



FALL 2008 VOLUME 25.2



Shippensburg University of Pennsylvania
1871 Old Main Drive
Shippensburg, PA 17257-2299

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PROTEUS

A JOURNAL OF IDEAS

Sports, Exercise, and Recreation



SHIPPENSBURG
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VOLUME 25:2

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An ancient Greek sea divinity, herdsman of seals, Proteus could be elusive by changing his form at will appearing as a lion, a serpent, a boar, water, or a tall tree. However when those who caught him succeeded in holding him fast, Proteus assumed his proper shape of an old man and told the truth.

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Submissions, requests for further information, or orders for copies should be addressed to:

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University Publications
Shippensburg University
1871 Old Main Drive
Shippensburg PA 17257-2299
717-477-1206
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Cover design: Hess Design

- *Proteus* is indexed in
 - the *MLA International Bibliography*,
 - PAIS International* (<http://www.pais.org/>),
 - America: History and Life*,
 - ISI Web of Knowledge*,
 - Arts & Humanities Citation Index*, and
 - Historical Abstracts*.

MEMBER



Council of Editors
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- It is a member of the Council of Editors of Learned Journals (CELJ).
- Past issues are available on microfilm from ProQuest, Information and Learning.
- *Proteus* is published semi-annually and is funded by Shippensburg University.

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EDITOR'S NOTES

DAVID GODSHALK

I loved the game...I'd have played for food money. I'd have played free and worked for food. It was the game, the parks, the smells, the sounds. Have you ever held a bat or a baseball to your face? The varnish, the leather. And it was the crowd, the excitement of them rising as one when the ball was hit deep. The sound was like a chorus.... It makes me tingle all over like a kid on his way to his first doubleheader, just to talk about it....I'd play for the Devil's own team just for the touch of a baseball. Hell, I'd play in the dark if I had to.

"Shoeless" Joe Jackson resurrected in the fiction of W. P. Kinsela, 1980

In the days of youth, when the blood is hot and the sap is high and the road goes on forever, it is easy enough to slip the doomy embrace of frustration. But time, as a British poet once said, is a rider that breaks us all, especially if our only pleasure—in football, fishing or love—comes from keeping score.

Howell Raines, 1993

Almost for the first time in many months I thought of my mother. And now, it seemed to me, I understood why at her life's end she had taken on a fiancé; why she'd played at making a fresh start. There, too, in that Home where lives were flickering out, the dusk came as a mournful silence. With death so near, Mother must have felt like someone on the brink of freedom, ready to start life all over again...and gazing up at the dark sky spangled with its signs and stars, for the first time, the first, I laid my heart open to the benign indifference of the universe.

Meursault in Albert Camus's *The Stranger*, translated by Stuart Gilbert, 1942

I remember experiencing a seismic shift in my sense of time and possibility on a Sunday afternoon in 1982 just after my eighteenth birthday when Mats Wilander, an unknown Swede, who was three months younger than I, upset Guillermo Vilas, by then ancient in the tennis world at age twenty-nine, to claim his first French Open title. After a spring of devoting my life to tennis, I put aside any dreams of being a professional player or even a state champion.

Like most tennis stars, Wilander's career peaked in his mid-twenties. In 1988, the Swede won every Grand Slam tournament except Wimbledon to become the number one player in the world. After turning twenty-five, Wilander never collected another major title, his comeback efforts sidelined first by the death of his father and then by recurring knee problems. This past September, I sat inches away from the action as Wilander played Pat Cash on Court 11 of the National Tennis Center in an exhibition match at the U.S. Open. In the 1980s, these men's epic duels had taken center stage, first at Wimbledon and then at the Australian Open. But now, only a small crowd took a passing interest as Cash, a recovering alcoholic and former drug addict, easily defeated Wilander, 6-2, 6-2. Relaxed and self-effacing, the two men feigned grim determination and traded jabs about their contrasting styles. Seeing Wilander after so many years, his previously spry footwork now hobbled by arthritic knees, once again reminded me of the limits of my own tennis future. In 1982, I questioned how well I could play tennis; this year, at 44, I questioned how long I could continue to play competitive singles.

I attended my first U.S. Open five years ago, when a fellow tennis player offered me a free ticket at the last minute for a Saturday session, which featured early rounds of the men's and women's draws. After squinting at an Andre Agassi match for ten minutes from the heights of my assigned seat in Arthur Ashe Stadium, I moved to Court 11. That evening, my fifty dollar ticket bought me a ringside seat to see Justine Henin, whose backhand John McEnroe (no fan of women's tennis) has described as the best in the game, easily beat Saori Obata before going on to win her first title at Flushing Meadow. Emotionally fragile, Henin at age 12 mourned her mother's passing, and she only recently reestablished contact with her estranged siblings after years of separation. Less than 5' 6" and 130 pounds, and a loner by nature, Henin's mental and physical toughness carried her through many matches, the strain apparent in her face as she often appeared to be holding back tears. This past year, she retired suddenly and without explanation just before her 26th birthday while still number one in the world.

My time at the U.S. Open has spoiled the experience of watching tennis on television, which in comparison has the flatness of the old video game, Pong. Overwhelmingly in their late teens and early twenties, their posture unfailingly erect from years of conditioning and practicing overheads and serves, men and women tennis players, when seen in person, often resemble what I think superheroes

would look like in real life. Recent trends in the sport have heightened this effect—especially the shift toward taller and more muscular players and the electric pigments made possible by the new polyester-based wicking fabrics in shirts and shorts. This year, with Adidas peddling a line of bright, lime-colored shirts, it appeared as if an army of Jolly Green Giants had invaded Queens. Up close, what is striking about professional players is not so much the force with which they hit the ball, but the elegance of their footwork, the explosiveness of their movements, the sharp whistles of their spins, the consistency of their baseline games, and the thud of their serves against the backstop. During the early rounds of the U.S. Open and the qualifying tournament that precedes it, young players, fill the long line of outer courts. At these times, from the top of the stands of Court 13, one can simultaneously watch six matches. The players bob up and down above the fences as they stretch for overheads and serves, much like a herd of gangly, dancing giraffes. In the stadiums during night sessions, the New York crowds, loosened up with ten dollar beers, fill the air with excitement as they cheer their heroes, especially Americans, and taunt those stars who display any signs of pomposity.

For me, much of the magic of observing tennis comes from the opportunity it provides of projecting oneself into the mind and body of at least one of the players, experiencing the surge of adrenaline felt during crucial points in the match and channeling the majesty of a hard-won victory, the kinetic grace of effortless footwork, and the flowing mastery of perfectly-timed strokes. I had often fantasized what it might be like to have front row seats at a match featuring one of the greats of the sport—a Pete Sampras or an Andre Agassi. Because of security and crowd control concerns, officials have increasingly cocooned top players in the inner sanctum of Arthur Ashe Stadium, even for their practice sessions.

In the past two years, well-connected friends and the development of feel for the timing at which Ticketmaster releases good seats to everyday ticket buyers have helped me sit courtside, elbow-to-elbow with the likes of Christine Brinkley, Richard Branson, Greg Norman, and David Dinkins for three Roger Federer matches as well as this year's semifinal contest between Rafael Nadal and Andy Murray. Earlier in the summer, after Federer suffered a series of uncharacteristic losses, many commentators were predicting the Swiss player, already twenty-seven, might soon retire, two championships short of Pete Sampras's Open Era record of winning fourteen Grand Slam tournaments. (Federer's victory at the U.S. Open in September increased his Grand Slam tally to thirteen). In person, one is struck by the fluidity and economy with which Federer traverses the court, the regal equanimity he brings to each match, and the catlike unpredictability with which he pounces upon the ball after casually swatting it back and forth. His smooth movements and relaxed style of play have largely protected Federer from the physical injuries and psychological setbacks that have marred many tennis players' careers. It now appears likely that the Swiss star

will easily surpass Sampras's record and fulfill his own prophecy of winning major titles well into his thirties.

Nadal, more muscular and imposing in person than on television, has already won five Grand Slam titles at age 22—two more than Federer had at that point in his career. In contrast to Federer, Nadal is a study in exertion and drive, the sweat poring from his face as he whips the ball with more topspin than any other player in the history of the game. Outfitted this year in bright red shorts and a matching headband, Nadal swaggers and struts along the baseline like a matador. The Spaniard's ostentatious intensity is matched by a number of nervous tics and rituals—positioning two water bottles in the same spot of the court for each match and tugging at the back of his shorts between points for example—so exaggerated, that during Wimbledon many British tabloids diagnosed him as suffering from some type of obsessive-compulsive disorder. Throughout the summer, Nadal continuously wore tape on both knees. Whatever his affliction, this Band-Aid does not bode well for the longevity of an athlete in a sport notorious for physically and psychologically wearing down even the hardiest of athletes long before their primes.

Despite the thrills of gawking at superstar tennis players and celebrities courtside in Arthur Ashe Stadium, all my fondest memories of the Open are from the matches on the outer courts—the cheapest seats in the venue. The most memorable tennis match that I've ever seen took place late on a Sunday night in 2007 in the Grandstand, with a crowd that numbered less than five hundred. Having just turned nineteen, a then unheralded Ernest Gulbis, the first and only Latvian professional, utterly overwhelmed eighth-seeded Tommy Robredo (named by his parents after the title character in the Who's famous rock opera)—6-1, 6-2, 6-3. Hitting out and connecting on almost every shot, Gulbis kept his head down throughout the match as if embarrassed for the highly respected Robredo, who visibly cowered at the force of his opponents' shots. The claustrophobic tightness of Court 11 gives its matches a special drama. In 2005, a dejected Shahar Pe'er (who has since risen to as high as fifteen in the rankings) sat alone on a bench sobbing into her tennis towel after a tough loss to Maria Vento-Kabchi of Venezuela. During the match, her coaches traded barbs with another tennis insider, who joked that their star player had no grit.

This year, some friends indulged my desire to return to the storied court to watch a second round match featuring Fernando Verdasco, the 13th seed, a left-hander from Spain with one of the most powerful forehands in the game. Verdasco, at 6' 2" and 179 pounds towered over his 5'10" and 143 pound opponent, Rui Machado of Portugal, who, having recently achieved a career high ranking of two hundred, was playing in his first Grand Slam event. Spread out in the shadows of the upper reaches of the stands, my friends and I spied Rui's entourage, including his visibly proud father, just to our left. Winning the first set, Machado played with a sense of flair, repeatedly hitting winners and placing Verdasco on the defensive. After

taking the second set in a tiebreaker, the Spaniard regained his composure, winning the third set 6-4. In the fourth set, Machado jumped to a 4-2, 40-0 lead and appeared to win the game with an angled volley. Ruling that Machado had touched the net, the umpire gave the point to Verdasco. Puzzled at how to react, Machado turned to his father and brother, who visibly calmed him and then amplified their match-long chant: "Vamos, Rui! Vamos!" The momentum swung to Verdasco, who charged ahead to a match point in the fourth set tiebreaker. Countering with controlled aggression, Machado won the next three points, sending the match to a fifth and deciding set. The fifth set ended in an unexpected flash—6-0 for Verdasco—who caught fire, drilling winners from the baseline and committing only two unforced errors. I congratulated Machado's father on his son's tough fight and told a friend that this handsome kid with a sheepish, mischievous grin showed real promise if he could only muscle up and strengthen his serve. I later discovered that Machado was not nineteen or twenty as I had imagined, but twenty-four. His father probably recognized Machado's brave duel with Verdasco as a shining highlight in his son's professional career, not a stepping stone to fame and fortune, as I originally assumed.

When I was younger, watching professional tennis players inspired me to emulate their strokes and distinctive styles. Now, my return from the U.S. Open only brings heartbreak. The raptures I experience while gliding across the court on Federer's nimble toes, belting topspin forehands with Nadal's bulky forearms, or hitting impossible drop volleys with Murray's soft hands only highlight my own limitations as a tennis player when I'm on the court alone. Because my game is based on moving opponents from side to side and outlasting them from the baseline, I realize my future as a competitive player is as threadbare as the cartilage in my knees. Rather than play matches, I prefer simply to hit and crave the exhilaration of long rallies. Until recently, when I found myself in tight situations during match play, I often tightened up, thinking that a win would redeem a day's unforced errors or at least make up for playing it safe for a few games. After watching Machado going for broke in the most important match of his life and seeing how easily Cash and Wilander had jettisoned their own competitive urges in their forties, I realized I would never take myself quite as seriously in tennis, in life, or at work. Now, facing a match or set point, I don't grunt or tense up, but simply take a deep breath and hum the words to the Neville Brothers' version of an old Leonard Cohen song:

Like a bird on the wire, like a drunk in a midnight choir

I have tried in my way to be free...

Don't cry no more don't cry

It's completed, oh it's finished

It's been paid for

Like a bird free

There's a bird free

And I'm soaring on my own knees, at least for now.

ON TEACHING EXERCISE PHYSIOLOGY: ENERGY FOR ESCAPE AND THE WIENER DOG BRIGADE

*WILLIAM “TURI” BRAUN
SHIPPENSBURG UNIVERSITY*

Adenosine tri-phosphate (ATP) is the chemical compound of life. A heart fails to beat; a thought is not processed; a cell fails if the body’s production of this compound ceases. It is the compound that enables biologic work to occur. It is the back-drop of many lectures involving exercise physiology and human metabolism I teach. At times, my lectures pertain to how energy is used to facilitate performance of physical work. But, the simple fact is, energy is necessary for survival. To that end, I often employ survival in my lectures so my students can appreciate the limitations of pathways used to produce ATP in a more concrete way while also gaining a sense of why these pathways have developed. Of course, when talking about survival, it doesn’t hurt to twist in a smidgen of humor here and there. My hope is that the importance of energy to existence still filters through. What follows is an embellishment of a scenario I present to my students in questioning their appreciation and understanding of energy supply along with limitations to energy supply.

My breath grows deeper as I trudge up a hill, sacrificing energy to drive my muscles to transport my brain and body around a loop of indeterminate distance. Images of students I knew flit across my mind like reflections against a windshield as it moves across time and space, propelled by fossil fuels. Nothing lingers, only flashes of times and events skim across my mental plate: interactions fall aside as I struggle for a firmer grasp of flitting memories.

As I plod on toward the next bend, my mind begins to wrap around producing answers to simple physiology concepts:

$Q = HR \times SV$...how much blood is my heart pumping each minute as I climb this hill?

$MAP = DBP + .33(SBP-DBP)$...how is my blood pressure responding to this work? To what extent have those hundreds of pounds of buffalo wings over the years impacted my cholesterol and blood vessels?

$VO_2 = Q \times a-vO_2 \text{ difference}$ – the Fick equation...

how much oxygen am I using to do this work?
How many calories am I spending? Enough to justify another plate of wings?

$RPP = HR \times SBP$...How hard is my heart working? How much can it really tolerate?

The physical task at hand makes it nearly impossible for me to drive the focus I need to arrive at meaningful values. Yet, I still struggle with the effort to put numbers to these formulas. While I absorb myself in the math, the perception of my body’s work diminishes, as does my sense of the world in which I am jogging.

Abruptly, my mind abandons the dream-state of physiology and crashes into the present labor of my physical being as my surroundings re-emerge.

The sounds of short-legged, snarling-faced, rabid-eyed and gnashing-teethed dogs arise in the present reality: the wiener dog brigade (WDB) has made an appearance and I am its target.

Instantaneously, I face the immediacy of short legs and viciously wagging tails that serve as powerful propulsive forces careening towards me... “pitter patter, pitter patter, gnash, snarl, bark, yip!” My lectures involuntarily flit back into my mind. I pose the question to my students: “Who would you rather be: a marathoner, an ice hockey player, a power lifter, a volleyball player?”

Fear grips me and a pacifist nature binds me. Turning and kicking is not an option. Escape is the only answer. My instruction becomes my reality.

I promptly change course to place distance and direction between me and the WDB. But, the brigade remains in hot pursuit “pitter patter, pitter patter, snarl, yip!, gnash, snarl, bark!”

A rabid, depraved spirit drives them...limitations of my physiology frighten me. Really, what are my chances? Which trained athlete should I be to have the greatest likelihood of safe escape?

As I charge on, my alternate-self options begin to wane...the power lifter succumbs to the snarling mass (They are great to have around to help you move or to pull an engine from a car, but if you hope they will carry you to safety in the face of a WDB onslaught, you are in trouble; despite all that strength, their muscles are not well-equipped for flight; their mass slows them down, making them an easy target for the WDB.).

The volleyball player is not far behind (If only the WDB were chained up, the volleyball player might be able to leap over, but durable running spirit is not a strength of their tremendous short-term fitness.). As I look over my shoulder, I see the WDB is closing. It's down to my two remaining options: the marathoner and the hockey player.

I continue to charge on and begin to note the warning signs of muscular fatigue and imminent failure building on my muscles. My quads are beginning to burn from acidosis as my glycolysis pathway takes on the burden of providing my muscle fibers with ATP as rapidly as is possible.

My mind strives to refocus: "Am I better off as the marathoner or the hockey player? Damn! How much lactic acid can those wiener dogs tolerate?"

I push on and chance one last glimpse over my shoulder. The marathoner falls to the wayside, failing due to limited tolerance of such extremely high rates of acid accumulation in the muscles (The marathoner has tremendous ability at covering great distances, but escapism is another story, their muscles just can't deal with such high rates of acid accumulation!).

My mind fills with the rationalization of survival: "I am a hockey player wannabe! I can tolerate the acid accumulation better...it's the nature of what I do."

My legs call out: "REDUCE THE LOAD!" I refuse as the limits of my tolerance rapidly approach.

I transfer, again, back to lecture: "Why is lactic acid produced?" (The answer is to drive the rapid availability of NAD+. This compound permits glycolysis to continue to produce ATP rapidly, but at the same time also leading to rapid lactic acid accumulation. It all boils down to tolerance of lactic acid production in the end). I chant to myself: "So glycolysis can continue to make ATP!"

I try to ignore the downside of this method for producing ATP: acid accumulation and imminent fatigue. Failure.

Yet, even as I give thanks to this pathway for its ability to make ATP so rapidly, the painfully harsh reality surfaces: it also dooms my work capacity on account of the lactic acid production that shuts down the enzymes that drive the glycolysis pathway.

The present re-emerges again. I risk another look over my shoulder just as my leg muscles begin to seize up...they flounder forward in a humiliating display of rapidly diminishing gait control...my pace rapidly falls off against my will...my legs feel as if they are out of my control.

I brace myself for the gnashing little teeth impacting my flesh and for a regimen of physician-prescribed rabies

shots. Blood pounds in my ears. My heart seems to want to burst forth from my chest. The "pitter patter, pitter patter, snarl, gnash, bark, yip!, yip!" has stopped!

I turn to re-assess the situation. A handful of wiener dogs snap and gnash at wind currents passing by their tiny heads as their short little quivering legs come to a pensive halt 30 yards back.

Clearly, they were not hockey players. I only imagined myself to be one.

I allow myself to fall back to a tolerable recovery pace and plod on, still working to create a greater distance between me and the WDB. I am thankful for the physiology that enables me to move and that drives me nuts by virtue of appreciating its limitations.

One more bend in the road and I stop. Home. Safe. And still able to produce ATP.

The next time will be another day. I ask myself: "Does their rabid spirit permit the WDB to dream of better success? Will they train? Who will they be next time?"

EXPLANATION OF TERMS:

MAP is mean arterial pressure (the average pressure that the arterial system encounters during a cardiac cycle—filling and emptying of blood from the heart). DBP is diastolic blood pressure (pressure in the vascular system during the filling phase of the cardiac cycle—the heart is re-filling with blood); SBP is systolic blood pressure (pressure in the vascular system during heart contraction—when the heart pumps the blood to the body).

Q is the abbreviation for cardiac output (or flow). It represents how much blood the heart pumps per minute and is a product of SV (stroke volume is the volume of blood pumped per beat of the heart) and HR (heart rate is the number of beats of the heart per minute)

VO₂ is the volume of oxygen used by the body each minute (to produce ATP). It is a product of the cardiac output (Q) and the difference between arterial oxygen content and venous oxygen content (it tells how much oxygen was delivered to the muscle and how much oxygen is making its way out of the muscle, thereby telling us how much oxygen the muscle used to help make ATP).

RPP is rate pressure product (heart rate x systolic blood pressure). It helps indicate how hard the heart has to work during any state. It can also imply oxygen use of the heart muscle. If two people do the same task, say walking at 3.0 mph, one person will likely have a higher RPP than the other, indicating that this walking pace places a greater stress on the heart of the person with the higher value. With training and improved fitness, the work of the heart is reduced for the same workload.

Glycolysis. This method of producing ATP is quite rapid and requires the availability of carbohydrate as its sole fuel source. When exercise is very intense, this becomes a preferred method of making ATP. As described, the down-side is when this pathway is running at high rates, it produces lactic acid at high rates and this is widely accepted as a primary cause of fatigue during intense exercise. Two other pathways exist for making ATP. All pathways have their limitations. The marathoner is quite adept at using the aerobic pathway, while the power lifter and the volleyball player will use a bit of glycolysis and something known as the ATP-Phosphocreatine pathway (very rapid, but also extremely limited ATP production capacity). The hockey player requires tremendous involvement from the glycolysis pathway so he/she builds a very high tolerance of acid accumulation.

SPORTS, EXERCISE, AND RECREATION: A BRIEF EXPLORATION

RUSSELL E. ROBINSON
SHIPPENSBURG UNIVERSITY

This issue of *Proteus* examines Sports, Exercise, and Recreation—is a very relevant topic for not only the American culture but for most of the world. For many of us, sport encompasses and can even consume much of our lives and for the remainder it is hard to escape the impact of how sport is intertwined in most of our mainstream and popular culture. It plays a large role in shaping and molding our American social and cultural landscape. This is evident by viewing the largest section of most newspapers: sports. It is also easily witnessed by the number of television networks dedicated to its coverage.

The 2008 Summer Olympic coverage was some of the largest in history. We were flooded with images of athletes competing in a large variety of sporting events. Sport and the exercise required to achieve the athletic excellence observed remains fresh for most of the viewing public. The modern Olympic movement was developed with an Olympic Spirit of “building a peaceful and better world through mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship and solidarity.”¹ This spirit attempts to bring global unity and national pride through fair play. The fair play model of competition promotes an environment that allows the individual with the best skill or behavior at a given task to be successful. This competitive environment allows the application of the Olympic motto of “*Citius, Altius, Fortius*” (faster, higher, stronger). Striving for these goals require the discipline that is needed for Sport excellence. The values acquired through this type of discipline can yield many lifetime skills and educational tools.

Baron Pierre de Coubertin, the recognized Father of the modern Olympic movement, wanted athleticism and fitness to be an everyday part of life.² He developed the idea of the Olympic Creed from a speech given by Bishop Ethelbert Talbot at a service for Olympic champions during the 1908 Olympic Games. The Olympic Creed reads:

The most important thing in the Olympic Games is not to win but to take part, just as the most important thing in life is not the triumph but the struggle. The essential thing is not to have conquered but to have fought well.³

The creed and motto are meant to spur the athletes to embrace the Olympic spirit and perform to the best of their abilities. This basic principle of hard work and dedication to the accomplishment of a goal could help anyone achieve excellence in mastering any goal or task.

