater, as with most participation sports (Walsh, 1992). Women are more likely to find it difficult to train and less likely to be interested in entering a masculine sporting arena. Both spaces act to exclude them through their masculine bias. The same cannot be said about age and racing as most male participants have been found to be over the age of 30 (Barrell, Holt and Mackean, 1987, 1990 cited in Smith, S. 1998) although there is declining participation with age, which is associated with sports which are highly physically demanding (Smith, 1998).

I have illustrated how *dividing practices* are created through the *cultural landscapes* of running. *Systems of differentiation* were partially created through the minutiae of different hazards that runners had overcome. Runners were presented as heroic and this draws upon the relationship of men to sports and war which predates running (Nauright, 1996).

Although taking exercise onto the street and across rural landscapes was often presented as radical and could be viewed as a reclaiming of the streets, the possibility was skewed in favour of young males.

7.3 (x) Rationalisation and the Quest for Records.

The *rationalisation* of running involved the measurement of distance and time, through which running achievement is expressed. Through races (and sometimes training) as suggested in Chapter Six, runners differentiate themselves from one another in terms of

their personal best (PB). Various landscapes and experiences become abstracted and the achievement of the runner is expressed in terms of speed and distance and a heterogeneous activity is turned into a figure the PB. However, through training running culture turns any space into rationalised space. Runners are aware of the distances they run no matter what the landscape. It presents difference in hierarchical fashion and as an individual responsibility. The fact that running takes place in public places makes it appear open to all, and reinforces the view of equal access. Hence, exclusionary practices are obscured and *dividing practices* are viewed as both fair and real. I have suggested that the experience of the running body also contributes to this view.

7.3 (xi) Running and Communitas.

Guttman (1977) suggested that a defining feature of modern sports was that they were secular. Berking and Neckel (1993) in their analysis of the urban marathon viewed it as a ritual, which could be seen as an expression of modernity. They also draw attention to the way in which the runners move between scientific rational *discourses* and those encapsulating spiritual tendencies. My data questioned this view, I found that practices based on holistic conceptions of the body were reduced to individualised *technologies of the self* in running *discourse* although I also suggested that notions of health and fitness broadened to well-being.

In my analysis of *systems of differentiation* and *cultural landscapes* I found that running encouraged an experience of *communitas* (Turner, 1969) which runners sometimes referred to as a form of spirituality. However, I used the term to conceptualise the similarity of experience that running bodies, out in the open air, have over long distances. This I suggested acts to help reinforce the hierarchy as runners are aware that each experiences the humility and difficulty associated with pushing the body to limits. I proposed that this

might encourage runners to respect the achievement of those who achieve at running. Thus, it acts to reinforce rather than challenge hierarchy. According to Turner (1969) either would be possible with *communitas* experiences.

In this section and in Chapter Five I have supplemented my Foucauldian approach with Turner's (1979) concept of *communitas* which allows for a consideration of individuals' accounts of their experience of running. I have argued that the *communitas* experiences obscure and make tolerable the hierarchies produced through the *dividing practices* which are based on *scientific objectivising techniques* as well as through relationships to landscapes. Landscapes create minute *systems of differentiation* helping to constitute a sense of achievement amongst all runners. The public space utilised by runners can be viewed as publicly linking health and fitness with sporting ideals which gives increased status and value to the young masculine body. The public spaces utilised, themselves, act to include and exclude females in particular. I have suggested that what appears to be an *oppositional* use of space becomes highly conformist through the rationalisation of the *cultural landscape* of running, this obscures differences based upon social relations and focuses upon the assessment of individuals via running speed.

7.3 (xii) Subjectification and Heterosexuality

Subjectification has two meanings for Foucault (1982). Subject to someone else's control and tied to conscience or self-knowledge. Changing neo-liberal health care regimes have been associated with changes in modes of *subjectification*, and moves towards increasing *panoptical, self-surveillance*, and less direct expert involvement (Nettleton, 1996).

Running can be viewed as one mechanism through which individuals are invited to engage with the knowledges and practices offered, providing a means through which the fitness of the body becomes visible to the self. Individuals can be viewed as *subjectified* in both of

the above ways; they are controlled by the knowledge's they encounter, which are produced by others; and, these *discourses* become part of runners' own conscience and make up their self-knowledge. They utilise this in pursuit of running fitness in a reflexive process much akin to that described by Giddens (1991). In running the reflexive processes offered in relation to sexuality were all heterosexual.

My analysis revealed the role of running in promoting a heterosexual *subjectification*. This encouraged a female sexuality based upon aesthetics and male sexuality that focused upon performance and aesthetics. Sexual bodies were also viewed as important for older men and women. The magazine presented a view of male and female sexuality that was underpinned by "scientific knowledge". Initially the magazine worked hard to promote the idea that running would not make women "muscly" and like men. As muscle arguably became sexualised (Hargreaves, 1994) this was less of a concern. In terms of sexual performance running was presented as increasing testosterone for men which it claimed would enhance their (hetero)sexual performance, women's sexual performance was not mentioned. There did seem some indication that women could be evaluated as hierarchically superior to men through their running performance. However, they were still aestheticised. These changes can be related to the idea that in consumer culture bodies (of all ages and sizes) become something that has to be worked upon to become sexually attractive. That they never achieve this can be viewed as an important element of the commodification of bodies.

7.3 (xiii) Summary of the Foucauldian Approach

With the Foucauldian approach I found sports-science *discourse* underpinned a sporting agenda which focused on how to achieve the fastest running performance. Sports-science seemed to be the most influential of the *scientific objectivising techniques*. The magazine

had an inclusive agenda, encouraging participation but through a sporting imperative accepted a male youngish body as the ideal. The sporting agenda increased throughout the period of study. Biomedical knowledge was another significant *scientific objectivising technique* and the aspects of it the magazine drew on linked all round health and fitness with running. Holistic health and transcendentalism contributed to a broadening of the notion of health and fitness, but within an individualistic framework. They also offered a range of new bodily techniques but did not significantly challenging the scientific view of the body.

These three knowledge bases often offered competing *discourses* and were themselves not entirely coherent. However, individualising responsibility for health and fitness required that answers had to be sought. If individuals were to become custodians of their own bodies, and responsible for them, people needed to distrust whichever answers were offered and to be able to select between them.

In my analysis of *systems of differentiation* I suggested they were underpinned by experiences of *communitas* which fostered experiences of similarity and humanity between runners and contributed to the maintenance of the hierarchies. The rationalisation of space was viewed as contributing to the hierarchical relationships within running. Different groups within running already have different relationships to the *cultural landscapes* of running and this in some cases consolidates the hierarchy. Running however, can lead to some (initially individual, but potentially having impact upon the group) *opposition* to the order that is already there. So for example, fast women runners may feel more comfortable on the streets than a slower or novice man. Running I suggested also offered a

heterosexual subjectification which slightly differed for men and women but could be seen as fitting individuals for consumer relations which revolved around their own bodies.

7.4 A Realist Approach

I adopted realist theory for several reasons. First, it is the theory, which most interrogates the relationship between different levels of the social. Whilst Foucauldian theory encourages a movement between, and drawing together, of data from different levels of the social (as does actor-network theory to some degree) it does not analyse the relationship between these different levels. A particular aspect of the body can be discursively traced to and related to an element of the organisation of running, or the social in general, without analysing the nature of the relationship between these different levels. Realist theory suggested that the *practical adequacy* of an analysis needed to be established, (Sayer, 1992), including the relationship between different aspects of the data and the concepts employed in analysis. The term *emergent powers*, allows for movement between levels. This enabled me to contextualise the rise of the popularity of running and its developments within contemporary culture. This involved looking at contemporary consumer culture, the new-middle class and body culture within the broader context of *the social* and examining running's relationship to this.

I decided to utilise realist theory also, because it allowed for an analysis of the process of differentiation and the embodiment of running. I utilised the realist theory of Sayer (1992) in which everything is viewed as having *causal powers* and *causal liabilities*. These both constitute a thing or a phenomena and are *necessary* to its existence. Hence, in road racing one of the *causal powers* in maintaining the difference between male and female is that the fastest males finish before the fastest females. A *causal liability* of road racing with respect to the current dualistic notion of sex is that when placed in the same race some

women finish before many men. If these two phenomena are *necessary* to the existence of the *differentiation* between the sexes in running, then it is established they are *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* or its *mechanisms*. The idea that men are the fastest runners can be seen as *necessary* to the production and reproduction of sex differences within running, regardless of what actually happens in races. If this idea were reversed then the current dualistic sex model within running would be transformed.