The United States has fully embraced the modern Olympic movement. From 1896 to 2008, the United States has won the most summer Olympic medals thirteen of twenty-five times (excluding the 1980 U.S. boycott).² It is ironic that while the American culture has embraced and celebrated the discipline required for the achievement of excellence, it has evolved into a very sedentary and over indulgent group of people who lacks the discipline for the maintenance of a healthy body structure. The “obesogenic” lifestyle of inactivity and the over indulgence in good-tasting, high-calorie foods have produced the highest obesity rates in United States history and maybe the history of the planet.

The Center for Disease Control (CDC) reports the prevalence of obesity has increased from 13 percent in 1960 to about 33 percent in 2004, and more than 66 percent of American adults are overweight.⁴ Overweight and obesity are both labels for ranges of weight that are greater than what is generally considered healthy for a given height. The terms also identify ranges of weight that have been shown to increase the likelihood of certain diseases and other health problems. For adults, overweight and obesity ranges are determined by using weight and height to calculate a number called the “body mass index” (BMI). BMI is used because, for most people, it correlates with their amount of body fat. An adult who has a BMI between 25 and 29.9 is considered overweight and an adult who has a BMI of 30 or higher is considered obese.⁴

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The most widely discussed questions in the health care environment center around the causal factors that have contributed to the epidemic. Many environmental factors have been hypothesized. In a recent article by John Peters published in the January 2006 issue of the *Exercise and Sport Sciences Reviews* of the American College of Sport Medicine,⁷ he shares a variety of thoughts and opinions, with all of them centered on the energy balance equation. This equation is based on the balance of an individual's energy intake with their energy output or expenditure. Basic laws of thermodynamics and energy transfer support the theory that an energy intake greater than expenditure produces weight gain.

The United States Department of Agriculture reports the average caloric intake among American adults increased by more than 500 calories per day between 1970 and 2003. Peters suggests much of this increase is attributed to increased convenience and easy food access, lower food cost, increased portion size, great taste through added sugar and high fat, and effective advertising and marketing. The CDC reports during this same time period 75 percent of American adults are physically inactive with 40 percent getting no exercise at all.⁴ Peters also suggests this can be attributed to sedentary workplaces and schools, "unfriendly" community designs, automobiles and drive-through conveniences, sedentary entertainment, and other labor saving devices.⁷ The \$40 billion weight loss industry has created confusion with the advertising and marketing of many quick weight loss diets and activity programs. Most in the scientific community agree a decrease in energy intake and an increase in energy expenditure is the key to weight loss and management. The problem is creating a cultural shift that generates the appropriate lifestyle that will contribute to an energy balance.

This positive energy imbalance that created the obesity problem was addressed in the 1996 Surgeon General's Report. This report attempted to shift the focus from an exercise based approach to the problem to an increased physical activity model. Exercise is a type of physical activity and has traditionally been defined as planned, structured, and repetitive with the goal of improving or maintaining one or more components of physical fitness.⁶ Physical activity is defined as bodily movement that is produced by the contraction of skeletal muscle and increases energy expenditure.⁶ The report moved from the exercise-based approach by recommending individuals should try and accumulate a moderate amount of physical activity on most if not all days of the week. It further described a moderate amount of physical activity as physical activity that uses approximately 150 calories (kcal) of energy per day, or 1,000 calories per week. Additionally, the recommended duration and intensity of different activities for achievement of this goal were included in the report. Recommended activities ranged from 15 minutes of high intensity stair climbing to washing and waxing a car for 45–60 minutes. The main conclusion was to increase energy expenditure by creating and implementing strategies that encourage more movement in an individual's daily lifestyle.

Participating in recreational activities may be one of the preferred methods for increasing energy expenditure. Recreational activities are in many forms with most activities being pleasurable experiences. Many of the definitions link recreation with activities or hobbies that are personally interesting and enjoyable. Most definitions of recreation include descriptors, such as, refreshment, renewal, relaxation, diversion, enjoyment and play. Not all forms of recreation include movement that allows for the optimal amount of energy expenditure and some forms can be primarily sedentary. Sedentary forms of recreation may include activities such as playing cards, billiards, bowling, and board or video games. These sedentary activities may be pleasurable but may utilize smaller amounts of muscle and produce limited amounts of energy expenditure. Movement-based recreational activities that utilize larger amounts of muscle mass for extended periods of time should produce the largest amount of energy expenditure. These may include outdoor activities such as, biking, swimming, hiking and camping, canoeing, or fishing and hunting. Pleasurable activities that produce the largest amount of energy expenditure could provide part of the answer in combating the excessive weight gain and obesity associated with a sedentary culture.

The study of human movement involves many subdisciplines and is not limited to the analysis of the physiological response to activity or the biomechanical description of complex skills. Subdisciplines such as history and philosophy, psychology, sociology, and even economics and business need to be included when trying to gain a deeper understanding of the complexities of human movement and its impacts on the surrounding environment, economy, and culture. This edition of *Proteus* examines Sports, Exercise, and Recreation through a very diverse collection of articles from many of these subdisciplines. Please enjoy the collection.

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THE TRANSITION

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Transition- movement, passage, or change from one position, state, stage, subject, concept, etc.

What does all that mean in the realm of everyday life for athletes, students, professionals, and politicians as well?

Transition is the one thing everyone will face in their lives. I chose to write about transition because I'm in the midst of the biggest transition I've faced since the birth of my children: professional transition. After fifteen years I have just retired from professional football.

It has been well documented many professional athletes struggle when they leave the game. What happens to these immortal men when the "lights have been turned off?" Quite honestly, it hasn't been a very pretty picture for a lot of athletes. I decided long before my "lights were turned off" I wasn't going to be one of those players who just couldn't let it go. I had overcome other transitions in my life and this would be no different.

There have been many transitions I had to endure. The first time I experienced transition was when we moved from Washington, D.C. to Maryland. Though only separated by about twenty miles, for a fourteen-year old it seemed like 200 miles. Being separated from lifelong friends for the first time was very tough and there were a few trying moments. However it wasn't long before I found a new set of friends and moved past those tense moments I experienced leaving D.C. Even at a young age I was able to accept change, turn the page, and move forward.

Another transition was the deaths of my mother and brother within a year and a half. I'm not sure if I handled either of those transitions very well, but I guess that is to be expected when you suddenly lose loved ones. Looking back, I believe I applied the same thought process I did when I was fourteen. I wasn't going to let my emotions take my mind to a place I wasn't prepared to be. I believe willing the mind to handle a situation is the first step in dealing with anything.

The transitions I've faced were hard to deal with on many levels. I tried to bring those same coping mechanisms to the National Football League (NFL).

If we polled most young boys who grew up playing or watching football, they would tell you playing in the NFL would be the ultimate dream. It was no different for me. Upon graduation from SHIP, I got the opportunity to make that dream a reality. I knew it would be a tough road coming from tiny Shippensburg University. SHIP had never had a player make it to the NFL.

In 1993 while working at Town Cleaners in downtown Shippensburg, I received a telephone call from the New York Jets offering me a contract and a chance to come tryout for their team. I can still recall the joy and excitement my family, as well as my SHIP family, felt when I got that call. I had enjoyed a very successful college career and this was a chance to test my skills on a much bigger stage. As I boarded an airplane for only the second time in my life, my first thought was I hope we make it to New York safely! My second thought was, do I have what it takes to play at the highest level? This was a big time transition staring me right in the face. I signed with the Jets with a \$2500 signing bonus. Most of my family and friends thought I was guaranteed ten years and millions of dollars. That wasn't the case as I was only guaranteed the chance to tryout.

Like most rookies in the NFL I came in like a little kid, looking around at all the players I had watched play for so many years. Boomer Esiason from the University of Maryland was the quarterback, I remembered watching him play when I was in high school. Now we shared the same locker room.

Players in the National Football League were a lot bigger and faster than what I was used to at Shippensburg, but I felt I was still up for the challenge. It didn't take long in training camp before I knew this journey wasn't

going to be an easy one. At the end of training camp I was asked to bring my play book to the coach's office. I was told I wasn't going to make the team. Though it was a tough pill to swallow, I had been through several transitions before.

I would have to swallow a few more pills. I was fired three more times over the next four years. I was cut by the Jets again in 1994, the Chiefs in 1995, and the Bears in 1997. I did make the Chicago Bears team in 1996 only to lose my job a year later. As one can imagine, this wasn't the path I had envisioned. However, it was the "hand I was dealt" and I had every intention of playing it out.

Midway through the 1997 season, I was signed by the Green Bay Packers. I knew I was running out of chances to fulfill my dream of playing more than one year in the NFL. It was do or die time because I had already decided I would hang up my cleats for good the next time I was cut. I came to Green Bay with one goal: to make a career in the NFL.

When I arrived in Green Bay, just one year removed from their Super Bowl XXXI victory over the New England Patriots, the Packers had a very good team without a lot of missing links. However their long snapper got injured which opened the door for me to come in. I nailed that door shut and threw away the hammer.

I had finally made a team again and I was going to do everything in my power to make good on the promise I had made to myself: give it your all and let the chips fall where they fall. I was able to put together what is now the third longest consecutive games played streak in the history of this storied franchise. Imagine a player from tiny Shippensburg University being mentioned next to players like Brett Favre and Forrest Gregg, the only two players to play more consecutive games than me. I played 167 consecutive games in the Green and Gold, and 203 total games before I walked away. I had somehow played football from the age of 8 to 39.

That brings me to where I am today.

I ask myself why it is so difficult for people to handle life's transitions? I know there are a lot of different answers but here is how I have always looked at transition. I believe we all have a purpose and a passion in life, even if they are difficult to identify. As athletes I think it is important to know it is not a matter of IF the game will end, it's WHEN the game will end. Knowing that ahead of time, makes it important to start working on an exit plan early. This plan will help make those tough transitions easier.

Being financially prepared is only half of the battle. Most people outside professional sports think if an athlete has millions of dollars, the transition should be easy. That is NOT TRUE. It is those athletes with the most money who have probably done the least amount of post-career preparation. I had to prepare because from a salary stand point I knew I wasn't going to be "set for life." What does that mean anyway? I never knew when that next pink slip was coming.

Armed with those thoughts I spent the better part of the last fifteen years preparing for this past March. How would I like to be identified when the "lights have been turned off?" What am I going to do with the financial head start I had been given? Finally, was I able to find another PURPOSE or PASSION away from football?

It is those questions I ask my players as the director of player development with the Packers. In my new role, it is my job to help players with transition. I assist them when they come into the league, throughout their career, and when their careers near an end. The earlier a player starts working on his exit strategy, the more prepared he'll be when it comes. The NFL has a wide range of programs to help players achieve this and I have developed some additional programs as well.

I was able to see firsthand what happens when a player retires without a plan. Brett Favre and I retired three weeks apart. Brett has been one of the most popular athletes in the world over the last decade. I saw the struggle he had when he walked away from the game that he loved so much. Brett is financially "set for life." However, I don't know if he had a passion away from the game. This can make that transition difficult. Is why he continues to play because of not having anything to fill that void of not playing football? You have to love the game to play as long and as well as he has. But there comes a time when it will end. Then what? I feel if he had identified his purpose and passions away from football he would have been better off. As it was, he struggled with the transition and has been subject to criticism. However, I am glad it came to light because it shows that even the best of the best will struggle with that transition.

In closing, I think we should allow our minds to expand beyond our comfort zones. This will better prepare us when we are faced with life's transitions. Preparation doesn't have to take away from what you are currently doing. It will simply enhance it because the fear of tomorrow will not dominate today.

FIVE FOOT FEAT: CATHERINE COLE'S INTERSUBJECTIVE DISMODERNIST AESTHETIC

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In September 2002 I attended a dance performance, *Five Foot Feat*, featuring the collaboration of Catherine Cole and Christopher Pilafian at the University of California, Berkeley. Cole is a theater scholar and artist who began dancing after losing one of her legs to cancer. Her show addressed the themes of independence versus interdependence, prosthetics versus unaided movement, and the search for new forms of ability. Cole detached her prosthetic leg in front of the audience during her show. In a post-show discussion, she admitted that in negotiating space with one less leg, she had to literally dance in order to regain locomotive efficiency.¹ This self-recognized relationship between disability and performance as mutually-assistive rather than mutually-exclusive partners in a dance toward functionality is central to my thesis: disability redefines performance as performance redefines ability.

Cole realizes that on the dance floor, her prosthetic leg inhibits her movement, so she enters wearing it and promptly takes it off. She holds it beside her such that the audience witnesses an instantaneous transformation from the artifice of her assisted body (as falsely complete) to the actuality of her non-assisted body (as whole in a new way). She dances the rest of the show in this second body, with and without the aid of crutches. In one section, she dances supported by two non-disabled partners who lift her and treat her body as an organic extension of their own. When all three dancers perform an arm movement simultaneously, they act as a unified whole—one unit with five feet and six arms. They are, collectively, the body of the future.

Although prostheses are functionally beneficial to individuals who need them for purposes of mobility, Cole's rejection of her attachment raises an important issue: if a one-legged person can dance a duet or a trio with two-legged performers to support her such that her body-as-

is becomes an integral part of the movement, this dance reflects a perspective that incorporates disability as a given movement circumstance. Cole's environment changes to accommodate her impairment rather than excludes her because she only has one leg. Her ability depends on the support of her fellow non-disabled dancers, who work to accommodate rather than stigmatize her physical difference. She makes a conscious choice between prosthetic functionality and movement that depends on other non-disabled bodies.



Five Foot Feat. Dancers: Matthew Adams,
Catherine Cole, Christopher Pilafian.

Photo: Djamel E. Ramoul

Whereas prostheses remake the disabled body in the image of the non-disabled, Cole's partners support her non-prosthetic physical difference as a means to movement innovation. Cole strives to bring images of disability to the stage that refashion the concept of ability and the body in ways that encourage audiences to recognize their

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own *cultural* impairments. Her body with the prosthetic leg attached to it appears more whole, more normal to viewers who have no other models for understanding how amputees can be dancers; and yet this artificial attachment is what impairs Cole's movement. She rejects both the prosthetic leg and the assumption that, as a dancer, she needs this artifice to be functional or complete.

Beyond the stereotypes and the misconceptions about disability, there is space on the stage for new images of equality, self-determination, and an inclusive subjectivity where disability is the norm rather than the anomaly. As Lennard Davis indicates in the title of his introductory chapter for *Bending Over Backwards*, "People With Disability: They Are You."² Rather than making the assumption if a person is currently non-disabled they will remain this way, Davis stresses the inevitable likelihood each individual will experience some form of impairment in his or her lifetime, be it temporary or permanent. Impairment and disability are therefore not outside but rather inside the realm of daily human possibility.

In Davis's vision of the world, people with disabilities are everyone everywhere. All people have the potential for impairment. Of course, there are inherent dangers in Davis's push to abandon disability as a minority identity. At its worst, this move resembles an earlier postmodern one in which white male European scholars ran around shouting "The author is dead!" just at the time when minority women came to authorial prominence. At its best, this expansion and/or evacuation of disability identity could mainstream disability to the extent that, for example, theater seasons might include disability performance as readily as their standard Chekhov or Shakespeare. At this point, I'm not holding my breath, but optimism may breed innovation. With disability, the fight for representational space and time in the performing arts is still about achieving access. Once we have secured this, then theater scholars can begin to deconstruct a disabled identity category.

Carrie Sandahl suggests in her article, "Considering Disability: Disability Phenomenology's Role in Revolutionizing Theatrical Space," that what lies beyond the initial phase of increased access for disability performers is a larger project of rebuilding the landscape of American theater. She believes "as we expand our idea of what makes up a representable body, we expand our idea of how to arrange space."³ In this spatial reconfiguration, anything from the seating arrangement to stage wheelchair access should change to accommodate performers and audience members with disabilities. But even beyond this architectural adjustment, Sandahl argues for an aesthetic adjustment that takes disability into account: "In disability contexts, innovative use of space for the performance and audience members becomes part of the communication aesthetic rather than an awkward appendage."⁴ She questions how our "adaptive maneuvers" might foster and demand "alternative aesthetic choices" in ways that "transform the aesthetics and use of theatrical space altogether."⁵ This transformation would therefore be less about simply mainstreaming theater spaces to accom-

modate disability and more about transforming the idea of theater itself; disability would be less an afterthought and more an instrumental part of how stage space accommodates all bodies.

Spatial and corporeal reconfiguration from disability perspectives on stage offers physical examples for generating new models of social interaction. In the introduction to his book, *Hearing Voices: Modern Drama and the Problem of Subjectivity*, John Lutterbie approaches this same kind of reconfiguration from a modern drama perspective. He touches on issues that resonate with Sandahl's argument about changing spatial aesthetics in ways that broaden her position to include a conversation on subjectivity as it is mapped in space. Lutterbie asserts: "...the means by which we shape the limits of our bodies is crucial to determining how we locate ourselves in relation to difference. An investigation of this spatial topography is necessary if a theory of intersubjectivity is to be thought through that will allow us to imagine an aesthetics of the self on which to base an ethics for interacting with others."⁶ In other words, if we can learn to look at Catherine Cole or others with bodies beyond the normative pale as recognizable rather than as foreign or unacceptable, physical disability will be a less stigmatized difference. The non-disabled fear of losing limbs or functionality should not dictate social interactions with disabled individuals. Watching Cole dance with one leg on stage at first jars standard expectations of what this disabled body can do, and then her movement becomes familiar as we learn to adjust to her difference. What better place to start when re-mapping intersubjective stage spaces than with an aesthetics of the disabled self? Surely this new system promotes interaction that embraces and accommodates difference as well as fostering an ethics of inclusion.

If contemporary disability performance could manage to re-map the spatial limits of bodies, as Lutterbie suggests, Cole's concept of a "five foot feat" might extend beyond the stage. When she is lifted, her single leg extends up to the sky in a gesture of defiance; she and her partners form a unicorn, unfettered by that sixth lower limb. If I could choose one image to exemplify Lutterbie's intersubjective aesthetics of the self, this would be it. Three bodies—one disabled dancer flanked by two non-disabled partners—working together to create intersubjective equality on the stage. There is no hierarchy in this trio; all bodies form equal parts of the collective whole. Each one helps and is helped by the others. No one is left out. This is the clearest benefit of mixed-ability performance; each dancer adds what he or she is able to contribute to the work, and all three depend on each other as parts of a mutually-sustaining whole. These dancers embody a paradigm shift from independent ability to interdependent mixed-ability, a more inclusive system where performers' differences create alternative partnering.

In 2002 at Berkeley, Davis gave a lecture that spoke to this need for inclusion and disability's potential role in crafting a new, dismodernist subjectivity. He argued in favor of a new ethics of the body that should begin with

rather than end with disability. Davis's dismodern subject is dependent on technologies and support networks in order to achieve and maintain functionality. In dismodern culture, independence becomes a recognized interdependence where ability relies on assistance.

If we take Davis's definitions of the dismodern subject out of their disability context for a moment, his argument about universal disability seems more familiar. Who in contemporary first-world environments is not dependent on technology and/or other support networks for self-maintenance? If we recognize our interdependence on these technologies and other people as a fundamental disability concept, disability seems more familiar and less like an unknown experience. Borrowing Richard Schechner's "not character, not-not character" acting theory, the average individual would be not-disabled but also not-not-disabled.⁷

If Americans embrace and adjust to Davis's conceptual challenge to see themselves and the world around them as disabled, the question arises as to who will be in control of how we re-envision disability. I agree with Davis that we marginalize disability as a minority identity, but the biggest danger in fully mainstreaming disability—to the extent it becomes more of a norm—is stereotyping. The goal, according to performance artist Karen Finley, should not be solely mainstreaming minority representatives into dominant culture, but rather "mainstreaming radical aesthetics and ideas"⁸ such that the majority culture changes. We might call this activity mainstreaming with a difference.

If we reject the concept of guaranteed corporeal or cognitive wholeness and embrace fragmentation as a new paradigm, people with disabilities will no longer be lacking. They will be different, and in many respects, they will be what Davis has termed a "neo-identity" in a "dismodernist" world.⁹ In this world, disability is the rule rather than the exception; humanity acknowledges rather than rejects a fragmented subjectivity as the only possible existence. It is a return to the actual after post-modern theorists have exploded and discredited the real in favor of simulacrum without taking disability into account: after all, disability often necessitates a marriage of real and simulated elements.

The postmodern subject (or lack thereof) is outdated; Davis offers the dismodern subject in its place. Impairment demands cyber equipment in today's highly technical world of medical engineering and receives the actual response of prosthetics, wheelchairs, canes, and implants, for better or for worse. With paraplegics, quadriplegics, and amputees, man's dependency on machine overrides earlier separations in favor of functionality. Postmodernism adopted fragmentation as a purely theoretical concept in relation to the body and discourse, but dismodernism begins with an actual rather than theoretical base. Dismodernism never claims an original whole body as the

ideal, so physical fragmentation replaces wholeness as the new norm, an ever-present possibility.

When Catherine Cole faces her audience and removes her prosthetic leg, she re-enacts her amputation. Audiences are struck by the immediate horror of this detachment and then either adjust to her one-legged form or continue to process her altered body as strange, awkward, non-human. The first moment of removal places viewers in a position similar to Cole's upon losing her leg. Where did it go? What are we supposed to do with the visual space of absence that had previously been occupied by at least a simulation of the real leg? No amount of humor or virtuosity will replace this limb. In the end, it is the actuality of Cole's one-legged presence that overrides our trepidation. She is not-us but not-not-us. Cole's presence forces us to adjust to this new body as she herself has done. The difference of her body changes our perceptions of what is humanly, actually, possible.

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ATHLETIC BODIES AND THE BODIES OF ATHLETES: A CRITIQUE OF THE SPORTING BUILD

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The sculpture is very aptly called *Representation of Sport*. All six figures are strong-looking men: oversized arms capped by broad shoulders, well developed and defined pectoral muscles, a strong and taut waist of transparent skin, and bulging calves and thighs of perfect proportions that end in those small and hard buttocks that support a thick back carved by deep ridges of muscle. They are also young. One cannot help but relate it to the Greek and Roman statues that have acted as canons of male beauty and power through history. The fact that this is an obscure work by an unfamiliar sculptor from Navarre, a small province in northern Spain, actually underscores the point that for all its provincialism it actually embodies a universal “understanding” of what athletes are supposed to look like. Unlike soft, overweight bodies that are scorned, emaciated ones that are scoffed at, or ordinary builds that are “too plain” to deserve a second look, the body of the athlete elicits a conscious, long, and desiring gaze. These are beautiful, powerful bodies that we should marvel at, lust after, and strive for.

—F. Orduna *Representation of Sport*, in *Arte Navarro 1850-1940*. Departamento de Educación y Cultura. Gobierno de Navarra.