The third reason I picked realist theory for my analysis was because it could help analyse transformation and is itself conceptualised as something with potentially transformative power. With regard to sex the idea that there may be many *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* brings with it the possibility that the divisions created need not always be dualistic and allows for greater analytical complexity which may reflect empirical complexity.

7.4 (i) Findings of the Realist Approach.

In Chapter Six I focused on long distance running races and suggested that the race was a *necessary mechanism* of running. The races had their own features which, were *mechanisms* in forming the notion of competition that developed within running. This notion, being important both internally to running and with regard to runnings relationship to the social. Hence, I suggested that running and the races were not just shaped, by the knowledges, which informed them, but also by the organisation, promotion, and funding of races. The organisations involved in producing these elements of the races can be viewed as having *causal powers* and *causal liabilities*, which effected what running came to be. The notion of competition *emerges* from an interrelationship between the knowledges, organisations and practices of running with *the social* more broadly.

In Guttman's (1976) typification of a modern sport governmental and amateur agencies were viewed as the most usual organisers and funders of sporting events and their function was to generate and standardise rules and regulations, and to ratify records. Long distance running continued in this vein in some respects, but there was also, increasing commercial interest and charity involvement, which influenced the development. Chapter Six examined the *emergent powers* resulting from the involvement of four types of organisation, and how this related to broader social processes. The four types of organisation analysed in this chapter were sporting bodies, commercial interests, charity involvement and local government.

I also examined the form of masculinity that was being developed within running and elsewhere. In my analysis I examined how the *emergent powers* of running related to this middle-class masculinity. I raised the question as to whether it could be considered a form of masculine embodiment when all members of society were encouraged to take it on. I suggested the relationship between "being male" and the public was being transformed. Although in running the biases in knowledge and practice made it more likely that men would succeed, women were not totally excluded. Women were less likely to participate and succeed at running because of *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* stemming from inside and outside running. For example, work in the domestic sphere allows many women little time for leisure (Green et al 1990).

7.4(ii) Race Organisation: Sporting Associations, Charity, Local Government and Commerce.

The Amateur Athletic Association (AAA) were involved in race organisation from the outset of running. They already had existing regulations, which covered road racing. However, these were designed for traditional competitive racing and the new, cohort of leisure runners, were not happy to go along with these. Hence, while many of the *causal powers* of the sporting agenda of the AAA were at first influential in shaping the race, they came to be modified.

The *causal powers* of the AAA were effected by their interaction with the other organisations who became involved in running and by the new cohort of runners who had their own demands to make. Following a straightforward sporting agenda was a *causal liability* if this new group of runners was to become incorporated, making running more popular. The AAA's involvement allowed long distance races to keep a sporting focus. However, other organisations such as the British Association of Road Races (BARR), commercial sponsors and charities had their own *mechanisms*, resulting in the *emergence* of long distance road racing, which was different from previous straightforwardly sporting events. Some of these changes are not exclusive to running and are related to the commercialisation and globalisation of sports, leisure and consumption as a whole. For example, there was a general move from amateurism to professionalism in sports in this country and globally.

The commercial companies that sponsor major races provide money and associate themselves with what running stands for. The *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* of running itself effect what this is, as do the *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* of the product, which includes its previous advertising strategy. So for example, Flora associated themselves with the health and fitness aspects of running. Mars tapped into the energy

their product gave and that running required (and claimed to give) and related the marathon to its “work, rest and play” slogan. The prioritising of the major sponsors in the London Marathon (i.e. The Flora London Marathon) is indicative of the extensive financial involvement of these companies. It results in the *emergence* of the marathon as a commercial event. Marathons are commercial, through the financial involvement of the sponsors, both of the race itself, and individual athletes; through elite athletes being sponsored to wear branded sports clothing; prize money for the winning athletes; and finally, because the majority of contestants buy the right to compete. Participation was therefore itself an act of consumption.

The structures of races are also a consequence of the *mechanisms* of the charity involvement. Charities are involved in races in a major way. Sponsorship forms often go out with the race information to potential applicants and runners are positively encouraged through advertising to raise money for charity. I found three significant *causal powers*, emanating from charity involvement. It prevents the race being all about individual *competition*, giving it a community feel. It makes it a visually stimulating event which, contributes to the carnivalesque atmosphere. It provides visible evidence and reinforces the idea that great efforts need to be made by “able bodied individuals” to support the “dependent” in the community.

The “community feel” is also reinforced by the involvement of local government which is another of the *mechanisms* which suggests community ownership. Local government sometimes provide financial support and the police force block off roads. In smaller races members of the local community become involved in the organisation of races because it is for a good cause and local businesses sponsor them. These organisational features can be

seen as *essential* to the race and therefore *mechanisms* of the race because without these elements it would be a different kind of event, purely concerned with sporting achievement.

This involvement of different organisations leads to the fragmentation of control and ownership which, effects the *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* that make up events. The A.A.A.'s rules and measurements ensured that it could continue to be a sporting event allowing for records to be ratified and sporting legitimacy to be attached to the elite and good local amateur athletes. However, it was in the interests of the A.A.A. along with charities, the commercial companies and local government to promote mass participation for different reasons. The form of race that emerged is partially constituted by all the above organisations and the knowledge's and *networks* discussed in the previous chapters and sections. The components of the races and the *emergent powers* arise from a combination of all these elements.

7.4 (iii) Doing the Race: Changing Competition.

In Chapter Six I discussed the notion of competition that emerged from the races which I viewed as one of the *mechanisms* by which running could be linked to the embodiment of a middle-classness. I related this to the changing organisation and content of employment in Britain and the term social inclusion. My analysis involved looking at elements of the race and relating them to requirements that new patterns of employment have of workers and the form of embodiment this entails.

7.4 (iv) Entering the Race

Large road races had two forms of entry, qualifying and through the payment of a fee. Fee paying can be seen a *mechanism* of the race. It was *necessary* to have a mode of entry that

was suitable for mass participation, but that allowed the organisers control over how many people entered, secured their entry whilst providing a contribution towards the cost of the race. The selection procedure incorporates the idea that everybody can do the marathon and that they are each capable of evaluating their own ability to complete the distance. This is evident from the way there is no screening by the organisers of entrants' running ability. This would be an impossible task given the number of potential entrants to major marathons. This *mechanism* works for an activity in which there are often too many suitably trained and knowledgeable bodies who put themselves forward to enter. The selection procedure has some *causal liabilities* in that in larger races too many people wish to enter and are disappointed at not being allowed to enter. There has to be a sense of fairness about the selection procedure. The magazine suggested that the random computerised selection procedure, used for the London Marathon, frustrated some people but was, on balance, viewed as fair.

The race would not be the event it was, if too many people failed to complete. It is the great effort that it takes to complete a long distance race that makes it seem of value, consequently, the distance itself can be viewed as a *causal power* in this case. It is apparent that other parts of my analysis are *causal powers* for the existence of the race because individual motivation to run on a regular basis is required, for there to be, sufficient numbers of runners; that will turn the marathon into a spectacle of mass effort.

Although the marathon, is for some a more conventional race, because their position does matter, it is *necessary* for the race to incorporate the idea that overall placing does not matter. The P.B. allows *competition* to focus upon the individual and present and past

performances be compared, individualising *competition*.⁹³ Consequently, the notion of *competition* that emerges from the long distance road race is not about winning vis a vis everybody else. It is about making the distance in the face of adversity. It is about selecting and adopting the right training procedures to allow this to happen. It is related to overcoming the hazards of the cultural landscapes of running, in order to train. It involves selecting the right diet that will give you sufficient energy to complete. I have suggested that this notion of *competition* is a *necessary mechanism* of racing because a more traditional “modern” sporting ethics would discourage mass participation, particularly in individual events.

The organisation of the races contributes to the idea that gaining entry and completing the distance is success in itself. The finishing photographs that are sold and the completion medals that are given are all part of the experience. These material artefacts can be viewed as *causal powers* in that they construct participants as successful if they complete the distance.