Mainstream and orthodox views present both the bodies of athletes and bodies that look athletic as innocuous and attractive ideals for the rest of us to admire, desire, and even emulate. Moreover the endorsement of these bodies concurrently divests them from political and normative overtones that might raise a questioning eyebrow with regard to their docility at the hands of the powers that be, or even their status as *the* beautiful bodies *par excellance*. This artificially narrows down the range of acceptable somatotypes at our disposal, both conceptually and physically. Presently, I take a critical look at these bodies and the conventional postures that support them. An initial analysis of the distinction between the bodies of athletes and athletic bodies is subsequently followed by the conceptual and historical development of our current eulogizing discourse of the athletic body. The inquiry is primarily done on (of) the surface of these bodies, reflecting and focusing on two of the allegedly most conspicuous meanings that first meet our gaze when we look at them: their power and beauty

Three caveats apply to this discussion.¹ One: appellations such as “neoclassical body” or similar soubriquets will refer to the officially sanctioned athletic physique, a description of which is given in the narrative next to Orduna’s *Representation of Sport* above. Two: it must be unequivocally emphasized the neoclassical athletic physique is male. As Miller states “the male body is the standard currency of sporting discourse” (1995:1). This brings attention to an absence that concretely shows how the *status quo* favors certain body types and represses others, both overtly and implicitly: in this instance, the female body is invisible from the “sanctioned” athletic discourse—narrative and pictorial. The forced imperceptibility and silence of actual—not idealized—women athletes’ bodies should shine and resonate brighter and louder than lightning and thunderclap, but is generally ignored at best or vilified at worse.ⁱⁱ Three: another hushed topic concerns race. In the West, at least, stereotypes and superficial glances only reveal a loaded set of dice that roll, unerringly, on the side of bodies whose skin mirrors the white surface of marble

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statues. Even the much lauded black athlete is celebrated more for the “animality” than the sense of classical beauty.ⁱⁱⁱ In the end, the wish is that these comments echo in readers long after the reading is over, with the insistence of whispered but persistent reverberations condensing into memories.

Training: The fabrication of the athlete and the athletic body

It is customary to speak of athletic bodies and the bodies of athletes interchangeably, reflecting common conceptions of what athletes look like and representations of them in the media and the popular imagination. Moreover, there seems to be a *prima facie* plausibility for such a conflation on linguistic and even conceptual levels. This seems incorrect, for there is an actual, embodied marked difference between these two types of builds. To state it bluntly: not all bodies of athletes are athletic, and not all athletic bodies belong to athletes.

The goal of those who covet the athletic look is to possess, to incorporate, the kind of body incarnated in our idealized Ordunian representations of sport. These bodies are sculpted according to canons underwritten by prototypical Greek sculptural standards, whereas bodies of athletes have been shaped by the particular motions of sporting activity and may or may not resemble statuesque portrayals. The athletic physique profusely adorns the covers and pictorials of exercise and health magazines, advertisements of cologne, jeans, and exercise equipment, and is also sported by many assiduous gym-goers. Usually, the goal of those seeking that look is to sculpt an athletic body that is neither too muscular nor displays any of the common physical imbalances of *actual* athletes. This kind of build engages in body sculpting, not bodybuilding: symmetry, definition, controlled hypertrophy, appearance—versus functionality—and its display are its trademarks. Much like the Romans strove to copy the perfect proportions embodied by the Greek statues today many seek to clone such proportions in the flesh. This is hardly surprising as for many people the athletic body displays a spectacular appearance that captures gazes and imaginations the way the athletic feat does.

On the other side, the somatic goal of the athlete lies in the particular *telos* of a specific sports activity: The athlete seeks to produce a body that will *perform* best for the athletic or sporting contest of choice. Particular sports emphasize different movements, muscles, and skills that will typically get in the way of actually developing a statuesque aspect *à la Discobolus*. Hargreaves states “the primary focus of attention in sport as a whole is the body and its attributes—its strength, skill, endurance, speed, grace, style, shape and general appearance are tested and /or put on display” (1986: 13). However, we should be discriminating at this point and realize that, unless engaged in a sport where corporeal aesthetics are overtly constitutive, athletes are primarily interested in furthering their progress in their sport regardless of the aesthetic effects such pursuit has. Appearance is definitely secondary to

and dependent on the performance: winning, or setting a record or personal best is the objective. Indeed, even those attributes that bespeak of bodily grace are for the most part determined performatively.^{iv} Among those primarily seeking the athletic body, they may or may not engage in a sport with competitive goals, the crucial difference lying in their unwillingness to sacrifice their look for the primary and specific goals of the sport. Narcissus would make for a poor athlete. In short, one prizes an aesthetic aspect that seeks perfect proportions, the other favors a purely sporting activity centered on athletic contest.

A perfunctory visual analysis of putative members of both groups, athletes and athletic-bodies, shows a certain overlap. Some athletes do possess a neoclassical body. Track and field star Carl Lewis, swimmer Mark Spitz, or diver Greg Louganis are so constituted. But the athletic body among athletes is the exception rather than the rule. The somatic reality of actual athletes is dissonant and unharmonious, and contrasts sharply and loudly with the perfect and melodious tones attained by athletic “models.”

Real athletes usually manifest imbalances and developments that foreclose the symmetry demanded by paradigmatic athletic bodies. Close attention reveals that even putative athletic bodies are less balanced than a cursory gaze reveals. For example, swimmers tend to develop their upper bodies, especially back and shoulders, disproportionately to their lower body. Road cyclists usually have strong, muscular legs and underdeveloped torsos. Unsurprising since the emphasis is not on looking good but on performance. It is not only a lack of symmetry, but of outright corporeal anathema that we find on the physical make-up of most athletes. They evince a great somatic diversity



As the picture of the 1996 US Atlanta Olympic athletes by Annie Leibovitz shows there is more disparity and variation than the unifying epithet “athletic body” seems to surmise in our minds. The physiques of Alex Rousseau, the swimmer on the far left, and Michael Johnson, the runner on the far right, which seem to embody the stereotype and fittingly frame the rest, have little to do with the bodies of Tinker Juarez, the cyclist, colossal weightlifter Mark Henry, seated, or petite Dominique Moceanu, the gymnast perched on Henry’s shoulder.

With permission from Annie Leibovitz (Jeffrey Smith, agent). This photograph originally appeared in *Vanity Fair*, May 1996.

that as a rule fails to exemplify the athletic body that looks like a Greek statue. We need only consider the massive bodies of heavy weight lifters or sumo wrestlers, whose round limbs and generous adipose layer would not elicit any admiring epithets denoting athletic beauty from most people. At the other end of the spectrum we can look at marathoners, who have wiry limbs, paper-thin skin, and emaciated faces. Alternatively we can look at the disproportionate bodies of basketball players who display very long extremities, oversize hands and feet, yet relatively normal sized torsos and heads. Or the case of jockeys, who are petite and weak looking, the antithesis of the powerful masculine build sought after by the “aesthetes of the physique.” Even within sports that seem more predisposed to the production of classical bodies like track and field, diving, or gymnastics, we find many a fine but not spectacular body. In fact, some may look quite ordinary however great their prowess. British athlete Jonathan Edwards, erstwhile triple jump world-record holder, was hailed as a superhuman athlete who looked “normal” by the Spanish media when he broke the world record in 1995, most notably by television commentators in both state sponsored stations during the retransmission of his performance, and the sports journal Marca. None of these corporeal instantiations fulfill expectations about the exemplary athletic look. In fact, most athletes are an exception rather than paradigmatic athletic physiques.

The etymology of athlete and athletic traces them to the verb ἀγείρειν, which means “to contend for a prize,” its secondary meaning being “to be an athlete, contend in games.” The noun προϊόν means “prize of contest” (Greek Lexicon 1968: 55). The reference to the body of the athlete is missing, and as we see in the case of the noun the primordial meaning has to do with the notion of competition. The adjective athletic would then refer to a contestant or a contest related affair. The contemporary meaning of athlete corroborates my contention since it is defined as a competitor in physical exercises, and it is only the third meaning—a later historical semantic development—that denotes the athletic as “characterized by heavy frame, large chest, and powerful muscular development: MESOMORPHIC” (Webster’s, 55). The original meaning referred then to a competitive event, not simply or especially to a certain body type. In its inception the athletic body is dependent on the bodies of actual athletes, few of which fit the idealized athletic model, as I have already noted. It is after the athlete’s exploit, often conceptualized as “athletic feat” that we invest the cosmetically correct athletic body with that aura of power, admiration and desirability. Being an athlete and exhibiting athletic qualities was not, is not, and does not have to be synonymous with a neoclassical body.

However, it is clear there has been a conflation of meanings that has posited the athletic body as the paradigmatic body of the athlete. This is unwarranted on a variety of fronts and is conceptually unjustified because, despite the apparent ease with which the athletic body can be identified, a valid definitional criterion cannot be found. It cannot

be defined in terms of necessary and sufficient conditions. If we try to accommodate the bodies of all athletes and establish some sort of objective standards then we end up with too wide a definition and many a body that does not fit the neoclassical standard would qualify (and then we would have to switch to a performative criterion that discards the Hellenistic look). On the other side, if we try to make it narrow enough for it to be useful then we exclude many a body that should qualify. It can be retorted this criticism is ultimately irrelevant because we already have a working concept we are competent enough to apply. It is easy to pick the traditional neoclassic bodies: they look like the bodies in Orduna’s sculpture. In other words, this could be worked out by reference to paradigmatic cases. Although this is a *practical* solution it is unwarranted. Stipulating some sort of family resemblance or enlarging our criterion to a wider set of central cases does not work in this instance either, unless we are willing to commit to a *petitio principii*. This stipulation would beg the question by already assuming the ideal neoclassical body as the canon to be observed—a canon that incidentally varied greatly even for the Greeks.

Competition: power and beauty against reason and fairness

There has been a transformation that has switched the logic of this relationship between the athletic and the athlete’s body, so now the word athletic does not denote the bodies of any type of athlete, but rather the strong, firm builds we recognize in Orduna’s *Representation of Sport* while alternative looks are excluded. This body type was first glorified and popularized in Ancient Greek renditions of the male body, particularly later Hellenistic ones. Its somatic aesthetic was reinstated first by art, under the banner of Neoclassicism, when the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sought the roots of “high culture” in the old classical cultures of Greece and Rome. As Gruneau, citing Kidd, points out “[the perfectly proportioned bodies of Greek male athletes, revealed in the paintings and sculptures being recovered from classical antiquity [...] became the idealized bodily aesthetic” (1993:90). This aesthetic was not truly propelled to the fore of the popular consciousness until the middle to end of the nineteenth century, when sport became part of a modernist cultural project that in several European countries sought a promotion of exercise and the healthy body in the interests of the state (see Vigarello 1978; Gruneau 1993; Boscagli 1996; Hargreaves 1986; and Harvey & Sparks 1991). The leading European countries of the turn of this century, France, England, and Germany implemented statewide programs of physical development for the population, specially the young males, supported by an eugenicist discourse that, as Boscagli points out, “aimed at strengthening the body of the nation against racial and national physical decay by eliminating any degenerate “foreign” body: the unhealthy poor, the savage colonized, even the “weakling” (1996: 16). Although each country had their idiosyncratic way of effecting this the common and most immediate result was, as Hargreaves mentions, this “cult

of athleticism reproduced a sense of national identity among dominant groups" (1986: 219). In this case the political undertones that lie beneath the genesis of this resurgence of the neoclassical body are patent. Here we have for the first time the engineered body of a whole population at large.

As Boscagli argues, England—which found out the inherent weakness of its youth in the Boer Wars—moved quickly to redress this by recuperating the virility of the neoclassical body (1996: 56). This already points to a misinformed appropriation—whose *ad hoc* nature is patent—of a certain type of body that in the minds of those advocating this sort of program embodied the nationalistic values they needed: virility, strength, love of country, purity. Boscagli shows this when she documents how Rupert Brooke, at the turn of the century, became an icon for the national imaginary of England when his upper-class athletic body was Hellenized and promoted as embodying a Greek statue to advertise the pure and strong manliness that could save England from degeneration and from its enemies as well (1996: 75-76).

The complexities of how the social and class struggles were played out in Britain are carefully exposed and analyzed by Hargreaves in *Sport, Power and Culture*. He presents the development of individual and team sports vis à vis social class, and the subsequent institutionalization of physical education programs that served to establish a hegemony that served the bourgeois class objectives and which by means of commerce, the media, and state intervention implements divisions based on class, gender, and ethnicity (1986). The strategies instituted by these countries privileged the body as a central site of political denotation that maximized their propagandistic efforts. Moreover, Gruneau argues the aim of such programs was to consolidate manly physical robustness with social solidarity (1993: 91).

A discourse in vogue today, only all the more conniving because it has been internalized in such a way no official program can be said to enforce it. The state "sponsored" eugenicist project begun in the nineteenth century was naively adopted and popularized last century, particularly its closing decades, as well as today, by the mass media in all its expressions: magazine advertisements, television commercials, sports programs, newscasts, sports magazines, comics and the superhero aesthetic, films like *Rocky*, music (e.g., Donna Summer's *I want muscles*), literature, etc. All this exerts enormous pressure to conform to the bodily standards set by a dangerously uncritical mainstream culture.

What initially might seem but Procrustean and obsolete methods of old colonialist countries worried about their ability to enforce their supremacy over their colonies has very much become a part of modern mechanisms of power that are enforced not only by particular governments or states, but also by more slippery entities such as consumer and popular culture (paralleling Foucault's view power structures are not localizable in actual enti-

ties). The United States is a clear, concrete contemporary instantiation of this phenomenon, as Cole makes clear when she explains:

[t]he promise of a transformed self is perhaps made most visible in Rambo's trickle-down and everyday counterpart: the hard, muscular body produced in fitness clubs. As America's border's became increasingly permeable, the body with firm boundaries promised social mobility and United States recovery. (282)

Nowadays the enemy is not found outside in the manner of foreign powers threatening United States interests, or in the social engendering of obscure governments. Rather it is located within, in the idealizations and aspirations absorbed by people from countless sources provided by consumer society and which find their most vehement expression and power when they crystallize as needs: "I need a hard, fit body not because Uncle Sam wants me to, but because *I want one*." Whereas for Walter Benjamin the advent of the age of mechanical reproduction brought about the loss of aura for artworks, it seems repetitive exposure to the charms of Neoclassic corporeality has invested it with a divine halo that blinds the masses.

Athletes, in the guise of the pervasive athletic look that spuriously takes the place of the legitimate *corpus* of the athlete, act as cultural icons at the service of the prevailing "aesthetic authority," promoting those meanings that serve the interests of the dominant social groups or systems. Athletes are a part of this hegemony "[i]n so far as body appearance and usage are integral to the conduct of sports... [which] as ritual practices may function to symbolize and uphold the social order and thus feed the power network" (Hargreaves 1986: 13). Their appeal in terms of the power and beauty they exude, prompting us to fancy them in several senses, highlights this. How these bodies are produced, literally and ideologically, is best understood in terms of a Foucauldian framework. The historical and efficient genesis of the bodies of athletes is tied to certain practices that produce them, sport practices, which emerge out of mechanisms based on power relations—some repress while others create—and technologies that result in social and individual manifestations of a dynamic social character. Foucault showed the historical production of a number of different bodies when he demonstrated how training and disciplinary regimes emerged in the eighteenth century giving rise to the regulation of human bodies as: criminals or soldiers in *Discipline and Punish*; mentally ill people in *Madness and Civilization*; or homosexuals in *The History of Sexuality*. The athleticized body was one of those bodies also.

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault shows how repressive and censoring practice gives rise to the modern criminal and the institutions that control and define such a fiend (1979). Although he is concerned with the production of docile bodies in connection with the "criminal establishment," his method can be readily applied to the athletic world. The techniques used to deal with the criminal are at work in the production of muscular physiques as well

as in the conceptualization and socialization of such bodies. After all there is a means of *correct* training for both. “The chief function of the disciplinary power is to ‘train’, rather than to select and to levy” Foucault says (1979: 170). The seven procedures he identifies as required for a proper penitential condition can easily be adapted to the world of sport (1979: 170ff.). Of course this does not mean there are no relevant differences between athletes and convicts. The issue is the *structures* that are in place to produce one type of population or the other follow the same disciplinary method of production, both instances resulting in docile subjects. For Foucault, power besides being repressive can also be generative and productive (as we see in both *Discipline and Punish* and *The History of Sexuality*). If power can stifle, the other side of the coin is constituted by the entities that it creates: the criminal as criminal, the modern understanding of the athlete’s body as incarnating the divine in the flesh. However, we must be aware this disciplinary system is neither an institution nor an apparatus. Indeed, for him the power that ushers this practice is not “real,” that is, reified in an institution one can concretely isolate, rather it is a nominalization in the most pure scholastic sense. It is not an illusion either, it is “the name one attributes to a complex strategic situation in a particular society” (Foucault 1980: 93). It must not be reified into the manifesto or the rulebook of a particular institution as if it were the result of a conscious and deliberate effort. This strategic situation amounts to “a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; it is a ‘physics’ or an ‘anatomy’ of power, a technology” (Foucault, 1979: 215).

The production of athletic bodies depends on the application of two kinds of technologies: scientific and cultural. The medical and scientific establishment plays a direct, literally hands on, role in the production of the bodies in the athletic realm: the physiologist and the expert in biomechanics devise training methods, the chemist and pharmacist develop ergogenic aids. The social and cultural technologies conceptualize such bodies, provide the scientific establishment with their agenda, and create the bodies for our retinas and minds. We see athletic bodies instead of active bodies. The engagement in athletic practices that emphasize certain exercises carries out the actual corporeal production. As Foucault says: “Exercise is that technique by which one imposes on the body tasks that are both repetitive and different, but always graduated” (1979: 161). And these exercises are repeated *ad nauseam*. In connection with this Miller points out there is an excellent match of systems for controlling bodily activity and marshaling it, a focal point of which is found in the “timetables” that were adapted from monasteries, with their rhythms, cycles, and repetitions (1995: 5). This is concretized in the relentless circling of the track by the runner, in the Sisyphean routine of sets and reps of the weight lifter, in the mechanical motions of the tennis player practicing the serve, the backstroke, the volley for hours on end. The medical and scientific technologies

guide this process that the body carries out, sweat pouring down. These repetitive activities produce certain bodies that are conceptualized as corporeal signs by means of a narrative. Here the cultural and social technologies invest these bodies with a meaningful discourse that builds the legend around them.

Cory Johnson’s *Bodies of Evidence* illustrates this excellently (1996). Her pictorial presents photographs of different body parts as (over)developed by some athletes—the corporeal signs through which we will interpret the bodies and body parts—and then proceeds to narratively explain such development in terms of the repetitive framework mentioned (inordinate amount of time, reps, sets, kilometers, laps). Some of her images depict the back of a swimmer, the forearms of a woman climber, and the legs of several cyclists. Accordingly, our narrative will see the broad back and massive shoulders of the swimmer splitting the waters the way the dorsal fin of a shark parts the waves, the ripped and nimble arms of a woman free soloing a boulder of impossible verticality that Spider-man himself would be pressed to climb as steely beautiful branches, and the strong and shiny legs of cyclists as moving pistons that power up the road bringing images of human “iron horses” who conquer geography’s most formidable obstacles. After all, as Hoberman says quoting Yukio Mishima, that Japanese writer who adored his own body, “it is a special property of muscles... that they [feed] the imagination of others while remaining totally devoid of imagination themselves” (1986: 26). The muscles need to be interpreted as muscular, strong, beautiful and desirable before they are visually sculpted into the mold of a powerful athlete.

For the popular imaginary the bodies of athletes produced in the above manner are supposed to be powerful. Unsurprisingly, the embodiment of a strong political state is often identified with the achievements of athletes in international competitions, specially the Olympics. The athlete’s body is supposed to exemplify such strength by winning and by looking and being powerful (hence the athletic body of the non-athlete feeds off the mystique of the former). However, the historical genesis of the modern athletic body shows these physiques are not powerful but docile bodies that play into the hands of prevalent power structures that reward compliance and punish deviance. As Miller argues:

There is a clear nexus between obedience and utility as the emergence of disciplinary knowledge exerts control over the body’s timing, operation, and potential for labor. At the same moment as these knowledges enable the body by honing it to a peak performance of tasks, they also disable it through an invisible subordination. (1995: 5-6)

The heretofore positive term of disciplined bodies turns out to be the usher of a repressive practice—whether self-imposed or not. The discipline required to produce such bodies drains those subjects of energy: the very acts of becoming physically powerful renders those engaged in serious athletic activity spent and tame. Moreover, the

disciplinary regime is most successful—indeed that is its goal—when it becomes internalized and the panoptic surveillance is performed by one's conscience, that all-seeing, omniscient (in principle) sentry Foucault develops in *Discipline and Punishment*. Unsurprisingly, athletes, who are under the constant surveillance of coaches, trainers, the public, and the media, also excel in monitoring themselves. Indeed, there are few people who are as apt at internalizing scrutiny as athletes are.

The powerful athletic body is only so at the surface. It is the body of the circus' strongman who looks big and strong yet lifts phony weights; it is physically strong, it is lauded as powerful, socially speaking, but ultimately it is a puppet whose strength is no bigger than the tension accorded by the strings that sustain it.

If the bodies of athletes are not (as) powerful in the way we think, at least they seem to be serious candidates for the canon of male beauty. A beauty with roots firmly planted in Ancient Greece that has taken hold of many an artist through history, and the popular imagination today. Pierre Coubertin remarked: "Sport produces beauty since it creates the athlete who is a living sculpture" (Hoberman 1986: 25–6). The beauty of these athletic bodies is grounded on an ideal body type. However, we may wonder rightly, whose ideal?

The notion of the ideal body, cashed out in terms of a beauty that is normalized and set as desirable standard, is a chimerical construct. The historical relativity of this concept attests to this since even the most cursory examination shows how tastes with regard to which bodies were thought of as beautiful and ideal have dramatically changed through history. In fact, there have been periods that favored each of the main somatotypes: endomorphic, ectomorphic and mesomorphic. In Ancient Greece, strong bodies we would consider athletic today were the preferred ones, which contrasts with the preference for thin bodies in Ancient Egypt or the American female population of today, and with the popularity of plump bodies in the Roman Empire or the 17th and 18th centuries in Western Europe (among those who could afford to develop them, since they were a conspicuous sign of opulence). To further understand the falsity of this ideal, we need only consider that even within a given body type, in this case our "familiar" athletic look, standards changed greatly within the same culture. It seems only proper to look at how Ancient Greece, where we encounter the first and most exacting examination of what the ideal body is to look like. What we find is that there is a patent elongation of the ideal body type which in less than a century goes from the massive athleticism of Polykletus' Diadoumenos, whose body is six times the size of its head, to the finer lines of Praxiteles' Hermes with a body seven times the size of the head to finally, in less than ten years, Leucippō's Apoxiomenos, where the ratio becomes eight to one. The adjective "radical" does not capture the magnitude of these changes within the already narrow confines of a very specific body type.

Needless to say few if any ever embody any of these ideals. Urla and Swendlund show, in their anthropometric study of Barbie and Ken, that the average army female and male recruits are quite removed from the "ideal" bodies those dolls represent. The problem is not real people rarely if ever match such proportions (compounded by the fact the favored proportions change every so often), but there is an implicit and unwarranted inference that accompanies the exaltation of such exemplary physiques. Namely, there is a shift from the ideal to the normal. The ideal body is seen as the body one should strive for, something that, as Hausman indicates, "collapses the distinction between the normal and the ideal" so that one claims to describe the normal when in fact one prescribes the latter (1995: 56). In this way the ideal body is turned into a normal one, with all the nefarious consequences of such an illegitimate move that imposes the impossible aspiration of the ideal body to people, most of us, with bodies that are unable to (re)produce these "divine" measurements.