The categorisation of runners is embedded within the races and helps to create its inclusive nature. The existence of the categories, for individuals who already categorise themselves, gives messages about who should be participating. Hence, a “male veteran category” invites men over forty to participate. The categorisation of runners on the basis of age and sex is closely related to the idea of equalising the conditions of competition. It is a *mechanism*, which assumes and perpetuates the idea that bodies are best categorised in this way because they are differentially equipped to run and therefore competition between

⁹³ This idea may have been drawn from Eastern practices, such as yoga, which started to gain popularity in Britain in the late nineteen seventies, which also involves a constantly

them is unequal. This draws upon existing inequality in broader society and reconstitutes it in running specific terms. Instead of women and veterans being excluded because of their bodies, they invited to join in, but at the outset are judged to be inferior runners through categorisation.⁹⁴

The payment of an entry fee also makes the race an act of consumption. This gives the message that success is something you can buy. Travelling to different venues is also part of the consumption of running. As with all consumption running must never totally fulfil the desire it claims that it will (Bauman, 1998a; 1998b). That it does not totally satisfy is partially due to the ethos of continuous improvement and also because there are always more prestigious events or more exotic destinations. It is also because the body requires constant work to maintain fitness.

The elite category is important in maintaining the sporting element of races and making them of national and international interest. In the large races like the London Marathon they are the focus of much media attention and attract large sums of sponsorship money. This helps make such marathons big media events and occasions of a proportion that would not exist without them. The links between sport and masculinity almost inevitably ensure the overall race winner is a male, publicly reinforcing existing hierarchies and valorising the supremacy of the male body. Although females and veterans do achieve

worked upon self.

⁹⁴ This is illustrated well by the way in which there is debate about whether a fast time run by a women against men should be counted as a world record. It is felt by some that pacing by men may give particular women an unfair advantage. However, it seems that it is more a question of such records threatening the categorisation of men and women in sporting terms and its potential challenge to the hierarchy that make it contentious.

good times and are entitled to compete, the sporting nature of the event places emphasis on “the fastest”.

7.4 (v) Embodying Middle-Class Masculinity.

According to Mellor and Shilling (1997) new forms of sociality have associated with them new forms of embodiment. Different forms of embodiment have been related to different classes (Bourdieu, 1988; Mellor and Shilling, 1997), genders (Hargreaves 1994, Pink, 1996) and age groups. Mellor and Shilling (1997) draw on Douglas to suggest that the hard bodies, created by the middle-classes through exercise, are a form of boundary drawing and are symptomatic of a social arena in which the divisions between groups are in danger of breaking down. Savage et al. (1992) relate the health promoting practices such as running to the *habitus* of the middle-classes. In Chapter Six I suggested that, running contains several *emergent powers*, which can be related to class based working practices. This can be viewed as containing a potential challenge to the process of differentiation based on age and sex, but there are *causal powers* and *causal liabilities*, both from within running and outside of it, which make it less likely. Marx used the term *aufhebung* to describe the way in which religion would be abolished, preserved and transcended, in a process of dialectical change (Giddens, 1971, p. 7). I suggested that this could be applied to the transformation of embodied sex (and to some extent age) within running.

In moving between the beliefs and practices evident within the magazine and interviews, and the idea of class based practices, it is necessary to explore the relationship between these different levels of the social. The concept of embodiment helps to theorise this relationship as is suggested by Bourdieu’s (1984, 1988, 1997) term *habitus*. As stated

earlier, Bourdieu suggests that different social classes come to embody different bodily attitudes and practices, ways of thinking, acting and being. Much of this process is unconscious. Part of this learning takes place through leisure activities such as running. In this thesis I have explored the praxis of runners which incorporates embodiment. It is possible to examine and relate these to middle-class working practices. However, I chose realist theory because it interrogates the relationships between different levels of the social. In realist terms if aspects of the embodiment of running are necessary for middle-class occupations then it becomes more likely that the two levels are associated. For example, if self motivation is an important personal quality necessary for middle-class occupation structures to work, then this embodied skill needs to be acquired for this form of work to succeed. This then suggests that there is strong evidence that running is one site where middle-class embodiment is created, perpetuated and contested. Hence, in Chapter Six I outlined the way in which attitudes, ideas and beliefs found in racing were also necessary for middle-class workers.