The portrayal by the media of athletic bodies and how they are packaged and presented also present such physiques as beautiful and desirable: they are beautiful in their performance and desirable on their skin. Additionally they tend to be constructed so we tend to interpret them along predetermined, safe, stereotypical ways. Typical media images of athletes exemplify this. The male athletes almost always shown in powerful moves, in effort, grinning, flaunting their muscle, whereas the female athletes are usually shown posing and evoking grace and femininity—thereby divesting them of athleticism. Obviously this takes place without being critically engaged by "the powers that be," rather it is *actively endorsed*.^v

Typically, the implicit standards of popular taste demand that not too much muscle be present in females. The muscle required for women to excel in athletics in many disciplines is regarded as neither beautiful nor attractive on the female physique. Most of the women in Leibovitz's picture would fail to be genuinely appealing by most popular standards, cyclist Rebecca Twigg's legs (seated) being too muscular, the diminutive child-like frame of Moceanu being too nubile, the broad shoulders and powerful back of swimmer Jenny Thompson looking too manly, and the build of track athlete Sheila Hudson (wrapped in the flag) being too trim and powerful looking. Popular culture and tastes, particularly through the "multi-venue" mouthpiece of the mass media, presents as adequate only tame images of female athletes who embody a narrow conception of feminine finesse, such as they did with tennis player Gabriela Sabatini in her heyday. When the woman fails to fit the expected safe look she is showcased as some sort of freak, as happened to the powerful looking runner Jarmila Kratochvílová in the 1980s or another tennis player the "buffed up" Mary Pierce. In short, the not so muscular athletic yet feminine (whatever instantiates this) body is preferred to the athlete's real body. Nonetheless, the *ideal*—again not real—athletic body pertains to a male as the image Orduna's statue unerringly shows. It is regrettable yet fittingly ironic

that precisely what constitutes reason to praise a man's performance, namely his powerful look, his lean body, his aggressiveness, is turned on its head to criticize the successful woman athlete by pejoratively categorizing her as masculine, overbearing, unattractive, or unfeminine. In actuality, the bodies of athletes are male bodies, female bodies, masculine women's bodies, feminized men's bodies, and transsexual bodies (as instantiated by Dr. Renée Richards, formerly Richard Raskind, who attempted to play in women's tournaments in the late seventies and challenged contemporary tests for femaleness upheld by sporting bodies) (Hyde 1986:476).

To open a legitimate place for athletes and their bodies I offer two suggestions. First, against the disciplining processes and politics that produce the powerful bodies, I propose an engaged politics spearheaded by us, the theorists, to vocalize a *new discourse* on and *by* athletes. Second, to the aesthetics of the athletic body, that posits a narrow model that is extraordinary—not ordinary—as if it were the norm, I proffer an acceptance, rather a celebration, of the rich and varied reality of the bodies of athletes, all of them legitimately athletic.

This celebration should overcome beauty as the standard to incorporate interesting, outrageous, fun, and alternative bodies as part of our corporeal aesthetic world. Actual athletes have an advantage over the mere athletic-looking body (and over most of us) because their essence lies in a performativity they can exploit thanks to the prominence it earns them, and which provides them with the opportunity to be vocal and engaged entities, and not mere puppets.

A bit of help from us is more than desirable so that in the end we make room for every body.

ENDNOTES

i Another caveat concerns issues raised by evolutionary psychology. It is not addressed here because even a cursory treatment, let alone a properly balanced one, requires changing the focus and nature of the paper. Let the following comments serve as suggestions to be taken up at another time. The basic idea is that bodies favored by humans aesthetically, in this case the neoclassic build, are somehow hardwired in us through evolutionary processes: wide female hips or male broad shoulders are seen as more attractive in potential mates. Even if, for the sake of the argument, we assume this to be the case (it is contestable), this is not where the buck stops. 'Culture' is a rich crucible that sublimates even the strongest "impulses." There are plenty of cases where culture modifies initial "hardwired" tastes, thus acting as counterexamples. For instance, Chinese bound feet, the elongated necks of the Kayan people of Myanmar, or the stretched lip discs of the Lobi and Makonde in Africa. The preferred aesthetic is neither evolutionarily advantageous nor something found attractive by outsiders, but much like other developed tastes (atonal music, coffee, spicy food) these are attractive to the germane groups while not conforming to the "evolutionary norm". Moreover, even if they were developed for some utilitarian reason, such as to prevent kidnapping by other tribes, they do evolve into a standard of beauty aesthetic ultimately.

ii An example of how this project can be fruitfully carried out is found in Honi Haber's *Foucault Pumped: Body Politics and the Muscled Woman*, where she uses the female bodybuilder figure to disturb falloccratic ways of seeing women (Hekman 1996:143).

iii As in the case of the female body, this requires to be developed on its own. The following resources shed some light on the issue: Richard Dyer's "The White Man's muscles" in *Race and the subject of masculinities*, 1997, edited by Harry Stecopoulos and Michael Uebel. Durham & London: Duke University Press, (and other articles therein), or the fifth chapter in Michael Messner's *Politics of Masculinities*, 1997, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

iv Bodybuilding is the one exception where both aesthetic and athletic concerns are ostensibly combined. Other sports may value grace in movement, as in gymnastics. However, and while the gymnast's body is often lauded as attractive, this aspect is not a de facto determinant on how the performance is evaluated as a performance by judges and public (the more attractive candidate is not given points on account of such attractiveness—at least not explicitly and fairly).

v It is to Annie Leibovitz's credit that her pictorial of 61 Olympic athletes for the 1996 May issue of *Vanity Fair* plus her pictures of athletes in action for another article in the same issue tend to break with such nefarious and stereotypical representational mores.

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“THE PERFECT WOMAN:” ANNETTE KELLERMAN AND THE SPECTACLE OF THE FEMALE FORM

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Early silent screen star, Annette Kellerman helped redefine gender norms in the United States by openly displaying her body as the feminine ideal of health and fitness. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Australian-born swimmer, vaudevillian, and film star achieved worldwide popularity for both her athletic prowess as a long-distance swimmer and her scandalous beach attire. She turned her notoriety into a successful entertainment career, first in vaudeville, then on screen in series of mermaid films. Kellerman also published books and delivered lectures that addressed the health and fitness of women.

Throughout the period of her greatest fame, Kellerman self-consciously addressed the gender-specific obstacles that confronted women athletes and performers, very often, addressing her female fans woman-to-woman. At the same time, she also demonstrated her desire to break down barriers by transgressing Victorian gender roles that insisted on the strict divide between the “separate spheres.” Like many other notable women of the period, she simply wanted the same opportunities as men to participate in sports and entertainment. While Kellerman did not openly describe herself as a feminist, her career illustrates what historian Nancy Cott has described as one of its paradoxes, namely that feminism “requires gender consciousness for its basis yet calls for the elimination of prescribed gender roles.”¹ Kellerman certainly was always aware and proud of her accomplishments as a woman, yet she consciously helped to create a “new woman” who challenged the bounds of Anglo-American Victorianism.

Despite her fame during the turn of the century, Kellerman has all but disappeared from most contemporary screen histories. As Jennifer Bean has pointed out, the absence of early women film stars, especially those actresses known for their physical daring represents a “curious lacuna” in film scholarship. Kellerman, one of the most athletic of early women screen actresses, starred in

a series of mermaid films beginning with *Siren of the Sea* (1911) and ending with her last film, *Venus of the South Seas* (1924), all of which capitalized on her widespread fame as a swimmer. Many film fans today only know her as the biographical subject of the Esther Williams’ film, *Million Dollar Mermaid* (1952). In 1949, Esther Williams had starred in a remake of *Neptune’s Daughter*, Kellerman’s best known role. One obvious reason for her absence in most histories is the lack of existing films for contemporary scholars and film enthusiasts. Unfortunately, Kellerman’s most popular films, the original *Neptune’s Daughter* (1914) and *A Daughter of the Gods* (1916), have not survived intact. However, according to Bean, what makes early women stars like Kellerman of interest to contemporary scholars, despite the obvious research issues, is the fact their “drawing power refuted market demographics and leveled the niceties of gender, age, class, and national appeal.”² The career of Kellerman provides a rich field for cultural historians interested in the reconfiguration of gender and class norms during the early twentieth century. Kellerman’s popularity certainly spanned an audience who saw her as a role model as a physically active modern woman and those who enjoyed the spectacle of the display of her barely clad body.

The meaning of Kellerman’s physicality was certainly in the eye of the beholder. Kellerman was certainly self-conscious about the display of her physical beauty. However, she was anything, but a passive vessel, presented solely for the male gaze. She promoted the display of her own body, thus endorsing a definition of female beauty that emphasized fitness and active pleasure, rather than slenderness and leisure. Historian Joan Jacobs Brumberg explicitly contrasts Kellerman and her healthy body culture to the growing emphasis on slenderness and dieting for women that she also traces to the early decades of the twentieth century.³

For Kellerman, her lifelong pursuit of physical excellence begins as a child learning to swim in the clubs and beaches in her native Australia. While film historians do not have access to most of Kellerman's films, we do have biographical knowledge of her childhood and of her early successes as a swimmer and aquatic performer. Perhaps more than other screen performers, biography provides an essential insight into the film career of Kellerman, because her stardom depended less on her ability to act the part than for the part to fit her public persona. Her name was above the title of her best known features, so we must assume Kellerman and her athletic feats were, in Tom Gunning's phrase, "the spectacle of attraction."⁴ What is more, early feature film producers such as Carl Laemmle and William Fox hoped to exploit her popularity by conflating her on-screen character with her off-screen achievements as a world class swimmer and adventuress in order to produce their studios' longer, more exotic productions.⁵

Kellerman's public persona rested on both her achievement as a swimmer and the highly romanticized view of her native Australia as a rugged frontier.⁶ According to her most recent biographers, Kellerman, born in 1886, was raised in a cultured, bourgeois household in suburban Sydney. Her French-born mother, Alice Charbonnet, raised her four children in an environment of music and culture. She would later enroll young Annette in ballet class and dance would be a life-long pursuit. Despite the comfortable and nurturing atmosphere of the Kellerman household, young Annette had to overcome early physical adversity. At the age of two, she was diagnosed with rickets and wore iron leg braces until she was seven. Her doctor prescribed swimming and soon she excelled at what was gaining great popularity as the national sport of Australia. While latter press releases and legend maintained Annette learned to swim among the sharks of the Great Barrier Reef, she took lessons at a local swimming pool. Managed by her father Frederick, the teenage Annette swam competitively at meets held at a growing number of swim clubs in Sydney and Melbourne.⁷ Her childhood experiences made her something of a saleswoman for the virtues of physical exercise, especially swimming, leading her to write three books: *Swimming for Health, Exercise and Pleasure* (U.K. 1906), *How to Swim* (1918), and *Physical Beauty: How to Keep It* (1918). Kellerman's ideas on physical fitness also appeared in dance and general women's magazines and even Bernarr Macfadden's popular *Physical Culture* magazine.⁸

Kellerman was at the forefront of changes that were occurring in international sports for both men and women athletes. When Kellerman began her swimming career, the line between amateur and professional athlete was not very clear and there were few internationally regulated venues for swimmers, especially women. When the first modern Olympics were held in Athens in 1896, only three men's swimming events were held. The first women's swimming Olympic meet was in 1912 (years after Kellerman began her swimming career), and was only a short

ANNETTE KELLERMAN	VENUS OF MILO	DIANA
HEIGHT 5.4 FT. IN.	5.4 FT. IN.	5.3 FT. IN.
HEAD 21.3	21.3	19
NECK 12.6	12.5	11
CHEST 33.1	33	33
WAIST 22.2	22	27
HIPS 37.8	38	31
THIGH 22.2	22.5	24
CALF 13	13.2	13
ANKLE 7.7	7.4	8
UPPER ARM 12	12.6	15
FORE ARM 9.4	9.5	11
WRIST 5.9	5.9	6

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100 meter race.⁹ Rather than internationally sanctioned amateur events, newspapers and swim clubs sponsored long distance swimming events in Europe and England often providing lucrative prize money. Kellerman, going by the nickname "Australian Mermaid," achieved renown by winning races held in the Seine and the Thames. She also wore what would become her trademark—a black, one-piece bathing suit. By 1905, she had made three unsuccessful attempts to swim the English Channel. However, her record of ten and a half hours in the water remained the women's record until Gertrude Ederele became the first women to cross the Channel in 1921.¹⁰

This mix of pure athleticism and showmanship was the trademark of Kellerman's career in vaudeville and later on screen when she moved to the United States. While Kellerman should certainly be understood as a pioneer in breaking down gender barriers, her career is also instructive in the way class and gender barriers often reinforce each other. Though trained in classical ballet and music, Kellerman's best known performances were in the decidedly "low brow" realms of the popular stage and moving pictures. Her first appearance in the United States, like many of her later engagements, was at an amusement park, Chicago's White City Amusement Park in 1907. During the 1890s and 1900s nearly every American city had created a waterfront amusement that featured aquatic themed attractions and Kellerman proved to be one of the most popular. As historian David Nasaw has argued the amusement parks of the era catered to a large diverse audience

during a period when American workers had gained more leisure time. However, the proprietors of this new form of commercial public space, despite some of its decidedly low-brow attractions—wax museums, freak shows, etc.—attempted with mixed success to attract a middle-class audience by the means of restrictive admissions policies and by promoting more “wholesome” forms of entertainment.¹¹ Acts like Kellerman’s diving and swimming shows did offer a bit of sex appeal, but within the context of wholesome athleticism. Kellerman’s ability to challenge the confinement of Victorian gender norms on women could only have taken place in the context of the breakdown between “high and low culture” as the cultural signifiers of class difference. Kellerman was neither a burlesque star performing a striptease nor a classical ballet dancer, but her aquatic act provided elements of both.

Kellerman’s stardom as a popular stage performer occurred at the time when the commercial stage was attempting to appeal to a more genteel and wealthier middle-class audience. The advantages of anchoring the theater within the middle-class entertainment is two fold. Most obviously, middle-class audiences would be willing to pay a higher price ticket price, thus raising profit. Less obviously, attracting a “higher” clientele would also protect the stage from attempts at censorship from various church and civic groups concerned with the pernicious influence of the popular. According to Andrew L. Erdman, the new breed of stage entrepreneurs, like B.F. Keith and E.F. Albee, attempted to clean up burlesque by turning it into vaudeville.¹² The term vaudeville with its vague French folk origin was preferred by Keith and Albee to the older term burlesque with its lowbrow connotations. Albee and Keith hired Kellerman because she seemed the perfect performer for their new vision of the popular theater. There was a wholesomeness to her youthful energy and her athletic feats of daring performed on huge specially designed aquatics stage. Most importantly, her performances were considered suitable for women and their children, who by all accounts, made up much her audience. However, at the same time, she appeared on stage in tight, revealing bathing suits that appealed to the prurient interests of the older burlesque audiences. Albee even had mirrors placed on stage to afford his patrons better looks at Kellerman in her form fitting suit. Kellerman’s stardom represented a new “middle-brow” type of entertainment which is neither the high culture of classical dance, nor the low culture of the variety stage with its reliance on broad humor and sex.

This breakdown between high and low culture created a contradictory cultural space for the display of the female body. On the one hand, Kellerman’s open and innocent display of her body fit into traditional depictions of female virtue, while her tight fitting swimsuit was also considered by many as entirely too sexually provocative. As art historian T.J. Clark argues in his study of the cultural impact of Edouard Manet’s *Olympia* (1863) “sexual force and nakedness are most often not disentangled.”¹³ Clark goes on to argue nakedness must be placed in the cultural

order of the symbolic, rather than the real as a means of containing sexual desire. In the United States, this containment often took on a contradictory blend of “prurience and Puritanism.” An example of this paradox is illustrated by the notoriety brought about by Kellerman’s arrest in 1908 on charges of indecent exposure. For Kellerman, her one-piece form fitting bathing suit liberated her from the constraints of the cumbersome dress deemed appropriate for women. The bathing suit, which she adopted from a male one-piece, made her a more efficient swimmer in the water and allowed for a “healthy” athleticism. However, on the beach she revealed so much skin she was arrested for indecent exposure during a swimming exhibition in Boston. Her arrest made national headlines as Kellerman simply wanted to demonstrate women’s ability and desire for physical activity. If the one-piece suit upset the purity reformers or elicited wolfish leers, the iconoclastic Kellerman seemed determined not to conform to Victorian norms. Kellerman, in interviews, in lectures, and in her own athletic pursuits, explicitly aligned herself with those fashion reformers critical of the restrictions of corseting and other “shaping” devices that limited the mobility and health of women.¹⁴ In addition, she was not greeted with the same degree of controversy in Europe when she wore a similar suit two years earlier. Her arrest in Boston only increased her star power, and perhaps added a bit of continental sophistication to her public persona. Shortly after her arrest in Boston, the “Annette Kellerman” swimsuit became a fashion rage among young women.

Her fame on and off the vaudeville stage attracted the interest of movie producers. In 1909, she performed in a Vitagraph short in a pool built especially for her. However, Universal producer Carl Laemmle launched her feature career as the star of a seven-reel fairy tale, *Neptune’s Daughter*.¹⁵ While we unfortunately don’t have an extant copy, film reviews give us some idea of the movie’s popular appeal. *Variety* declared *Neptune’s Daughter* “is healthy, clean, full of life and action, the life and action that come from athletics and outdoor science.” The review also added “that the exhibitor may quietly confide to his patrons they will see more of Annette in it than they ever hoped or expected to.”¹⁶ While producers certainly exploited the prurient aspect of her appeal, they had to be careful not to cross the boundaries of genteel propriety that the industry hoped to maintain for their increasingly middle-class audiences. Producers seemed to cross the boundary when the National Board of Review in 1917 banned nudity in the movies citing the example of Kellerman in *A Daughter of the Gods* (1916).

Her film career extended her influence well beyond that of the vaudeville stage or the occasional headlines for her athletic feats. An Australian who became famous in Europe before embarking on a successful stage and screen career in the United States, Kellerman and her appeal were truly global. The image of Kellerman in her one-piece bathing suit hands extended to the sky became iconic around the world. Film historian Joanne Bernardi describes the cultural impact of Kellerman on early twentieth century

Japan. The main character in the 1920 Japanese film *Amateur Club* was depicted wearing a bathing suit modeled on Kellerman's from *Neptune's Daughter* (released in Japan in 1917). According to Bernardi, women in 1920 still wore traditional dress, the depiction of a Japanese woman in a swimsuit striking the familiar Kellerman diving "pose" certainly represented the coming of age of the modern "New Woman" in Japan. Bernardi also describes the plot of a popular Japanese novel from 1925 in which the main character, a "modern girl" brings her friend to see *Neptune's Daughter* and "begs her to imitate a pose taken by its star Annette Kellerman."¹⁷

Her appearance in *Neptune's Daughter* also seemed to have an immediate impact on one of the pioneers of film scholarship in the United States, Hugo Münsterberg. Münsterberg, a German born professor recruited by William James to chair Harvard's new department of psychology wrote one of the first book length studies on film theory published in the United States, *The Photoplay: A Psychological Study* (1916). In an article published in *The Cosmopolitan* a year earlier in 1915, Münsterberg explained his interest in the new medium of the moving picture:

I may confess frankly that I was one of those snobbish late-comers. Until a year ago I had never seen a real photoplay. Although I was always a passionate lover of the theater, I should have felt it as undignified for a Harvard Professor to attend a moving-picture show, just as I should not have gone to a vaudeville performance or to a museum of wax figures to a phonograph concert. Last year, while I was traveling a thousand miles from Boston, I and a friend risked seeing *Neptune's Daughter*, and my conversion was rapid. I recognized at once that here marvelous possibilities were open, and I began to explore with eagerness the world which was new to me.¹⁸

Perhaps we can credit Kellerman as the inspiration for Münsterberg's *The Photoplay*. Can we infer the physical beauty of Kellerman had something to do with the attraction of Münsterberg to *Neptune's Daughter* and later to the theme of film aesthetics? His description of his first movie certainly reads like a confession of a guilty pleasure. Why *Neptune Daughter* and not one of the other feature films that began to appear in 1914? Perhaps, his choice was a coincidence or one of convenience. However, his book length study of the film concerns itself primarily with aesthetics. It seems plausible the physical beauty of Kellerman and perhaps even a glimpse of skin were his inspiration.

The contrasted attitude Münsterberg and Kellerman have toward the new medium of moving pictures also can be understood in both class and gender terms. In his description of his day at the movies, Münsterberg all but describes his experience as a cultural slumming. As Seth Coven has recently argued, bourgeois Victorians in England were often repulsed and attracted to the lives of the underclass, and that attraction often took a sexualized form.¹⁹ In contrast, perhaps Münsterberg's erotic

interest in Kellerman was "de-sexualized" into aesthetic theory as a means of explaining the presence of an eminent Harvard University professor spending an afternoon watching a mermaid picture? His condescending attitude toward popular culture and the need to justify his interest is in marked difference to that of Kellerman. Despite her upper-class upbringing and her training in classical ballet, Kellerman embraces the new opportunities of popular culture with little fear. Her biographer even notes she was very popular among her fellow vaudevillians and never expressed any feeling of class snobbery. As cultural historian Kathy Peiss has argued, many working-class women at the turn of the century embraced new forms of commercial culture including the movies as a means of expressing greater autonomy. For Peiss, twentieth century popular culture created new heterosocial spaces that broke down both gender and class divisions.²⁰ Though born of the upper class, Kellerman flourished in the world of vaudeville and the movies where the traditional boundaries of class and gender were less strictly policed.

Part of the lacuna regarding early silent era woman may be due to latter efforts to fit the movies into traditional definitions of art and aesthetic that either minimized or ignored movement as an essential element in the medium. Laura Marcus argues Hugo Münsterberg's film aesthetics were influenced by an earlier scholar, Ethel Puffer. Puffer argued "the beauty of an object lies in its permanent possibility of creating the perfect moment. The experience of this moment, the union of stimulation and repose, constitute the unique aesthetic emotion."²¹ However, appreciation of Kellerman's talents did not come in a moment of repose, but in the din of the amusement park, vaudeville stage, nickelodeon, or the beach. The de-contextualization of the spectacle of movement is the part of aestheticism that may be an explanation for the disappearance of the female action star. Kellerman's daring dives were experienced not in repose, but in active participation. The ohs and ahs of the audience as well as the immediate physical responses of fear and joy are forgotten by film theorist like Münsterberg in favor of the frozen and penetrating gaze of the close-up captured in a single moment.

A closer study of early pre-classical cinema provides us perhaps with an alternative history of the cinema in which actresses had more power to create their star personas than they would in the more mature Hollywood studio system. Laura Mulvey's groundbreaking article "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1975) has dominated feminist film scholarship with its model of male spectatorship in classic Hollywood cinema.²² She argues the entire apparatus of "classic Hollywood" has been organized around the male gaze and what she calls the "to-be-looked-at-ness" of the erotic spectacle of the female body. Implicit in Mulvey's schema is the passiveness of the female body. Control of women's bodies and the "fashioning" of their appearance are seen primarily, or indeed almost exclusively, as expressions of male power. Yet, Kellerman's career on screen and off challenges much of Mulvey's theory regarding classic cinema. It would be an overstatement to say Kellerman

or any other early pre-classical female film star had equal power with male producers like Carl Laemmle or William Fox. However, Kellerman was not a passive object for the manipulation of her male producers. She was able within limits to create a public persona and display her body for a male and female audience in a way that defies any simple model of objectification.