In Chapter Six I suggested that running contemporary culture involved a growing acceptance that individuals should work to develop bodily skills. These are themselves viewed as possessions, cultural capital, through which individuals belong or are included in contemporary culture. Hence, I suggested that training for the race without being guaranteed a place was a *necessary* element of the race. A post-fordist environment makes it *necessary* that individuals manage their lives in such a way that they do not expect to gain their status from their location within a single organisation, or even from one type of work or employment throughout their working lives. The self-reflexive *competitiveness* within racing in particular and running more generally, encourages individuals to engage in a process of setting their own goals, developing their own strategies and defining their

own success. Viewing the skills learned as personal development is an important element of being included in contemporary culture. Encouraging women with children, older people, disabled people into this culture associates them with a culture in which younger males have the advantage. Being socially included to some extent involves taking on the values of a would be worker. It involves rejecting any alternative value systems.

Individual competitiveness therefore becomes a matter of doing enough to take part in a respectable way. Similarly, if individuals wish to continue to take part in the “middle-class” workforce, whole lives must be managed in this way. Maintaining the same position or constant improvement requires vigilant attention on the part of the individual. As Bauman (1998b) points out “tourists” (the global middle-classes) are always potentially on the verge of becoming vagabonds. Also as Mellor and Shilling (1997) suggest the hard bodies of middle classes become a symbol of their constant defence against losing social position. From a realist perspective having these attitudes can be viewed as one of the *causal powers* in creating the middle-classes in contemporary culture. The idea that socially acquired ways of being are embodied throughout the individuals life course provides a mechanism whereby the body is always incomplete (Shilling, 1993) and open to penetration from the social as well as its own developmental processes effecting its own development and the social.

In Chapter Seven I also suggested that the consuming body Featherstone (1991b) examines did not simply spread from female to male to older bodies. This ignores the impact of leisure-sports like running on the development of this body.

7.4(vi) Summarising the Realist Approach.

Through my realist analysis of running I examined the *mechanisms* of the races. These *emerged* partially from the four types of organisation associated with road racing, sporting organisations, local government, charities and commercial companies. Through utilising this approach it was possible to examine the *necessary* features of the race and the forms of competition contained therein. The concept of embodiment and the concepts *causal powers*, *causal liabilities* and *emergent powers* allowed for a consideration of the relationship between running and middle-classness. In the concluding section I evaluate the success of my theoretical approaches. Prior to that I make some concluding observations based on my data analysis.

7.5 Concluding Observations.

Running encourages “an achievement through hard work” ethic and reframes successful *competitiveness* as not being in terms of an overall winner, but in belonging to a group through independent hard work. One of the *causal liabilities* of running with regard to middle-classness, is that independent thinking and practices may lead to individuals acting in ways that challenge the social order. However, running success sits side by side with consumption practices that may be viewed as health eroding (Savage et al., 1992) and which are themselves a *necessary* feature of class membership. To be a member of the middle-classes it is also necessary to be a successful consumer. To be a successful consumer requires that you are “well employed”. Running praxis is believed to facilitate more effective, or at least, less damaging consumption practices. It is viewed as a means to non-damaging over-consumption, with a view of over-consumption that focuses upon the individuals. This is evident in the letters and the interviews where runners talk of being able to eat and drink what they like, if they run, and allowing themselves alcoholic drinks or high calorie foods as a reward.

Taken in a *class* framework, it is perhaps easy to assert that women and older people have been encouraged into a modernist and rationalist arena and to define this change as a masculinisation of all alternatives. Shilling and Mellor (1997) refer to two ways of managing the tension between being and having a body. One being, individualised, cognitive, future orientated and rationalist. The other, being, traditional, communal, carnal and sensuous (p.131-132). Drawing on Pateman (1988), they suggest that much of the progress of feminism has been:

“Reaching against the exclusion of women from civil society, however, certain forms of feminism have challenged women’s exclusion from the contractarian possibilities of modernity without challenging the cognitive apprehension and fear of sensuality upon which such possibilities are constructed.”(Mellor and Shilling, 1997, p.151)

Running can, to some extent, be viewed as another arena where this has happened. However, in order to encourage women into this arena it was *necessary* to compromise traditional sporting values. At the same time it is claimed that there has been a feminisation of the workplace with traditional masculine employment becoming the minority. Mellor and Shilling (ibid) suggest that in contractarian arena women and children become “people baggage” (p.150). However, at the same time masculine values of traditional sporting competition with a “come first at all costs” ethos disappear allowing individuals to succeed in their own self-defined ways. Although, aspects of being older and being female become something to overcome, so do many aspects of traditional masculinity. The reflexive and communicative process required, to achieve; in running, and in work life can be characterised as female. However, these intersect with social arrangements that do not allow responsibility for childcare to become detached from being female, transforming being a female with responsibility for children into a *causal liability*. A similar argument can be made with regard to traditional masculinity. Bringing men of different ages into a sporting area gives out different messages about what it is to be masculine. It brings the whole of the life process into vision showing the possibilities and

limitations of ageing male bodies. Both men and women have elements of their bodies that they need to overcome and transform if they are to succeed in the world of running.