The haunting insight bequeathed to us by Karl Marx that "men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please" seems appropriate. In the context of Kellerman's career, we need to revise Marx's archaic language so as to include those women who did make history by creating their own film careers, and by redefining gender norms through the active display of their bodies, although they certainly did not do so entirely as they pleased.

ENDNOTES

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Weightism and the Social Construction of Fat

In the summer of 1993, I was collecting interview data for my first graduate research project. During my interview with an African-American basketball coach at a Division 1A university, I asked him if he saw or experienced racism in collegiate sport. He remarked, given the existence of racism in society, there is, of course, racism in sport. Continuing, he added, "Why wouldn't you expect to find it here?" Similarly, given the prevalence of weightism or fat prejudice in society, shouldn't one expect to encounter it in kinesiology departments? In light of kinesiology's and physical education's purported interest in understanding and improving the function and experience of the body, I anticipated greater empathy and less judgment of fat individuals. However, in a field that emphasizes the body, perhaps it would have been more rational to expect the classification of fat individuals as the "other" against which physical educators, exercise scientists, and health promoters define themselves (Evans and Davies 2004, 8; Foucault 1980).

Rather than using the terms "weight prejudice," "fat prejudice" or "fat discrimination," I label prejudice against fat individuals as "weightism." Building on Sandra Solovay's (2000) discussion of weight prejudice and Jay Coakley's (2007) definition of ableism, I define weightism as the assumption or belief individuals of a certain weight or body size are superior—intellectually, morally, physically—to those who exceed the ideal weight or body size. This definition of weightism also parallels how racism is often defined as "a belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race" (<http://www.m-w.com/dictionary/racism>). As with other "isms," weightism relies on socially constructed ideals, in this case the "right weight" and its conflation with positive traits. With weightism, body weight or size, rather than race, becomes the determining factor in classifying individuals' character, capability, and potential. Like Solovay (2000, 2-4), I contend weightism functions much like racism, sexism, and heterosexism—to uphold hegemonic ideals of body type, size and shape. Understanding weightism as a web of social beliefs and practices that maintain the privilege and status quo of the ideal (or thin) body over the fat body allows for a critical assessment of the conceptualizations of fat and "proper weight."

By recognizing weightism as a social construction we all continually uphold and contribute to (and can, therefore, challenge and deconstruct), I demonstrate bias against fat people is more than individual taste. For example, my friends will tell me, "Well, I can't help it, I'm just not attracted to fat men/women," while failing to recognize their standards of beauty are at least partially informed by social forces such as the media (Wolf 1991, 2-5; Poulton 1997, 2) and the medical establishment (Schwartz et al. 2006, 446; Gasser 2002, 37-55), which denigrate and ridicule fat bodies. Similarly, former colleagues from my graduate program informed me they did not have anything against fat people, other than the fact they are unhealthy.

However, these same colleagues never felt compelled to criticize fellow graduate students who smoked, drank to excess on a regular basis, or drove over the speed limit. By defining weightism in terms of power and hegemony, I am asking all of us to take responsibility for the continued construction and practice of weightism.

Currently, fat is socially constructed as a great social, economic, and moral evil. Fatness is conflated with indulgence, gluttony, and laziness (Campos et al. 2006, 55-56; Schwartz 1990, 2-3; Schwartz et al. 2006, 440). In light of this conflation, it is not surprising that in employment contexts fat people are generally perceived as less intelligent, incompetent, lazy, socially unpleasant and emotionally unstable (Fikkan and Rothblum 2004, 16-19; Paul and Townsend 1995, 133-135). Similar to the stigmatization of fat people in employment is the stigmatization in educational settings. For example, teachers and school health care workers tend to attribute negative characteristics to obese students (Puhl and Brownell 2001, 800). In their survey of college students, Latner, Stunkard, and Wilson (2005) found the majority of students—even the fat ones—express a dislike of fat people. Interestingly, as the number of overweight and obese Americans increases, the stigma against fat Americans appears to be intensifying (Puhl and Brownell 2001; Saguy and Almeling 2005). In her article, "For a World of Woes, We Blame Cookie Monsters" for the *New York Times*, Gina Kolata (2006) notes in the popular press, fat Americans are blamed for everything from rising health care costs to causing car accidents to most recently, increasing the country's gasoline consumption by creating extra drag in automobiles (Hilkevitch 2006). Unfortunately, these accounts rarely move beyond the headlines or soundbites: for example, they do not mention the author of the gasoline consumption study acknowledged "the amount of fuel consumed as a result of the rising prevalence of obesity is small compared to the increase in the amount of fuel consumed stemming from other factors such as increased car reliance and an increase in the number of drivers" (Jacobson and McLay 2006, 317). Though the "economic strain on the health care system" argument is repeated unquestioningly in news stories on obesity, recent fact checking (*St. Petersburg Times*, 2007) and research challenges these assumptions (val Baal et al. 2008, 1-2). According to Daniel Engber, who covers science for *Slate*, an online magazine, the findings of the val Baal study have caused some anti-fat activists to acknowledge the link between obesity and increased health care costs may have been overstated (Engber, 2008).

On Autoethnography and Critical Race Theory

Autoethnography can be defined as a self narrative that critiques the situatedness of the self in relation to others in social contexts (Ellis and Bochner 2000; Reed-Dahanay, 1997, 9). In addition, the autoethnographic account is used to interrogate and critique broader social issues (Foster, et.al., 2006, 47). Autoethnography meets critical race theory in the celebrating and valuing of narrative and storytelling as ways of knowing. In addition,

both respond to/react to the realist agendas in research that “privilege researcher over subject, method over subject matter and outmoded conceptualizations of validity and truth over insight” or learning/knowing (Denzin 1992). However, autoethnography is not autobiography or confessional, but as with research grounded in critical race theory, a weaving together of story and theory (Delgado & Stephanic 2001; Ladsen-Billings 1998, 8; Spry 2001, 713). Those who create autoethnographies are open about their desire to transform and transport the reader/audience. Spry (2001, 716) and Ellis (1997, 116) contend good autoethnography should move people or create a dialogue with the reader/audience by allowing the reader/audience to recognize his/her difference vis-à-vis the author. In order to promote this dialogue and self-reflexivity in author and audience, Ellis and Berger (2002) advocate the use of personal, accessible writing as well as engaging alternative means of expression.

Critics of autoethnography claim it is non-evaluative, allows for anything goes, encourages self-therapizing, lacks objectivity and generalizability, promotes self indulgence and privileges marginalized voices while excluding voices in the mainstream (Holt 2003, 3; Grupetta 2006; Kaufman 2000). Starting with the last critique, methodologies that welcome historically marginalized voices ought to be celebrated for expanding the conversation. That aside, researchers with at least some forms of privilege e.g. a white female tenured professor (Spry 2001) and a white male proctor at Oxford University (Walford 2004), utilized autoethnography to raise educational concerns and publish their work. While these two researchers felt disempowered in certain ways, their use of autoethnography in the context of some race and professional privilege seems to contradict the critique that only those on the margins are allowed to employ it. As for critiques regarding objectivity and generalizability, autoethnography, like other qualitative methodologies, deliberately challenges the illusion of researcher objectivity. Furthermore, it does not seek to produce findings or generalizability, but to illuminate the privilege and position of the reader/audience relative to the author and the culture at large. Lastly, autoethnography challenges what counts as knowledge, making the case for first person knowledge and life experience as data: i.e. an autoethnography of one fat girl offers **different** (and valid) knowledge and truth than that gained through a survey of 500 fat girls.

Finally, this autoethnography challenges the Western European mind-body dualism, which grants the mind importance over the body (Kleinman 1995; Spry 2001, 718). Historically, the mind has been characterized as rational and capable of higher thought, while knowledge from the body has been discounted or dismissed. In placing the experiences of my fat body at the center of this examination of the social construction of fat, I am re-integrating mind and body. Additionally, I am injecting body knowledge into this intellectual domain—I am asserting a claim of legitimacy for this kind of knowing and for the body as a site of knowledge. As a result, I bring the body into research, rather than theorizing about (and

ultimately, objectifying) it. Autoethnography gives this fat body a voice, allowing me to disrupt and dismantle prevailing discourses, narratives, and assumptions about fat/fatness in kinesiology – and hopefully, to destabilize myself as researcher and you as audience.

Teaching physical education (PE) at the university: intersections of race, gender and body type

In analyzing my teaching of physical education at a large, Midwestern university, I am blending autoethnographic accounts with comments collected from my students' journals. When I taught activity-based PE courses as a graduate student, my students kept informal journals to record their process of engaging with the activity. I provided some questions for guidance (to be used or not) as students reflected on their thoughts, feelings, experiences, shifts, etc. versus evaluating instruction (as they would have an opportunity to do so at the end of the term). Nonetheless, some students did comment on me, specifically how my body did or did not meet their expectations. While the students who did comment on my fatness often expressed surprise at having a fat PE teacher, they did come to see me as a competent, engaging instructor. Surprisingly, depending on what I was teaching, my race/ethnicity appeared to mitigate my fatness, positioning me as a qualified teacher from the onset, i.e. because I am Asian American, I did not have to prove/demonstrate my competence or ability in tai chi chuan. For example, when my office mate and I taught tai chi chuan, he complained students joined my section over his because my Japanese-ness gave me legitimacy over his whiteness. (However, no student ever backed up his assertion either in person or in his/her journal.)

Senorita Morimoto, I presume?

Social dance, though different from competitive ballroom dance which emphasizes form and aesthetics over social interaction, includes many of the same dances: waltz, foxtrot, swing, cha cha, and rumba. For many students, their first impressions of social dance are informed by films (such as *Dirty Dancing* or *Strictly Ballroom*) or competitions broadcast on public television. In competitive ballroom dance, while couples are evaluated on dance technique, floorcraft (how the lead negotiates the crowded dance floor), and frame (posture and connection between dancers), the physical attractiveness of the couple plays a critical role in the judging (Wong 2000, personal communication). Generally speaking, a long, lean line—most easily achieved with tall, thin bodies—is favored. Because of these dominant images of ballroom/social dancing in the mainstream media, it is not surprising most of my students conceived of dancers as slender or skinny.

Over several years of teaching, I developed tactics for countering my fatness in the PE classroom. For social dance classes the strategy was simple. As students arrived for class, I would dance with another instructor, one of our volunteer assistants (usually former students), or a friend from the competitive ballroom squad. For those

who missed this pre-class performance, there were plenty of opportunities for me to exhibit my dance expertise/skill through in-class demonstrations. Even after witnessing my dancing ability, some students still seemed surprised my normal-sized partner was not the official instructor. Though by the end of the first class session, it seemed students overcame their expectations and accepted me as the instructor.

As previously mentioned, I asked students to keep a bi-monthly journal about their experiences relevant to the class or activity. They were aware I was reading these journals, but had the option of simply showing me the journal entry, then requesting I not read it. Over several years of teaching social dance, the journals often reflected their surprise at having a fat dance teacher. For example, a typical comment made by a male student in Social Dance 1 noted, "I was expecting a Latin or English lady maybe... definitely someone thin and pretty." Interestingly, along with expectations of a certain body type, this student conceptualized the social dance teacher along racial and national lines, something I had not even considered.

As opposed to social dance where my ethnicity and race defied expectations, in tai chi chuan, my Asian-ness bestowed or granted me a certain level of competence. Apparently, Asian fit with most students' expectations of a tai chi chuan instructor, which bothered my colleague since he had studied for much longer than me and had more experience teaching the subject. Although I met students' expectations in regard to race/ethnicity, my fatness still countered student expectations. As one of my male tai chi chuan students noted, "I thought the teacher would be Asian, but I expected someone skinny...But Lauren surprised me. Even though she is bigger, she is real graceful and light." While I am appreciative of the fact this student could come to see/get past his original expectations (for as Mark Snyder (1992, 325-26) contends, many hold onto a stereotype even in the face of contradictory evidence), I am also saddened and angered at the presumption of competence for thin bodies (and mildly amused by the competing competence-determining categories of fatness and Asian-ness).

As opposed to social dance and tai chi chuan, where race, ethnicity, and body shape intersected, for yoga students, my body shape and weight trumped other factors. Because most students considered yoga an activity requiring flexibility and balance, the fat (or merely not thin) body did not seem capable of engaging in the activity. As in social dance, I developed strategies in order to answer potential questions regarding my competence. While addressing my fatness was the initial motivation, these strategies brought an unexpected bonus of improving my teaching. The first tactic called for me to hold certain postures with apparent ease that challenged the normal sized and generally athletic students registered for the class. Demonstrating postures where my weight did not compromise my flexibility or strength established my competence, which allowed me to "hold on" the students when we moved into postures that were more difficult due to my size. Instruction-

ally, this demonstrated the limits of relying on muscular strength and emphasized the need to use skeletal support to ease into the postures – and challenged students' ideas of strength, fitness and ability. The second tactic was to initially teach certain postures using props, e.g. a chair for weight support in Warrior 2 position. By having everyone start with the chair, then choosing whether or not to lift off the chair (and therefore, support one's weight fully), it created an environment that made it more comfortable for students to work within their abilities and often, to do postures more correctly. Finally, I emphasized my understanding of yoga as a practice that asks us to work where we are with the body we have, but with a willingness to address our limitations. In addition, yoga is about how we practice, with attention and engagement, not how our postures look relative to some external standard. I shared with my students teaching yoga was my way of putting my money where my mouth is, i.e. I was willing to teach postures I had not perfected as well as those that challenged me. Strangely enough, my willingness to expose my "weaknesses" encouraged students to accept me as a yoga teacher.

While there were the usual student comments about expecting a thin teacher, some students remarked how my body size/fatness was a positive factor. Because yoga can be conceptualized as an activity for the already flexible and fit, some students (who might feel their bodies do not measure up to the standards of society) hesitate to register for yoga. (I suspect this worry about body size keeps students from signing up for other activities as well, though I lack student comments to confirm this.)

I was happy to read my fatness actually encouraged the following two female students to remain in the class. Student A commented, "I signed up for yoga, but I wasn't sure I was going to go. I didn't know if I could do it... When I walked into the classroom and saw you there, then I knew it was okay." Her comments are echoed by Student B, who wrote, "I was nervous about going to class, you know, because only skinny people do yoga, but then I saw you." Though some might interpret this as the students saying they assumed the class was less challenging, I read it as the students feeling they would fit in because they saw themselves in the front of the room.

Although physical educators, health promotion specialists and sport sociologists speak to the value of diversity, the discussion tends to focus on race, gender, and class diversity. During this current crisis of obesity, experts argue it is critical to increase people's activity levels. Yet I have not read an academic article calling for the dismantling of weightism in the field, for either pragmatic (it might make fat students/clients feel more welcome in the gym class or exercise facility) or social justice reasons. Similarly, I have not encountered an article discussing or investigating how diversity of body sizes and shapes of instructors might make some students more comfortable (as in the situation above), and therefore, more likely to stick with an activity or class. In fact, there is an assumption a fat instructor would not be accepted. Certain students

might have dropped the course because of my weight or body size; the students who stay accept a fat teacher (as seen in journal comments, repeat students, full class rosters and years of positive student evaluations). While students might be initially uncertain or skeptical even, my experience encourages me, because they are able and willing to re-think their positions and to critically assess their assumptions. Unfortunately, I have yet to see that same willingness from many of the faculty in kinesiology and related fields.

Because of the weightism in society, teaching physical activity as a fat woman becomes an act of transgression—it reconfigures known categories, confounds expectations, and rearticulates meanings of sport/physical activity. While even the most ardent students may forget the steps of the foxtrot, the best way to ease into cobra or the plow or how to look at football through a critical feminist theory lens, I am confident they will remember their fat dance/tai chi/yoga/self defense/flag football teacher. They will recall she was funny, fierce, competent, strong, graceful, outspoken, generally fair, direct, and occasionally bitchy...and when they see another fat person, they will pause and possibly check their assumptions and re-construct and re-define fat. And perhaps, more importantly, since many kinesiology students will teach PE, coach sport, organize recreation leagues, work as personal trainers, and create physical therapy programs, they might rethink what it means to be fit, redefine health, and re-conceptualize who can/should join the kinesiology community.

The fat PE practitioner and the PE/kinesiology faculty

The question of who belongs and who can serve as a good role model in sport, PE, and recreation is not a purely theoretical one. In 2002, the National Association for Sport and Physical Education issued guidelines about maintaining an acceptable fitness level: though the paper focuses on fitness, it implies someone engaged in an appropriate level of activity would see positive results and present a certain physical image (www.aahperd.org, 2002). While kinesiology has wrestled with questions of inclusion and diversity regarding race, gender, class, sexuality, and ability, there have not been similar discussions in terms of fat/fatness. In 2007, I was given the opportunity to respond to an opinion piece in a kinesiology journal entitled “I’m FAT and a HYPOCRITE: So Physical Educational Professionals, What Are You Going to Do About It?” (Hodge and Vigo-Valentin, 2007) that opened by uncritically reiterating stereotypes about fat individuals. The article went on to question whether fat people could be good PE professionals. Given the chance to respond to my response, Hodge argued I misread his piece: he claimed he was not prejudiced against fat people and certainly did not engage in weightiest thinking or actions. However, the title with the capitalization of fat and hypocrite alone points to (or certainly intimates) worries about fat professionals in PE, as well as a particular position on fat people and fatness in general.

For this part of my autoethnography on my life as a

fat kinesiology professional, I offer four anecdotes, two from my years as a graduate teaching associate and two from my job search, and let you, the reader make of it what you will.

Anecdote 1: Because of my research interest in collegiate sport and race, I accepted admission to kinesiology-type department at a large Midwestern university. Based on my undergraduate education, my advisor nominated me for a Presidential Fellowship for the first year (which I was awarded) and convinced the department to commit to three to four years of graduate teaching assistantship for the remainder of my program. During my first year, in the course of a casual conversation with a faculty member from the department, he commented to me that had they (I assume he meant the departmental faculty) known I was overweight, they probably would not have offered me a teaching assistantship for the post-fellowship years.

Anecdote 2: During my graduate tenure, professors in the department and in other educational departments asked my fellow social dance instructors to demonstrate dance activities and/or lessons to their students. Despite being the senior instructor in social dance and the sole instructor for intermediate and advanced social dance for a few years, these professors never approached me. Even though the other instructors explained I was the strongest, most advanced dance teacher on the basis of content as well as student evaluations of teaching, these professors never offered me the opportunity to present and/or teach in their classes. In the end, I wonder if they were incapable of seeing me as a dancer, much less a teacher of dance.

Anecdote 3: During my job search for a faculty position, a colleague and I were invited to interview for the same position. My colleague interviewed first and while touring the department’s “home,” the department chair noted faculty had access to work-out facilities in the building. He commented, “I figure since we study sport, we should look like athletes.” (Which raised the question, like which athlete? Like Cheryl Haworth, the 300-pound 2000 Olympic bronze medalist in weight lifting?) With my campus interview still to come, I was concerned whether this chairperson’s statement reflected the sentiments/assumptions of the faculty in general. Upon calling a faculty member on the search committee to discuss it, his reaction assured me the chair did not represent the thinking of the department and I would feel welcomed and accepted there.

Anecdote 4: As I discussed the job search with one of my mentors at Miami University, I expressed frustrations with the process. Specifically, I commented on how difficult it is to be a fat woman looking for work in a kinesiology department, given many departments’ concerns with activity, health, and wellness. Given this mission, I remarked I understood why faculty interviewing me for a position that includes the teaching of physical activity classes or sport history and sociology to an audience of kinesiology students might have concerns with my weight. My mentor stated, “Oh, they got you.” I asked what he meant and he repeated, “They got you.” He went on to ask me the

following questions: Can you teach these activities? Can you teach sport sociology? Have you taught them well in the past? When I replied yes, in fact, I had taught several activities, some at advanced levels—all while earning excellent teaching evaluations, mentoring new instructors and attracting repeat students. Plus I had been the sole instructor for multiple lecture courses since 1995, and again, with very good evaluations. My mentor mused, “Isn’t that what should count? Isn’t that the issue, whether or not you’re competent to teach, not what you look like?”

At that moment, I realized what he meant: “They got me.” “They got me” apologizing for their biases. “They got me” accepting the rightness and righteousness of their prejudices. “They got me” questioning my competence. As Foucault (1978) argues, power is about consent to a certain extent—about succumbing and internalizing social norms and practices. As a result, power worms its way into individuals, who end up self-disciplining themselves. When my mentor repeated, “They got you,” I recognized “I didn’t have the culture” of the kinesiology department—meaning I had not risen over it, conquered it or mitigated its effects—the culture of the kinesiology department “had me.” I was buying into, contributing to, and validating my own oppression. That realization, as well as my frustration and anger regarding the biases and boundaries in the field of kinesiology, led to this paper.

I did not want my frustration or anger at the center of this autoethnography. To focus on that would detract from the objectives of using narrative to examine the social construction of fat and from there, to investigate how that construction impacts the practice of kinesiology and its related majors (i.e. physical education, exercise science, dietetics, etc.), particularly in terms of teaching, community, and inclusion in kinesiology.

Re-envisioning sport and community

Because I developed this autoethnography to critically examine sport, PE, physical activity, and recreation, I would like to bring my assessment/analysis back to possibilities for change, for re-envisioning sport and community. Though I assume I am preaching to the choir to some extent: after all, you are reading an article with the words “fat” and “autoethnography” in the title, I want to serve as a catalyst for reflection on how fat/fatness is constructed, as well as how this informs the practices (in research, employment, teaching) of your colleagues, department and field. While this paper is grounded in the subject matter and experiences in kinesiology, the issues are relevant across other fields and contexts. As I consider the potential for change and try to instigate that change, I hope you will consider some of the following questions:

Where and how is the fat body or fat person welcomed in your community? Would a fat student majoring in your field be conceptualized as a “good” student or positive representative for your department? Would a fat professional be accepted or (feel) welcomed in your department?

How do your colleagues/your community view the fat body? What meanings do they construct around fat and fatness? How can you challenge their constructions and those of your students? What are the implications of continuing to construct fat primarily in terms of personal responsibility or failure, social risk factor or morality?

If you are in a kinesiology department, is the obesity epidemic presented unproblematised? Are fat and fit presented as incompatible concepts? Is health automatically conflated with thin? Is the fat body pathologized or defined as a problem in activity or laboratory classes?

What privileges do you carry, re-produce and challenge in terms of body size? What are you willing to give up to re-imagine/re-conceptualize and expand the communities that comprise physical education, exercise science, sport sociology, dietetics, health education, and human wellness? Or your academic field, even if not directly related to the body?

Finally, I present this autoethnography as a critique because I am invested in the sport history and sociology, and more broadly, kinesiology. While I do interdisciplinary work, the fact is, I choose to remain in this field, to carve out space for myself in this community of scholars. However, I am asking some of you to help me pry open the gate and allow me to enter...not because you should accept the fat girl, but because I have earned my place.

The Weight

Carrying the weight is not so hard

After all, my bones are strong

Mom fed us powdered skim milk and nutritional yeast

Occasionally trying to fool us with a teaspoon of Nestle's

Quick

whose scent held such great promise

and hid such disappointment.

My bones are strong

because they are rooted in the red dirt of Kauai'

because I have the blood of grandmas and grandpas

who worked harder than I've ever had to or

will ever have to...

Unless you count the 25 minute sessions on the elliptical machine

That are supposed to lessen the load on these bones

But somehow ...don't.

Although Susan Bordo calls it an "unbearable" weight (2003)

It's not so heavy

These bones can take it

This spirit can take it

Because I have faith that some of you will help me shoulder the load.

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MARTIAL ARTS TRAINING FOR CHILDREN WITH ATTENTION-DEFICIT/HYPERACTIVITY DISORDER

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Much attention has been paid to the reported increase in Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) (Olfson, Gitteroff, Marcus, & Jensen, 2003), which currently is estimated to be around 3-7 percent of the school-age population (DSM-IV-TR, 2000). Articles discussing ADHD or advertisements promoting medications are in many magazines; books on the disorder line numerous bookshelves in popular bookstores; and educators at all levels are offering opinions about the disorder and its reported increase. This publicity has created controversy with staunch advocates of support for children with ADHD and others who seriously doubt the very existence of the disorder.

Predominant among interventions for ADHD is the use of medication, primarily in the form of stimulant medications (Olfson et al., 2003; Pary, Lewis, Matuschka, & Lippmann, 2002; Swanson et al., 1998). Pharmacological interventions for ADHD have proven successful in most instances, but as many as a third of children treated do not respond to medications or experience such severe side effects that medication must be discontinued (Wilens, Biederman, & Spencer, 2002). Purdie, Hattie, and Carroll (2002) suggest medications alone do not provide the academic intervention that behavioral interventions provide. Combined treatment programs, behavioral with medication, are considered the most effective (DuPaul & Eckert, 1997; Joughin, Ramchandant, Zwi, 2003).

Several alternative interventions, such as dietary changes and exercise, have been offered in treating ADHD instead of or in addition to medication and behavioral components as part of a combined treatment program (Stubberfield, Wray, & Parry, 1999). Several recent studies (Etscheidt & Aylor, 1987; Klein & Deffenbacher, 1977; O'Dell & Cook, 2004; Tantillo, Kesick, Hynd, & Dishman, 2002) have suggested the effects of exercise

may help reduce the level of symptoms associated with ADHD. However, further research is necessary to determine the effectiveness of exercise with regards to the level, duration, and type.

One form of exercise cited in popular media sources and touted by many of its instructors as an intervention for ADHD is training in the martial arts. However, these popular sources of information [e.g., *Parenting a Child with Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder* (Boyles & Contadino, 1997), *ADD/ADHD Behavior-Change Resource Kit* (Flick, 1998), *Understanding ADHD* (Green & Chee, 1998) and *ADD and the College Student* (Quinn, 2001)] rely on anecdotal evidence from parents, children, and martial arts instructors and do not cite empirical evidence.

Therefore, I conducted a study to offer empirical evidence for martial arts training as an intervention for ADHD and to determine if further research in the area is warranted. A previous study conducted by Felmet (1998) found some supporting evidence that martial arts training may have positive merits as an intervention for ADHD. However, the outcomes of her hypotheses were statistically inconclusive. Further study was warranted based on the merits of clinical significance (basically, to what extent does the intervention benefit the individual, but which may not be apparent in statistical analysis) to determine if any important changes occurred that could not be readily observed with statistical analysis of small numbers of participants.

The symptoms of ADHD measured in this study were inattention, impulsivity, hyperactivity, and aggression. Inattention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity are the core symptoms of ADHD, while aggression was thought to be a possible problem related to the use of martial arts as an intervention. The martial arts style used was tae kwon

do, a Korean martial art focusing on discipline, philosophy, health, and self-defense. Tae kwon do is one of the most popular martial arts in the world (Park & Gerrard, 2000) and is widely practiced in the United States. This style of martial arts was chosen since it can easily be found for future use in clinical application.

Method

This study (the author's dissertation) was approved by two institutional review boards and consent was obtained from parents, participants, and school systems. Based on research into the topic, the prevalence of the disorder, the number of children in the researcher's area, and the age requirements of the study, it was expected there would be few participants. These issues, along with the desire to track any possible changes deemed important for future treatment application, required a much different research method than typical methods using statistical analysis. According to a meta-analysis by DuPaul and Eckert (1997), a single-subject, multiple-baseline design was used in 59 percent of 63 ADHD studies conducted between 1971 and 1995 and was deemed appropriate for clinical investigation into the treatment of ADHD.

In single-subject designs, researchers first establish a baseline of the symptoms to later compare to the measures during and after the intervention (Hittleman & Simon, 1997; Zhan & Ottenbacher, 2001). The researcher established a seven-week baseline of the four variables: inattention, impulsivity, hyperactivity, and aggression. The duration of the intervention was set at twelve weeks and measures were obtained from multiple sources, including the participants' parents, their primary teachers in school, and from independent observers in the martial arts classes. A total of seven children participated, but one child dropped out due to lack of interest in the martial arts.

Most researchers agree graphical analysis and the use of statistical analyses, if possible, is appropriate for the single-subject design while suggesting visual analysis may be easiest for parents to understand (Heppner, Kivlighan, & Wampold; Hersen & Barlow, 1976; Kazdin, 1982; Nicol & Pexman, 2003; Zhan, & Ottenbacher, 2001).

Participants

Participants included six children (five boys and one girl) who had been diagnosed with Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder by an appropriate mental health practitioner or pediatrician. Participants were between the ages of six and eleven and were recruited through newspaper advertisements, mental health professionals, and a local school district. Combined diagnoses were allowed and included dyslexia, Asperger's syndrome, oppositional defiant disorder, phonological disorder, and anxiety disorder. Five children were taking some form of medication, which included Adderall, Concerta, and Celexa. Participants were allowed to remain on medication provided they remained consistent with the medication prescribed.

Intervention

The instructor of the tae kwon do school had been teaching a traditional form of tae kwon do for twenty-five years. This traditional form requires adherence to the rules and regulations of the training hall, a philosophical component of the martial arts, and respect of the instructor, advanced students, and the art of tae kwon do. The participants trained for twelve weeks as any typical first-time student would train at the school, which included wearing the traditional uniform, learning traditional punches and kicks, Korean terminology and traditional definitions, obeying the rules of the school, and showing proper respect to the instructors. Typical classes consisted of aerobic exercise, martial art technique training, history, philosophy, and team exercises. Any typical Tae Kwon Do class might consist of a combination of the following: beginning stretching exercises, multiple punches and kicks, combinations of techniques, traditional patterns (forms), traditional one-step sparring techniques, and various relay races and coordination-building games.

Measures

Measures of inattention, impulsivity, hyperactivity, and aggression were assessed by the parents, independent observers and teachers. The two measures used were the Connors' Rating Scale – Revised and the Peer Conflict Scale. The Connors' Rating Scale - Revised is one of the most commonly used ADHD scales (Kollins, Barkley, & DuPaul, 2001) and has been researched and validated (Angello et al., 2003). The CRS-R was used to measure levels of inattention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity in participants. The short form of the CRS-R was used to facilitate repeated measurements and minimize the time required of parents and teachers as much as possible.

In addition to levels of inattention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity, the researcher was interested in determining the effects of martial arts training on levels of aggression. Although aggression and the martial arts have been studied and research suggested martial arts training may actually reduce aggression over time (Daniels & Thornton, 1992; Lamarre & Nosanchuk, 1999; Nosanchuk, 1981; Nosanchuk & MacNeil, 1989; Trulson, 1986; Zivin et al., 2001), none of these researchers had studied the combination of martial arts, aggression, and children with ADHD. Since the CRS-R does not adequately measure aggression, the Peer Conflict Scale was completed by parents, observers, and teachers and used to measure levels of physical aggression.

Results

Data obtained from parents, observers, and school teachers suggest a positive effect of martial arts training for the participants. Results for levels of inattention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity as indicated by the parents for each participant are recorded in Table 1. The results for the same levels as reported by school teachers are offered in Table 2.

Table 1
Summary of Change for the Dependent Variables for Participants – Parent Report

Dependent Variable	Decrease in Scores (positive change)	No Change in Scores (only 1 point change in scores in either direction)	Increase in Scores (negative change)
Inattention	Three Five Six	One	Four
Impulsivity	Two Five Six	One Three	Four
Hyperactivity	Three Five Six	One Two	Four
Aggression	One Two Three	Five Six	Four

Table 2
Summary of Change for the Dependent Variables for Participants – Teacher Report

Dependent Variable	Decrease in Scores (positive change)	No Change in Scores (only 1 point change in scores in either direction)	Increase in Scores (negative change)
Inattention	Three Five Six	One Two Four	
Impulsivity	Three Six	One Two Five	Four
Hyperactivity	One Three Five Six	Two	Four
Aggression		One Two Three Four Five Six	

Participant One

Participant One was an eleven-year-old boy diagnosed with ADHD, predominately inattentive type, and Asperger's syndrome. He was taking Adderall during the study. As can be seen in Figure 1 and Table 1, he exhibited very little change in behaviors. Parent reports showed only slight changes after the intervention was introduced. Aggressive behavior had been on the increase during the baseline, but leveled out during the intervention. Observer reports during the martial arts classes showed consistent results and with the general curve trend discussed earlier. Teacher reports (Table 2) indicated little change in the school environment with the exception of a four-point drop in hyperactive behavior. Although Participant One had virtually no change in behaviors, his mother indicated she could see no drawbacks to his participation.

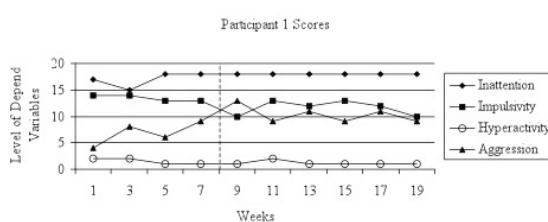


Figure 1. Participant 1 Scores – Parent Report

Participant Two

Participant Two was a seven-year-old boy diagnosed with ADHD, combined type. In addition, he was diagnosed with oppositional defiant disorder and phonological disorder and was taking Concerta. As can be seen in Figure 2 and Table 1, parent reports indicated he had reductions in all areas. Again, he followed the same trend in observer reports discussed earlier. However, his levels of inattention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity were reported by observers at higher levels than those reported by parents. Although changes occurred based on parent and observer reports, teacher reports (Table 2) indicated no change in behaviors in the school environment. Participant Two's mother stated she could see positive changes in impulse control and the training program was beneficial.

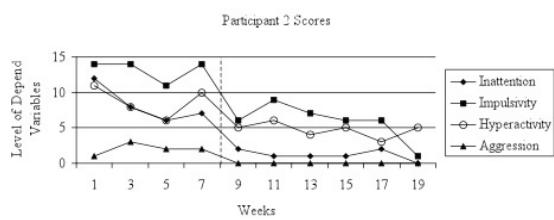


Figure 2. Participant 2 Scores – Parent Report

Participant Three

Participant Three, also seven years old, was diagnosed with ADHD, no specific type, and was taking Adderall. As can be seen in Figure 3 and Table 1, parent reports indicated he had reductions in all areas. Observer reports indicated the same trend in levels of inattention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity found in the other participants. In addition, teacher reports (Table 2) indicated reductions in inattention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity, but no change in level of aggression. His mother stated he loved going to tae kwon do classes and she had noticed obvious positive changes in his behaviors.

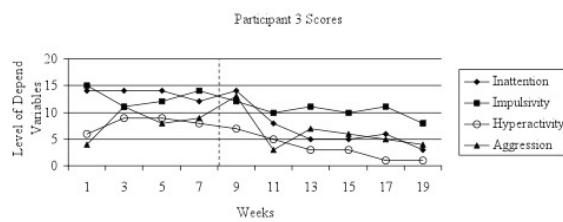


Figure 3. Participant 3 Scores – Parent Report

Participant Four

Participant Four was a nine-year-old boy diagnosed with ADHD, no specific type. He also was diagnosed with oppositional defiant disorder and was taking Concerta. As can be seen in Figure 4 and Table 1, parent reports indicated that his behaviors were consistent until weeks thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen (six, seven, and eight of the intervention) when levels began to increase. After the increase, levels began to decline again later during the intervention. Observer reports indicated the same trend in behaviors the other participants followed (low levels followed by an increase and then a reduction during the course of the intervention). However, teacher reports (Table 2) indicated slight increases in all four dependent variables. Participant Four was the only child in the study to have a negative change. Interestingly enough, his mother did not attribute the changes to martial arts training. She stated his change in behaviors was due to changes in events at home. This may be accurate, as the increases did not occur until almost half way through the intervention. As confirmed by parent reports on the CRS-R and highlighted in Table 1, his mother stated he was acting better near the end of the study.

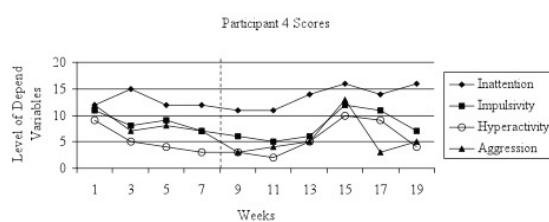


Figure 4. Participant 4 Scores – Parent Report

Participant Five

Participant Five was a nine-year-old girl diagnosed with ADHD, predominately inattentive type. She also was diagnosed with an anxiety disorder and was taking Celexa during the study. As can be seen in Figure 5 and Table 1, parent reports indicated she had reductions in all four areas. Observer reports indicated the same trend in levels of inattention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity found in the other participants and no change in levels of aggression. Teacher reports (Table 2) indicated little change. Her mother was excited by the results, stating this was the first sport her child had not quit. Her mother stated the girl's grades were better and she was more focused.

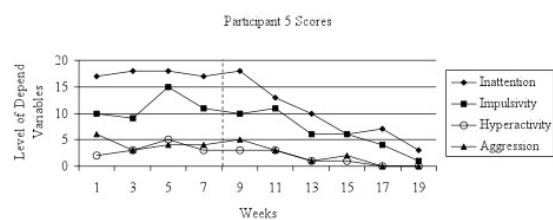


Figure 5. Participant 5 Scores – Parent Report

Participant Six

Participant Six was a nine-year-old boy diagnosed with ADHD, combined type. He also was diagnosed with dyslexia and a learning disability in math, but was not taking medication. As can be seen in Figure 6 and Table 1, parent reports indicated he had reductions in all four areas. Observer reports indicated the same trend in levels of inattention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity found in the other participants and no change in levels of aggression. Teacher reports (Table 2) indicated slight reductions in inattention, impulsivity, hyperactivity and no change in level of aggression. His mother also was enthusiastic about the martial arts training. She stated his energy had been redirected and believed the martial arts were good for discipline and control.

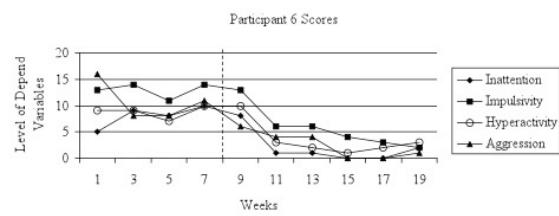


Figure 6. Participant 6 Scores – Parent Report

Discussion

Although the number of participants in this study was small, the results of this study, combined with the ample anecdotal evidence offered by martial arts participants and instructors, are encouraging and suggest additional study is warranted. Results certainly varied among individuals (see Table 1 and Table 2), but data from four of the six participants indicated tae kwon do training had a positive impact on common symptoms associated with ADHD. Although Felmet's (1998) initial research with martial arts offered little statistical significance, many of her hypotheses showed evidence that results were in a positive direction, which points to clinical significance not apparent with statistical analysis. These results support the idea that perhaps the intervention may be clinically helpful although not statistically significant. Interestingly, the children who attended martial arts classes most frequently exhibited the greatest changes in observed behaviors and those who attended the fewest classes showed the least amount of change.

Overall, observer reports showed little variation and indicated no change in behavior scores from the beginning of training to the end. However, most of the reports of the independent observers displayed an interesting trend. Nearly each of the participants started with no problem behaviors during the tae kwon do classes. It may be this should have been expected since the children were placed in a novel situation that resulted in greater levels of attention and lower levels of problem behaviors. However, levels of inattention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity increased during the third week and then returned to lower levels during the course of the training to indicate no differences in scores from beginning to end. These results possibly highlight the trend in a reduction of behaviors in novel situations, a return to more common problem behaviors upon familiarity with the situation, and then a reduction of behaviors based on the intervention. Furthermore, there were no changes in levels of aggression in any of the participants as indicated by independent observers.

Although this study included girls as participants, one withdrew from the study and only one girl remained in the classes. Few studies are conducted with girls as participants, possibly because the prevalence of the disorder is higher in boys (DSM-IV-TR, 2000). However, Brown (2000) and Green and Chee (1998) suggest girls could possibly be impacted more by ADHD than boys as girls have fewer signs of hyperactivity and may go untreated. The fact more women are becoming involved in the martial arts and the one female participant showed some evidence of improvement in symptomatology could lead to further research in the area of female participants.

Certainly, more research using the martial arts as an intervention for ADHD is warranted. Larger groups are required to offer statistical significance to the results, while additional studies could include more control for sex, diagnosis, age, martial arts style, and duration. In particular, one area that needs to be researched deals with the difference between martial arts and exercise as

interventions. As there is limited research in the area of martial arts as an intervention for ADHD, much of the supporting evidence for this study came from exercise as an intervention. Since there is a strong commitment to discipline and dedication in the martial arts, certainly in the traditional martial arts styles, this may have an impact on the individual different from other forms of exercise. The philosophical and behavioral components of the martial arts, such as rules, regulations, demand for respect, and the philosophical nature of self-improvement and citizenship, were not controlled for in this study. It is unclear whether these components had any more effect than exercise alone.

The results offer initial empirical evidence to support the anecdotal information offered in the popular sources discussing interventions for ADHD. The initial findings are hopeful and point toward an area where additional research is necessary. Training in the martial arts may be an effective component of a treatment program for children with ADHD. However, it should be cautioned individual differences confound the effects and further studies with larger numbers of participants and other martial arts styles are required. The martial arts are not offered as a cure-all for ADHD, but as one component of a comprehensive treatment plan for children with ADHD.

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“JUST ANOTHER FOOTBALL ACCIDENT”

A comparative perspective on the fatal intersection of soccer fans, sports stadia, and official neglect

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The business of American moviemaking is not exactly a hotbed of irony or introspection. The Hollywood version of *Fever Pitch*, Nick Hornby's landmark diary of his lifelong devotion to the Arsenal football club, may be the apogee of the film industry's unerring knack for transmogrifying nuance into glossy mass-marketed tripe. It was bad enough the film was an awkward translation of obsessive fandom for one of England's leading soccer teams into a screwball comedy about a single-minded Red Sox fan's adventures in romance (and it was much worse that the film's stars, Jimmy Fallon and Drew Barrymore, were allowed to invade the field during the Red Sox' actual victory celebration at the end of the 2004 World Series).

What made *Fever Pitch* the film so intolerable to anyone who had read *Fever Pitch* the book was the way in which the film completely eviscerated the distinctions between the American sports fan experience and the experience of sports fans in other nations. While these are not distinctions Hornby intended to draw – indeed, it is likely these distinctions would be missed by Hornby's British audience and even by Hornby himself, and only noticed by American readers – the distinctions are nevertheless deeply meaningful.

One distinction in particular is downright chilling: Hornby's account of the Hillsborough tragedy.

Like most English stadia at the time, the behind-goal sections of Sheffield's Hillsborough stadium were standing-room-only terraces, fronted by wire fencing to prevent rowdy fans from invading the field. On April 15, 1989, at the start of an F.A. Cup semifinal match between Liverpool and Nottingham Forest, a series of crowd control blunders resulted in hundreds of overflow Liverpool supporters being erroneously shunted down a single tunnel towards the terraces at the Leppings Lane end of the stadium. With the fans already in the terrace fenced in, the steady stream of excess fans pouring down

the tunnel into the terraces led to a fatal crush in which victims were suffocated.

Readers familiar with Hillsborough brace themselves as Hornby's diary advances through the 1980s, knowing what is to come when Hornby arrives at April of 1989. As expected, Hornby's reaction to the disaster, relayed from his vantage point at the other F.A. Cup semifinal hundreds of miles away, is unsparing in its horror. Yet American readers are jarred in a unique way, especially by Hornby's opening words:

There were rumours emanating from those with radios, but we didn't really know anything about it until halftime, when there was no score given for the Liverpool-Forest semifinal, and even then nobody had any real idea of the sickening scale of it all. By the end of our game, a dull, distracted 1-0 win, everyone knew there had been deaths. And a few people, those who had been to Hillsborough for the big occasions, were able to guess whereabouts in the ground the tragedy had occurred; but then, nobody who runs the game has ever been interested in the forebodings of fans.

By the time we got home it was clear that this wasn't just another football accident, the sort that happens once every few years, kills one or two unlucky people, and is generally and casually regarded by all the relevant authorities as one of the hazards of our chosen diversion. The numbers of dead rose by the minute – seven, then a score, then fifty-something and eventually ninety-five – and you realized that if anybody had even a shred of common sense left available to them, nothing would ever be the same again. (Hornby 1992, at 217)

Even casual sports fans are marginally aware of how American sports differ from their foreign counterparts. Some differences are simply a question of alternative busi-

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ness models, such as the absence of shirt advertising on the uniforms in the “big four” American pro sports leagues, as opposed to the billboarding of soccer and rugby players in Europe, Asia, and South America. Some differences are competitive, such as the concept of relegation from the top division, a prospect which haunts soccer teams in other nations, but which is not adopted stateside (thus sparing teams like the Pittsburgh Pirates and Kansas City Royals from dropping into the minors).

But what Hornsby describes is a distinction from another dimension. To American ears, the notion of “just another accident” that “once every few years kills one or two unlucky people,” is a comprehensively unfamiliar, even unfathomable concept. American spectator sports do not have semiannual fatal accidents, and no American fan can even conceive of such things being a customary risk of their fanhood.

Compared to its counterparts across the globe, the American sports landscape has been relatively unscathed by death. To an extent this is nothing more than good fortune. There is no rational explanation why countries such as Italy and England have seen their leading professional soccer clubs wiped out in plane crashes, but no major professional team in America has suffered the same tragic fate. American college teams (Marshall University football, 1970; University of Evansville basketball, 1977) and Olympic teams (figure skating, 1961; boxing, 1980) have lost their lives in aviation accidents. But the crashes that claimed Torino in 1949 and Manchester United in 1958 – each team their country’s reigning league champions, featuring several key players for the national World Cup squad – could only be approximated in the United States by disasters claiming the New York Yankees or Los Angeles Lakers. American professional sports have so far avoided such tragedies by virtue of sheer luck alone.

Placed in the context of other similar catastrophes, however, the Hillsborough disaster is altogether more sinister. These are failures ascribable to not just human error, but also to institutional neglect. American sports venues simply have not failed like this – not on this scale, not this many times, and not for these reasons.