The term embodiment allows for a conceptualisation of the limitations of transforming the social by changing social practices.⁹⁵ The entry of *embodied* women and older people into a formerly masculine arena also brings *causal powers* and *causal liabilities*, which are based in aspects of the body which are more and less difficult to transform. Although running arguably transforms the idealised masculinity within it, individuals potential for change can be viewed as limited by their own bodies. Men and women are never entirely masculine or completely feminine neither by biological or social standards. Examining masculinity and femininity in terms of *causal powers* and *causal liabilities* offers the possibility of greater complexity. Elements of embodiment are acquired throughout the life course but there are aspects which are not accessible to change, and those things which are transformable vary between individuals according to their life history.

There are elements of the social, which are more or less, amenable to change and it is anyway often a slow process. Hargreaves (1994) suggests that female muscle has become sexualised disempowering to some extent, women who could have been empowered through sport. However, it is not only female muscle that has become sexualised has is evident from the use of sexualised muscular images of males. The diet coke advertisement being a typical example. In addition some women do achieve in running, and do so better than many of the men entrants in the races. According to Pink (1996) this transforms societies view of what the female physique is capable of. With regard to running and the

⁹⁵ Like the term identity it offers the possibility of incorporating many "structural" differences into analysis of an increasingly fragmented world.

new-leisure sports it seems they have not transformed male and female inequality. One of the reasons for this may be that many of these are located within sporting arenas.

The processes of *differentiation* which I have outlined in this thesis create age and sex in specific forms, but which interrelate with many other aspects of society and may be experienced in highly fragmentary ways by the individuals who come into contact with them. They are created over a range of geographical spaces and at different times.

Although in many respects a rational activity, running does involve sensuous experiences including *communitas*. This may be harshly induced, as running long distances is inevitably painful. However, the same could be said of childbirth, which may be viewed as having a similar effect. According to Victor Turner (1979) experiences of *communitas* are important in maintaining social cohesiveness. Running may just be one of the sites where the sensual and fleshy experiences for the “baroque modern body” (Mellor and Shilling, 1997) takes place. It seems to be played out in a highly rationalised site however but suggests that leisure practices, may contain important *mechanisms* for maintaining cohesiveness in high-modern consumer culture.

7.5 (i) The Theories and Embodiment: Concluding Comments.

Three main areas have been explored through the theoretical approaches adopted and my major findings have been outlined. In this section I conclude this thesis by evaluating the success of my theoretical approaches and the methodologies entailed in utilising them and exploring running culture.

The purpose of adopting three theoretical approaches was not to provide a synthesis of these theories or to enable a thorough critique. In utilising three theoretical approaches none of the theories could really be pushed to their limits. My rationale was to utilise them

in thoroughly exploring the data. I think this has to some extent succeeded. The data were dense and different elements of it could have been explored. For example, more attention could have been paid to how time was utilised within running. However, I feel that a good deal of the data were covered and the major trends identified.

All three approaches allowed for the process of embodiment to be studied, albeit different elements of it. Using the three approaches has provided illustration of how the process of embodiment is complex and spatially and historically broad. However, it has also shown the limitations of a purely sociological approach to the embodiment of running. Realist theory illustrates the way that the body becomes one of the mechanisms from which the social emerges. The sociological approaches I have adopted all provide a basis to analyse the way the social constructs the body and the role of the body in the social, but address less about the way the body constructs the social. How, for example, do bodies enable or hinder social transformation? These are questions that are usually raised within a psychological framework. However, without better understanding of the interaction between the body and the social there will always be limitations.

My methodologies allowed me to examine social processes as they appeared in magazines and memories. These are joint constructions made by my theoretical approaches, my data and myself. They can never produce the “whole story of running”; they have only produced “a story of running”. However, I feel that the stories I have told link sufficiently with contemporary social trends for them to be considered legitimate stories.

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