Hillsborough was the fourth major stadium disaster in less than a half-century in British soccer. Crowd stampedes on terraced stands killed thirty-three people in Bolton’s Burnden Park in 1946, and then killed sixty-six people at Glasgow’s Ibrox park in 1971. A fire during a match at Bradford’s Valley Parade killed fifty-six people in 1985.

Nor is the British experience unique. Indeed, less than three weeks after the Bradford fire, a crowd control problem at the European Cup Final—the Super Bowl of European soccer—collapsed a retaining wall at Brussels’ Heysel Stadium, killing thirty-nine. And in 1982, in a disaster concealed for years by Soviet authorities, a stampede at Moscow’s Luzhniki Stadium resulted in over 300 fatalities.

The only comparable American disaster comes from beyond the sports world – the dash for “festival seating”

at a Who concert at Cincinnati’s Riverfront Coliseum that killed eleven concertgoers in December 1979. Even here, though, the comparison is instructive.

The casualties at the Who concert were the result of a misguided, but widely-used, ticketing policy that eschewed assigned seats in favor of a rush-for-the-best-seats approach that meant it was only a question of when and where something like the chaos in Cincinnati would happen. The Cincinnati disaster does thus parallel Hillsborough, in that both were triggered by incompetent official decisionmaking vis-à-vis where to send patrons and when to open the venue’s doors.

However, the fatalities at the Who concert could not be ascribed to the design flaws or neglectful maintenance of Riverfront Coliseum. Conversely, the depth of the Hillsborough tragedy was extended by the appalling condition of the stadium itself, from the ramshackle terracing that carried fans forward on an undulating wave, to the installation of fencing that signaled to fans they were nothing more than caged animals.

In this regard, Hillsborough is a grimly common story. Heysel Stadium was notoriously run-down, made of concrete that had deteriorated so badly it could not withstand the pressure of rambunctious Liverpool fans, who pinned Juventus supporters against a wall that quickly gave way. Most shocking of all is the Bradford fire, which was started when a discarded cigarette fell beneath the seats and ignited a stockpile of garbage that, investigators later determined, had been accumulating underneath the grandstand for decades (Nawrat and Hutchings, 1997). Within minutes of initial ignition, the roaring blaze had consumed the entire grandstand, running the full length of the sideline. The video of the fire, available on YouTube, is simply terrifying.

Making matters worse is many of these tragedies were eminently foreseeable and preventable. The 1971 Ibrox disaster had been presaged by a nearly identical accident at Ibrox in 1961 which killed two people ... and also by a *third* major accident at Ibrox, back in 1902, when a collapsing spectators’ stand killed 25 and injured over 500.

Even where preventative measures were taken, football clubs simply circumvented regulations, and football’s governing bodies ignored the clubs’ malfeasance. Following the 1971 Ibrox disaster, all British football stadia were required to have updated safety certificates that would be dispensed following regular inspections. Hillsborough’s original certificate, however, was not issued until 1979, and in the decade leading to the disaster, it was never updated, despite the installation of the fencing and creation of virtual holding pens in the already overcrowded Leppings Lane goal end, where the 1989 tragedy occurred (Conn 2004, at 82).

These are nightmares without American analog. Not all American sports venues are gleaming palaces, but none are allowed to negligently fall into such a state of disrepair that large-scale fatalities ensue. Perhaps an American version of the Bradford fire occurred at Boston’s South

End Grounds in 1894, when a crowd enraged by a hard slide by Baltimore infielder John McGraw accidentally set fire to the wood-bleachered South End Grounds; the resultant conflagration not only consumed the ballpark, but 170 neighborhood buildings as well.

Then again, the fire at the South End Grounds differs from the Bradford fire in several ways, not least of which was the nonexistent death toll in Boston. Building technology in 1894 was not expected to provide a safe haven from fire the way building technology in 1985 was supposed to provide. If anything, the South End Grounds fire may have accelerated the move in America away from combustible wood ballparks, in favor of concrete and later steel buildings that would guarantee fans could attend games without risking their lives. Where in America a near-tragedy produced a safety-embraceive counterreaction; in Europe an actual tragedy in 1985 was merely a prelude to others in the weeks and years ahead.

The picture that emerges is one of managerial callousness that club owners felt for their facilities, and by extension for their fans. The flames of Bradford represented criminal neglect that persisted for immeasurable years. The perimeter fences of Hillsborough represented the “disdain of the football and political elites who had come to view football supporters as pack animals and wild dogs” (Goldblatt 2006, at 601).

This is not to completely absolve the fans of blame. American ears have certainly been seared by callous insults hurled by fans at opposing fans or players. The most notorious incident might be when students at Arizona State University taunted Arizona University point guard Steve Kerr with chants of “P-L-O! P-L-O!” in reference to the 1984 assassination of his father, Malcolm Kerr, who was president of the American University of Beirut. But fan culture in international soccer cultivates hatred and violence to a degree unseen in this country.

It is not insignificant that both the 1961 and 1971 accidents at Ibrox occurred during “Old Firm” matches between Rangers and Celtic; the rivalry between these Glaswegian neighbors is a hothouse for religious conflict, with Protestants favoring Rangers and Catholics supporting Celtic. The Heysel disaster was caused by drunken English fans charging Italian fans who were unprepared for such aggressive behavior, the byproduct of an emergent culture of “hooliganism” that saw football matches become less a setting for entertainment than a forum for violence, either ritually tribal or coldheartedly banal (Buford 1990).

Hooligan fan culture has become so ingrained and perverse, according to Franklin Foer, that supporters of Tottenham Hotspur – a leading London club known for having a significant Jewish presence in its fan base – are taunted by a notorious fan of rival club Chelsea who hurls vicious anti-Semitic invective at them ... notwithstanding the fact the Chelsea hooligan is Jewish himself (Foer 2004, at 89). Finally, the worst disaster in soccer history occurred not because of a deteriorating stadium, but

because of fan misbehavior; Peruvian fans rioted following a disputed award of a penalty kick to Argentina in a 1964 Olympic qualifying match killing 350 and injuring more than 500.

So what do we learn from this?

In the cynical twenty-first century, it is a common refrain American professional sports teams mistreat their fans, at least from an economic perspective. Teams like the NFL’s Cleveland Browns in 1995 abandon their home cities, often with decades of tradition, even though fan support is strong; decamping for a more favorable stadium or television deal elsewhere. Cities are held hostage for new stadia, with teams extorting hundreds of millions of public dollars for construction costs, with the concomitant threat to pick up stakes and moving away (by the time this article appears, the NBA’s Seattle Super Sonics may have already carried this threat out). In addition to footing the bill for these subsidies, tax-paying fans are often socked with the double-whammy of personal seat licenses – a fee that they have to pay merely for the opportunity to then spend thousands of dollars on season tickets in the new building.

For all of these financial shenanigans, however, American professional sports teams have never treated their fans with the depth of contempt that has been visited upon fans beyond our borders. American fans have been exploited for their money, but they have not been endangered like fans abroad. American sports owners have relentlessly and remorselessly reached into their customers’ wallets, but their regard for their customers’ physical well-being has far outstripped that of their foreign counterparts, whose orientation seemed to be to “shut the gates, tell everyone to squash up, and then pray, very hard” (Hornby 1992, at 218).

Why this comparative dissonance? Is it just the specific games we attend? Much has been written about how soccer’s lack of popularity in America is a reflection of American cultural distinctiveness (Markovits and Helleman 2001), or alternatively how soccer is a reflecting pool for international cultural and political attitudes (Foer 2004). For most of the countries in this article, soccer is the dominant sport – all other spectator sports lag well behind it in terms of interest, coverage, revenue, and primacy. The American spectator sports menu has exponentially more offerings, and thus more targets for fans’ energies. Perhaps world soccer generates such large-scale tragedies because it is such a large-scale source for fans’ emotional investment.

Is the explanation larger, more broadly sociopolitical? World soccer is tied to notions of national pride and religious identity in a way American sport is not. Unlike the soccer-playing nations of the rest of the world, the American political tradition lacks either decade-long wars with border neighbors or murderous sectarian purges, real-world phenomena which appear to have been seamlessly ported into European recreational enterprises. Might the foregoing observations be the flip of Karl von Clausewitz’s

aphorism that “war is politics by other means?” Might the passions generated by international soccer demonstrate that soccer is war by other means?

(Then again, considering that El Salvador followed a 1969 World Cup qualifying victory over Honduras by invading that country, perhaps soccer and war intertwined in a Clausewitzian way after all.)

Or is the explanation in fact smaller? American professional sports teams have invariably been business enterprises, first, last, and always. Whether family-owned or corporate-owned, American pro franchises have been just that: bottom-line single-entity franchisee profit generators for their proprietors. Consequently, those proprietors have an interest in ensuring their facilities are up to industry standards – good stadia mean happy customers, and that means repeat business. In contrast, most world soccer teams were founded as athletic clubs; the team that calls Hillsborough home, Sheffield Wednesday, was founded in 1820 by cricket players who named their team after the day they met for matches. Many soccer teams exist contemporaneously with other sport teams under their club’s umbrella, such as Spanish giant Real Madrid, which operates both the nine-time European Cup winners along with a professional basketball team, Real Madrid Baloncesto. These athletic clubs were historically much more insular than American sports franchises, less concerned about mass-marketing to attract new fans than about keeping the club’s affairs in-house. In the absence of a corporatist profit motive to generate customers from outside their narrow base, many clubs simply let their facilities decay.

Whatever the explanation, the fact remains the American sports fan experience bears only a passing resemblance to the fan experience in other nations. We are all in the arena, but we are watching different games while being buffeted by different pressures. Troubled though American fans are at the corporate welfare represented by taxpayer-funded stadia, even at their most profligate they are no match for the dilapidated coffins-in-waiting that international stadia embodied in the not-too-distant past. Unnerved though American fans are by the coarseness of contemporary crowds, their behavior is no match for the fanhood-as-proxy for larger battles manifested abroad.

Journalists often refer to sports as their outlet’s “toy department.” In a comparative sense, perhaps our games – and more profoundly, the games played globally – are more serious business than we realize.

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SKATING ON THIN ICE: HOCKEY AND THE CANADIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

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Canadians know in their hearts they have long led the world when it comes to shooting pucks into the net. This belief has played a large role in keeping many different people together across a great, expansive territory that includes numerous, often divisive political, social, and economic cleavages. If hockey is part of Canada's national identity, how did this come to be and what will challenge this understanding in the future? Given the media, technology, and the opportunism of political leaders, hockey has been partially constructed and strategically placed as part of the Canadian national identity. Further, contemporary forces, including demographic change, globalization and the rise of other sports, such as soccer, challenge the future importance of hockey to Canada.

A nation is a vague yet important concept in society. Commitment to a nation for individuals can be above their family, peers, professional associations, communities, and province or state and regional attachments. Commitment to a nation for individuals, also can be equal to, above or below their identification with a country. The nation is consequently a powerful political identity to many people and as such, can be unifying and divisive, benevolent or benign. It is a collective personal identification with a political community larger than oneself. This association is discriminating. Nations distinguish groups of people from others. Nations are thought to emerge organically and over time based on history of efforts, perseverance and devotion, sacrifices and claims, defeats and triumphs.¹

Specifically, nations have some identifying characteristics. These current components help define the nation to its contemporary subscribers and distinguish it from other such collectivities. Political scientists and other observers have attempted to identify the common nation credentials, some of which are visible and others present, but invisible. Race, language, physical characteristics, and geography (as in, where you live) are cited as nation factors that can be more easily grasped and identified than other

aspects less tangible, including common culture, shared values and dreams, a feeling of comfort and solidarity and also shared understandings and interpretations of the past with heroes, villains, and myths.²

Such visible and invisible parts of what makes a nation are objective and subjective, respectively.³ Benedict Anderson thus referred to nations as "imagined communities," not that they are illusions, but simply not so quantifiable.⁴ A nation is like a "living soul," spiritual more than being Petri dish testable and scientific. At any rate, the sum total of the ingredients of any given nation is a national identity.⁵

The flexibility of what can be included in a national identity permits the inclusion of activities engaged in and watched by participants of a nation, including sports. Sport, in general, helps create and reproduce national identities.⁶ Such cultural activities breed connections with others in a given nation.⁷ In this respect, hockey can be included as part of Canada's national identity. Hockey is "Canada's game" and its "national passion."⁸ Canadians can well imagine they were born holding a hockey stick, slap shot ready.

Apart from hockey, Canada struggled and struggles to nail down its other national identity elements. It took forty years to agree on a national flag, and Canada had no officially sanctioned national anthem (to sing at hockey games) until 1980! Consequently, the characteristics of a Canadian national identity are as much fault lines as bedrock.⁹ In this sense, hockey became the Krazy Glue of Canada's otherwise underdeveloped and shaky national identity. For Canada, as a nation, these national identity parts include its gradually achieved sovereignty, northern geographic reality, lukewarm French-English relations and regionalism and anti-American sentiment.

Canada made full statehood only after decades of peaceful discussion and the patriation of the Constitu-

tion in 1982. Lacking flashpoints like revolutions and civil wars, Canada never faced obvious oppression and always had some freedoms and rights guaranteed by the British monarchy. Empire, not revolution, created Canada. "It is the product of treaty and statute, the dry legal instruments of the diplomat and the legislator," lectured historian W.L. Morton.¹⁰ Such described bland beginnings meant no one Canadian way of life emerged. The peaceful and slow process of Canada's political maturity inhibited the development of a shared national self-awareness for Canadians that would solidify common values, rationalize the set-up of its democratic institutions and bring together its disparate social and population elements.¹¹ Canada's gradual process of becoming a full-fledged state robbed it of a swashbuckling, binding historical narrative with universal national protagonists.¹² Hockey, filling the void, provided national, homegrown heroes that Canada's political evolution lacked. The Stanley Cup became more than a trophy; it was a national icon and a passionate representation of victory.¹³ Further, Canada was seen to set the standard for the world in hockey performance. Other countries gauged their hockey abilities in relation to Canada's. Canada was recognized and respected internationally for its puck handling ability when it was gradually seeking full sovereignty from its colonial past.¹⁴

Another aspect of the Canadian national identity is said to be its northern geography and accompanying chilly winters.¹⁵ Canadians, presumably stereotypically, wear gloves, scarves and toques. The need for such garments collectively unites them. In the words of writer Margaret Atwood, Canadian winters create a country with an enduring theme of survival.¹⁶ In this respect, hockey, a winter sport, is a representation and celebration (more like a triumph) over Canada's northern geography.¹⁷

French-English relations represent an additional national identity element less inspirational given two near-miss separation attempts by the province of Quebec. Canada, as a country of "two solitudes," has a weak sense of national self-understanding between its French and English populations.¹⁸ Hockey has brought French and English Canadians together. "There was probably no other common interest [besides hockey] that brought the two solitudes together... into the same kind of regular and passionate engagement with one another," notes Whitsmon.¹⁹ Likewise, regional identifications by Canadians that can equal or surpass the intensity of national ties make up part of Canada's national identity. These identifications are often articulated as rivalries and grievances against other regions.²⁰ Western alienation, for instance, is the perception the Western provinces are not equal partners in Confederation. Such feelings are expressed every time the public broadcaster, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), runs "YET ANOTHER" Toronto Maple Leafs game when the Vancouver Canucks are also playing. Here, hockey is again mixed into the understanding of who Canadians are and how they relate to each other.

Philosopher George Grant felt to be genuinely Canadian, a person must be anti-American.²¹ So, much rumi-

nation about Canada hinges on examining how and why Canadians are different from Americans.²² Such anti-American sentiment is rooted in fears of cultural and economic assimilation yet hockey remains largely Canadian in North America. That hockey has thrived in Canada despite much American indifference is a distinguishing factor setting out differences between the residents of both countries.²³ Hockey's superstars may be largely anonymous throughout the United States and National Hockey League games may be aired on obscure specialty channels.²⁴ A playoff game shown on American television, in overtime, may abruptly switch to an infomercial before its resolution.²⁵ Yet to Canadians, this lack of American interest in hockey is even necessary. Hockey is a clear expression to all Canadians of how their national identity, at least in terms of culture and sports, is separate from the character of Americans.²⁶

Overall, hockey has helped promote and is part of Canada's national identity. Hockey may be credited with bringing Canadians from different parts of the country together despite its other weak national identity connections. Not the soapbox, Parliament, or a battlefield but the hockey rink is "the place where the monumental themes of Canadian life are played out – English and French, East and West, Canada the U.S..." write Ken Dryden and Roy MacGregor.²⁷ Hockey is a "collective representation" about what being Canadian is.²⁸ However, this assumed natural fit has been somewhat constructed by media and technology, and fabricated by elected representatives who continue to use the game to promote national-building objectives. National identities change. In this respect, immigration, globalization and other sports such as soccer will challenge the strength of hockey as Canadian.

"The myth of hockey as 'our game' persists, in part, because there remain the national media with a vested interest in maintaining that myth," writes Sean Hayes.²⁹ In this sense, media and technology have helped place hockey in Canada's national identity. "Hockey Night in Canada" was the first program to reach a national audience.³⁰ Then brought into living rooms, it was this television show in concert with the game itself that united Canadians.³¹ Technological improvements including instant replays and color television further increased the appeal and established home hockey viewing as a habit; by the mid-1960s, NHL hockey was the most popular television programming in Canada. Hockey was not fully "Canada's game" until communication technology made its collective screening possible.³² Since then, "Hockey Night in Canada" promotes itself as uniquely Canadian and its annual "Hockey Day in Canada" event is more than a Canadian team jamboree but portrayed as a representation of what Canada is all about.

Ann Hall and Trevor Slack suggest, "sport is a readily available source of political capital that can be used to build a national identity..."³³ States habitually use sport for many political purposes including establishing nationhood, identities for citizens, bridging diversity of people and their backgrounds and cultures, and to display

power and status to the world.³⁵ Elected representatives of their day held up early and successful Canadian athletes including runner Tom Longboat and the rower, Ned Hanlan, as examples of Canadian international strength.³⁶ During the Cold War, government, through the Canadian Sports Advisory Council, stated sport is important for defense and the national economy.³⁷ Prime Minister Trudeau, who dropped a puck for the ceremonial face-off at one of the 1972 Canada-Russia series games, linked national unity efforts with culture in terms of the arts, television, publishing and sports.³⁸ In the 1970s, the Proposed Sports Policy for Canadians included a section on national unity.³⁹ Sports achievements, too, came to be seen as a solution to concerns of American cultural domination in Canada.⁴⁰

Political leaders regularly, opportunely, invoke and connect themselves to hockey and its heroes (Prime Minister Chrétien requesting Jean Beliveau accept an appointment to the Senate, for instance, or the current prime minister supporting a sequel to the 1972 Series).⁴¹ After all, hockey's large audience includes voters, most of whom do not find sport, unlike the other national identity features, to be divisive.⁴² Hockey rises above these cleavages; it is frequently exploited by political leaders and others to strengthen or side-step an otherwise weak national identity. In this sense, hockey's place in Canada's national identity rubric is in some respects commercially and politically contrived. Further, changes to Canada are bringing changes to hockey's national identity strength.

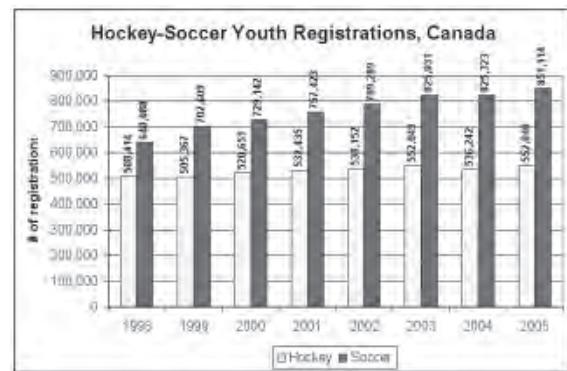
Canada has always been a land of immigrants and immigration has dramatically changed Canada over the past century. Immigrants made up thirteen percent of the Canadian population in 1901, and Canada welcomed 13.4 million people to its provinces and territories through to the end of the twentieth century.⁴³ By 2001, 18.4 percent of the Canadian population was born somewhere else.⁴⁴ Young, new Canadians through the Great Depression years to the 1970s learned to play and enjoy hockey as a means to "become Canadian," but hockey today no longer so monolithically represents the common experiences of these Canadians.⁴⁵ Statistics Canada, for example, has found participation in groups or organizations such as sports teams is less common today among first generation immigrants.⁴⁶ An increasing number of immigrants (by 1996, 27 percent from Asia and 21 percent from places other than the United Kingdom or Europe) are from countries where hockey has scant presence.⁴⁷ Such immigrants, as they always have, are taking time to adjust to their new home, communities, and their jobs. Changing demographics may in turn affect Canada's status as a hockey nation.

Global migration, global economic activity and free trade, and global communications are recasting national identities, providing more commercial entertainment and fragmenting audiences.⁴⁸ It is more difficult for states to remain insular, nurturing, and protective of customary activities including sports, since these sports now compete

against many entertainment and cultural options. In this way, it is well known the N.H.L. has long been a multi-national and commercialized endeavour, with more than just Canadians winning face offs, and with U.S. teams in cities with little hockey history. Soccer represents the potential power of growth in Canada for other sports, at the possible expense of hockey, with globalization.

Canada has hosted soccer matches since the 1860s.⁴⁹ In 1904, the Galt Football Club from Canada, playing in the World Football Association league, won the gold medal at the Olympic Games in St. Louis (since this time, Canada's soccer Olympic appearances have not been successes).⁵⁰ Canada has once qualified for the World Cup, in 1986, but lost all three games. Canada has some soccer sporting heroes such as Montreal born goalkeeper Joe Kennaway, who played with Glasgow Celtic in the 1930s, winning three Scottish F.A. Cup medals and two Scottish Championship medals.⁵¹ Canadian teams have participated in various North American professional leagues since the late 1960s, but in many cases, both teams and leagues have folded.⁵²

Soccer participation in Canada and the world today, particularly at the youth and recreational levels is sky scraping in comparison to hockey. The Federation de Internationale Football Association (FIFA), based in Zurich, is the sport's international governing body; it presides over the World Cup. FIFA studies into worldwide soccer participation are staggering: one in every 25 people in the world regularly plays soccer according to a 2000 survey of FIFA's 204 member associations.⁵³ These 240 million people include, worldwide, nearly 18 million children.⁵⁴ The same survey identified a little more than 1.35 million adults and 653,000 Canadian kids regularly playing in Canada.⁵⁵



According to the Canadian Soccer Association, registrations in organized soccer have nearly tripled since 1988 through to 2006 from under 300,000 to nearly 855,000.⁵⁶ These numbers are lower than the FIFA counts, which includes "occasional," unorganized participation.

Hockey Canada data on player registration indicates a modest gain of about 46,000 players from the 1995/1996 season to 2005/2006.⁵⁷ A perfect registration comparison between hockey and soccer, however, is hindered by Hockey

Canada including junior players in their accounting. Still, hockey registration at the minor level is relatively stagnant, while soccer in Canada has experienced significant gains in participation at all levels and ages. The following graph depicts youth registration for both sports in the years for which data for each is available.⁵⁸

Given participation levels, the non-winter sport of soccer is increasingly becoming part of the routines and rhythms of otherwise hockey-dominant Canadian life. Still, sport as a force in a country is not the same as sport as an activity that people play.⁵⁹ Canadians could play more and more soccer, attendance at soccer matches such as Toronto's new professional team could rise, too. Vancouver (with Seattle) could be successful in winning the right to host the 2018 World Cup of soccer.⁶⁰ But Canadians could still live and breathe hockey, even if in a "globalized" soccer country and world.

Evidence hockey may be becoming less important to Canada, and that this importance has been historically inflated for political reasons, media interests, and technology is not to be pessimistic, but descriptive. Besides, the subjective factors of national identities are inventions. In other words, Canada may become progressively less hockey-crazed, but hockey can remain part of what Canada is and will be. Even a diminished hockey component of national identity can serve to remind Canadians of what they have shared in the past: the love of a game mixed in with the continuous search for commonalities.⁶¹ However, any further decline of the importance of hockey to Canada's national identity could have implications for the future of Canada as a single state. Hockey has overcome tensions such as regionalism, ethnicity, cultural imperialism, and economic differences. These are tensions that have led to the dissolution, violent or otherwise, of other states with similar divisions. Without the familiar route of the Zamboni, it may be difficult to keep diverse, insecure Canada together as one team. The scores of each hockey game (never mind the confusing overtimes in the NHL) provide clear results in an unsettled country.

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THE GARDENER'S EXERCISE: RATIONAL RECREATION IN EARLY- NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN

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During the 1820s and 1830s, gardening was one of the “rational recreation” activities that landowners, manufacturers, and parish administrators promoted and subsidized for the agricultural and industrial working classes of Great Britain. This particular historical moment provides a rich opportunity to think about exercise and recreation as the reform of habit. Building on the work of popular culture and leisure historians, it is useful to consider how recreational activities are inseparable from the social contexts, and how in fact, cultural shifts are embedded in these small habits of daily life. In 1830, Scottish landlord R.C. Kirkliston wrote:

I think nothing contributes more to the sobriety, comfort, and cleanliness of a labourer, than a taste for gardening, when it can be instilled, and which, I think, a proprietor ought to promote by every means in his power. I have seldom known a labourer who was fond of and kept his garden neat, whose house and family were not so, and who did not spend his leisure hours with them, and in his garden, instead of in the ale house.¹

Elites like Kirkliston established allotment gardens adjacent to rented workers’ housing (cottages) and within easy walking distance to help tenants and workers supplement their incomes and cultivate the gardening habit. They also formed horticultural societies that encouraged “industrious cottagers” by offering prizes for the best-kept gardens and best specimens of vegetables, fruits, and flowers. *The Gardener’s Magazine*, *The Labourer’s Friend*, and other periodicals published extensive discussions on the multiple benefits of working-class gardening. References to the ale house or pub communicated concerns about not just health and sobriety, but also about the economic status and group politics of those who frequented them.

Gardens are places of recreation, but gardening is an activity that re-creates the participant. Most previous scholarship on British early nineteenth-century working-class gardening has been concerned with the transformation of place, in particular the creation of urban green spaces, with the notable exceptions of S. Martin Gaskell’s “Gardens for the Working Class: Victorian Practical Pleasures” (1980) and Stephen Constantine’s “Amateur Gardening and Popular Recreation in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries” (1981). Gaskell discusses the industrial garden allotments that preceded the later garden city movement. He found garden promoters stressed active involvement. Constantine stresses the reformatory—re-creational and disciplinary—intent. For anyone who delves into the literature of early-to-mid-nineteenth century gardening, it is obvious that habits (industriousness, sobriety, domesticity) are what the gardener cultivates, and yet this angle has received very little historical examination.² Gardening is an activity that occupies the mind, strengthens the body, fills time, and, if practiced conscientiously, improves the gardener’s skills and accustoms her/him to disciplined habits. The experience of gardening is physically, mentally, emotionally, and spiritually engaging. People do it for pleasure and for profit. It can be solitary or communal. The tasks require regularity and flexibility, attention to minute daily changes, and foresight to accommodate seasonal and long-term planning. In all of these ways, gardening is an exercise, a habitual practice that occupies one’s time and leads to improvement through exerted effort.

Rational Recreation

Habits—whether good or bad—are developed through persistent repetition. Rational recreation was a nineteenth-century Protestant moral reform movement to replace bad habits with good ones. Proponents sought to eradicate and

replace traditional working-class amusements with new ones that fit bourgeois notions of domestic, temperate, and self-improving occupations. Reflecting the Protestant work ethic, leisure time, that might be given to sensual idleness, should be spent in productive intellectual activities like gardening, entomology, geology, mathematics, and poetry. Disciplined leisure was re-creation because it re-created a person's readiness to return to work alert and refreshed. Rational recreation was supposed to prevent idleness and promote productive leisure, but the ultimate goal was to maximize labor discipline by changing habits.

This movement grew out of the wrenching social and economic changes occurring in Great Britain during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Enclosure of common lands, the Corn Laws, the rise of urban and industrial manufacturing centers, increased population, international trade, war, and a variety of other factors altered economic conditions, social relationships, and consequently recreational habits. Traditional community-based working-class recreations were characterized by group activities, carnivalesque play, and annual and seasonal events. They were attended by much drinking and often conducted in taverns and public houses (pubs for short). Under the pre-industrial traditions of noblesse oblige, elites sponsored harvest festivals and other big events that perpetuated reciprocal loyalty between land-owners and tenant farmers. Some traditional recreations ceased due to lack of money and time. Others were lost as populations migrated, breaking up group traditions. Where working-class leisure spots and activities persisted, they offered venues for economic and political discussion and dissent.

Landed gentry, agricultural capitalists, industrial manufacturers, and urban reformers alike wanted to prevent dissent—large and small—by reforming working-class recreation. Their goals were to re-establish authority, secure social stability, and develop an “effective labour discipline;” thus, the rational recreation movement simultaneously looked back to feudal social relations and shared the modernizing attitude central to industrial discipline. In one of the earliest social history critiques of rational recreation, Robert Malcolmson found it was in

“the industrial villages, the textile centres, [and] the metropolis . . . that contractual relations particularly predominated and paternalist authority was least effectual, that class antagonisms were most acutely developed, that employment was the least secure, and that population density was highest; consequently it was here that the problems of social control were most keenly sensed and most closely studied.”³

However, proponents of rural garden programs—like the Society for the Encouragement of Industry and the Reduction of Poor Rates and the Labourer’s Friend Society—were equally invested in changing the recreational habits of the rural poor in order to re-establish loyalty, cultivate docility, and reduce unemployment.

There were two ways to change leisure habits: introduce

new (or altered) activities or enforce constant labor. Afraid of working-class (and politically Chartist) uprisings, the quickly growing middle class proposed organized recreations and promoted labor policies to keep the poor from pubs and politics. In the 1820s, they sponsored Mechanics Institutes, which, according to Frederic Engels, gave the worker nothing more than “one long sermon on the respectful and passive obedience in the station in life to which he has been called.”⁴ At the same time, laissez-faire economists used the puritanical concepts of idleness and industry to justify lowering wages and raising prices until the poor found it necessary to work constantly in order to avoid starvation or the work-house. This malicious policy, the doctrine of the utility of poverty, prevented the working poor from engaging in the popular recreations that elites (sometimes rightly) feared doubled as incubators for working class consciousness and, consequently, insubordination.

The material exercise of gardening—its effects on gardeners’ habits and lifestyles—functionally suited the ideological and economic goals of the rational recreation movement: keeping workers busy, preoccupied, and disciplined. Gardening produces food for the table and breeds loyalty to place, characteristics that served elite interests in reducing the poor rate (welfare costs) and preventing labor insurrection. Sponsored gardens and horticultural society activities were supposed to occupy workers, keeping them out of pubs where agricultural labourers, artisans, and mechanics would plan labor strikes, food riots, and other political acts of insubordination.⁵ In addition, the material characteristics of gardening made it an ideal rational recreation because caring for a garden requires regular and conscientious effort, producing disciplined habits.

Testimonies from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales show that in the 1820s and 1830s, landowners, manufacturers, and parish administrators from across Great Britain were subsidizing tenants’ and workers’ gardens. When John Claudius Loudon, editor of *The Gardeners’ Magazine* (where many of these discussions were published) introduced a series of prize-winning essays on cottagers’ garden programs, he stressed the social benefits of such programs. Gardens fed tenants’ families and created feelings of local attachment and community responsibility. They also importantly provided “recreation” which Loudon carefully defined as “not idleness but a change in the kind and degree of labour or occupation.” He felt “every labourer, mechanic, operative manufacturer, or small tradesman, has, or ought to have, some hours of leisure every day, for the purpose of health, recreation, and enjoyment.”⁶ In the 1820s and early 1830s, there was greater concentration of allotment programs in the southern rural counties, but sponsorship later grew in the northern manufacturing districts. Despite variations in the local environment and modes of production, sponsors of these programs shared a core vision that gardening could transform the habits of the poor, leading them from immoral dissipation to rational recreation.

Growing Income

By changing habits, allotment gardening programs served economic needs. The private and municipal provision of small garden plots for free or at a low rent is known as the allotment system. Initially, sponsored rural cottage gardens were part of the landscape improvement and cottage housing reform of Britain's rural districts. This process began with the intensified period of enclosure in the mid-1600s when landowners aggressively claimed lands that had traditionally been used as "commons" by local tenants and small-holders (owners of small properties). Between 1793 and 1816, enclosure was at its peak: during these years 3,062,121 acres were fenced in. Rural allotments were essentially replacing the earlier function of commons, with rent added.⁷ British nineteenth-century allotments can be explained first as a response to rural poverty caused by enclosure, and second as a palliative for poverty in industrial centers where thousands migrated because of enclosure's evictions.

In 1815, British parliament created the Corn Laws that instituted tariffs on imported grains, protecting the interests of domestic grain producers and merchants. Despite inflated prices and widespread starvation, farmers would hold out on threshing grain, even letting crops rot in the field, in order to charge an even higher rate. Agricultural labourers were denied both work and affordable food. Manufacturers were against the Corn Laws because they opposed paying higher workers' wages to support the inflated prices of grain. They argued the restriction of free trade crippled the country's potential for wealth which could be realized if Britain were to become the "workshop of the world." Workers were divided. Consequently some supported protection from imports while others agitated for repeal of the Corn Laws in favor of laissez-faire capitalism. The Corn Laws were repealed in 1846. During the Corn Law years, agricultural laborers and mechanics were squeezed from both ends. They paid the artificially inflated grain prices while agricultural and industrial capitalists paid them the lowest possible wages. This coincided with a population explosion that exacerbated the conditions of poverty. In first-hand accounts, people explained they had been starved into theft and rebellion.⁸

In times of unemployment or underemployment, workers could receive the "poor rate" that parishes raised by collecting property taxes. Demand for poor rates substantially increased as a result of enclosure coinciding with a substantial population increase, but local landowners didn't want to pay welfare. They considered the poor rate "the wages of idleness." Economist Thomas Malthus described the poor as no more than "surplus population," unworthy of help in the form of alms or employment because such assistance would only lead to greater increase of population. Parliamentary reforms of the preexisting Poor Law, which required each parish to contribute to the support of its' local unemployed populace, brought out a new Poor Law in 1834. This Malthusian legislation canceled all assistance except that of the workhouse, which was

so miserable as to be prison-like and a discouragement in itself. The workhouse left no doubt that in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, paupers were vicious and idle liars and thieves, society's criminals--not its victims. The make-work approach to managing the poor was also inefficient, costing more than it produced. Gardens were profitable and pleasurable, thus doubly effective.⁹

Both workers and employers wanted the former to have allotments for growing food. In rural areas, landlords started providing them in the late 1700s. In the early 1820s, the Bishop of Cambridgeshire, who later became Bishop of Bath and Wells, established allotments in both locations. Lord Braybrooke with the Gibsons, Mr. Catlin, and others sponsored a well-regarded early project in Saffron Walden, followed by related settlements in Littlebury and Wenden, all in Essex county. In Wiltshire, Thomas Estcourt established allotments at Long Newton, followed by Rev. S. Demainbray and Lord Carnarvon. In Cambridgeshire, Waterbeach and Milton hosted gardens. Industrial location allotments, generally part of a model village, include those created by Robert Owen in New Lanark; John Moggridge in the villages of Blackwood, Ynissd, and Trelyn; and many others who followed in the 1830s through the 1850s.¹⁰

The allotment was a "method of making people grow their own poor rate," as phrased succinctly by political philosopher John Stuart Mill. The small garden plots provided a solution for the employment fluctuations created by market demand, labor competition, and the seasonal nature of some work. Traditionally, gardens had provided supplementary income for workers in artisanal trades where demand was irregular. This helped stabilize wages because someone with a productive garden did not feel compelled to take the lowest paid work as soon as it became available. Conversely, agricultural and industrial capitalists wanted the guarantee of plentiful labor willing to work on demand for the lowest wages. For them, allotments were welfare work that covered poor rate costs during periods of higher unemployment. Most agricultural and industrial capitalists wanted tenants and workers who were neither dependent nor independent but rather somewhere in between. Welfare, in the form of poor rates and workhouses, was one answer. Sponsored allotment gardens was another. The allotment garden was meant to supplement insufficient wages, prevent field and factory theft, and reduce landowners' poor rate taxes. For some allotments, only renters who did not ask for parish assistance were eligible; one had to choose.¹¹

In general, sponsors wanted allotment gardens to provide enough food to off-set the poor rate, but not enough to offer an alternative income or otherwise disrupt other full-time paid employment. Consequently, allotments were usually less than one acre in size, often in the range of one-eighth to one-quarter acre. It was assumed the male laborer's wife and children would manage the garden except during off-duty hours when he could also contribute. William Davis, a hard-nosed "philanthropist" and mem-

ber of the Bath Society for the Investigation and Relief of Occasional Distress, Encouragement of Industry, and Suppression of Vagrants, asserted cottage gardens should “be large enough to produce plenty of roots for the cottager’s family, but not so extensive as to tempt him to withdraw his attention from daily labour for his master, nor to make his produce much of an article for sale.”¹²

Keeping Busy

If supplementing the poor rate with vegetables from the allotment garden was a problem because laborers might gain a degree of independence from the labor market, why were reformers so keen on seeing workers busy in gardens? Busyness—or in the vocabulary of the day, industry—was the second most important item on the allotment societies’ agendas. Many employers and landlords wanted every minute of the workers’ spare time to be filled so they became accustomed to it and also to prevent other, less desirable practices.

Who had not observed, in the long summer evenings, groups of labourers standing idling about at the corners of the streets? Their work perhaps was finished at six o’clock—it was too early to go to bed—they had no intellectual resources—their only means of amusement was to assemble together—if they had a shilling in their pockets, it was spent in beer—and if they had not, it but too frequently happened that they resorted to poaching and pilfering to gratify their inclination.¹³

This report from the Maling Labourers’ Friend Society (in Kent) expresses a ubiquitous sentiment in the allotment garden literature, one which clearly locates such garden programs within the rational recreation agenda of replacing bad habits with good ones. It is also echoed in other comments about filling any spare hours and “broken” days (caused by rain, excess daylight, or temporary unemployment) for, “when this is not the case, these scraps of time are spent in lounging about, or else at the alehouse.”¹⁴ The garden’s produce helped to replace the poor rate, and the practice of gardening was meant to replace another threat to the economic order: idleness.

When supplied with a garden, “the labourer can employ himself on it during after-hours, instead of going to the beer house or political shop, a rendezvous more inimical to the interest of the country and wellbeing of the poor peasant’s family, than any thing that has been adopted for the last half century.” Thus argued a Welsh landowner of two hundred and thirty acres who was afraid of the trouble that would come with working-class “chattering about protocols, discussing new constitutions, troubling their heads with the affairs of Europe, or reading the slander and calumnies too often heaped on the magnates of our land” Like others of his class, this landowner longed for the English peasantry who “in times of yore” were illiterate and docile.¹⁵ They explicitly idealized the cottager’s garden, representing it as the key to maintaining the mythical values of rural domesticity.

In addition to looking to the past, allotment activ-

ists saw gardening as a way to train future generations in habits of industry. The Earl of Winchilsea thought every community should have gardens, for laborers and land-owners alike benefited from the former’s industriousness. In the garden, the laborer’s children “learn to dig and weed, and their time is employed in useful industry; by which means they are likely to acquire more honest and industrious habits than those who are bred up in the poverty and laziness we often see”¹⁶

In 1820, John H. Moggridge established an experimental thirty-acre village in the area of Monmouthshire, Wales, for coal miners who worked at his and other local collieries. Tenants were guaranteed leases for the duration of four lives or ninety-nine years if the latter exceeded the former. Part of Moggridge’s program was to award prizes for the best gardens. Under the auspices of local Horticultural Society shows, he gave prizes to cottagers for the best fruit, vegetables, and flowers from their gardens. In fall 1826, Moggridge reported he was pleased with the initial results, finding men and women occupied in their gardens during the after hours that had been previously spent in pubs. He commented, “Many a man that used to waste his spare time and money in public-houses is now to be seen at work in his garden, after the day’s labour is over. Several of the women, too, are conspicuously industrious in this way.”¹⁷

Some landlords, particularly tenant farmers, were against allotments, fearing “the poor labour so hard in their allotments, after their hours of work, as to be less able to do a good day’s work for the farmer on the following day.” Lord Carnarvon, happy with his own allotment experiment in Wiltshire, accused such recalcitrant agriculturalists of “forgetting how much more labour a man can perform who is well fed and clothed, and possessed of comfort and competence.” In defense of allotments at Lincolnshire and Rutlandshire, it was reported “the management of this little demesne, never, we believe, for one hour, interferes with the necessary occupations of the labourer.”¹⁸ It was generally a condition of the lease that tenants would not let maintenance of their allotment gardens interfere with their hired work. Gardening ensured continuous and, when regulated, prioritized busyness.

Staying in Place

Concern about suppressing working-class insurrection increased dramatically in the 1820s and more so in the early 1830s with the onset of the Captain Swing riots and Chartist agitation. Analysts praised cottage and allotment gardens as the domesticating answer in rural and industrial regions. For them, gardening attached the gardener in place. When the Monmouthshire colliers resisted a wage decrease in 1827 by staging a seven-week work strike, those without gardens “scoured the country . . . bludgeons in their hands, levying contributions in victuals and clothes for the support of their families.” Garden sponsor John Moggridge offered the contrast garden-holders provided:

Blackwood villagers, who had gardens, turned

their attention to them, and subsisted themselves out of them and of the resources at their command: and when it became necessary to swear in a considerable number of special constables to aid in preserving the peace of the country, and for the protection of property, none were found more ready, none more zealous, none more faithful, none more effective, than the cottage freeholders of Blackwood.¹⁹

Moggridge's narrative shows those who had productive gardens were able to support themselves during the strike and were materially interested in restoring order. Five years later, the colliers and ironworkers found themselves again out of work, and Moggridge's experiment produced new results. This time he lost some gardening tenants who simply had to abandon their homes and plots in search of work. However, among those who stayed, one had become so proficient in his garden, Moggridge emphasized, he sold ripe peaches at eight pence per dozen, a "moderate price."²⁰ In the long run, the colliers' gardens helped interests on both sides of this labor struggle.

In the 1830-31 Captain Swing riots, agricultural laborers turned to arson in the southern counties, burning the machinery that made manual labor superfluous. Landlords' interests in offering allotments and gardening prizes increased substantially directly following the outbreak of the riots in 1830. They asserted the self-sufficiency and pride that came from gardening would be a far more powerful deterrent to criminal activity than even the threats of prison or corporeal punishment. In an effort to convince the landowners and farmers of Chard, a coalition of twenty-nine clergy reported, "During the late disturbances among the peasantry in Wiltshire, for instance, *no labourer from the parishes where these plans had been adopted, joined in them.*"²¹ Material characteristics of gardening could substantially curb labor riots not only by supplementing wages but also by attaching workers to the land and isolating them from one another's company during free hours.

In 1832, an allotment advocacy group in Sussex phrased their argument in much stronger language than that used by the Somerset clergy:

If[the laborer's] sturdy independence be disagreeable to the farmer, still more disagreeable ought that mendicant disposition to be which shakes the security of his possessions, which haunts his hours of rest with terror, and gives the gathered stores of his granaries to the midnight flames."²²

John Denson, an agricultural labourer turned allotment activist, quoted this warning to the readers of *Gardener's Magazine* in 1832. Beginning in 1819, Denson published diatribes against tenant farmers' greed and pleas for allotment gardens to ease the agricultural laborers' difficulties. He had witnessed agricultural riots and retaliatory hangings in Cambridgeshire in 1816, and having benefitted himself from a post-enclosure one and a half acre allotment, vehemently and successfully convinced the local vicar, bishop, and other land-holders to establish allotment

programs to prevent similar troubles.²³

In the same period, the rising Chartist labor movement called attention to disparities between the manufacturing population and those who hired their labor. In an overview of popular gardening over two centuries, Constantine noted efforts to encourage gardening in urban and industrial settings have increased "at times of political and industrial unrest when working people seemed to many middle-class observers to be threatening the established order."²⁴ If industrialization increased class consciousness among workers, the industrial magnates hoped gardening would, conversely, economically, and socially forestall revolts. What began as a method of poor rate assistance also quickly became trade union prevention.

Gardens were an effective form of riot control because a garden kept the renter or worker in place, literally. An attachment to land would override the "natural" tendency of the poor to idleness, dissipation, and discontent, according to landlords who claimed renters who gardened were more docile, meaning less ready to steal, strike, or abandon rented property. In addition to arguing gardens eased the poor rate, pro-allotment landowners believed gardening cottagers cared about their rented property enough to avoid displeasing the landlord. Joining in labor strikes could mean eviction with one week's notice, leaving the striker jobless, homeless, and gardenless.

Visible Improvement

The garden's aesthetic value offers one explanation of why gardening was such a successful way of provoking and measuring behavioral change. Two forms of "landscape improvement" characterized the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth-century period of enclosure: agriculture and professional landscape gardening estate designs. Improvement signified increased monetary value, the application of scientific techniques, and participation in modern humanitarianism. The reform of tenant housing (cottages) and gardens were connected to these improvements. Gardens improved an estate's appearance and economic value; gardening improved a tenant's condition and character.

As demonstrated by John E. Crowley (1997), the improvement of tenants' cottages and development of cottage gardens was stimulated by elite interest in landscape architecture, then compounded with humanitarian reform during the last third of the eighteenth century. Landlords risked social condemnation if their tenants' housing was noticeably squalid rather than merely modest.²⁵ Sincere reformers may have replaced workers' housing with stronger, warmer, and cleaner homes, but contemporary evidence shows some landowners did not want to make the financial investment for genuine and lasting improvement. Many cottages were cheaply made buildings that lasted about forty years. Even when the cottages were reasonably made, the cottager's comfort was subordinate to the landowner's view of the ornamental farm (*ferme ornée*).²⁶ Vine-covered cottages with small front gardens masked unimproved or ugly cottages, providing a superficially effective solution for housing problems.

Landlords hoped if they put up new housing, tenants would want to reciprocate their investment by growing adjacent beautifying gardens. In the 1820s and 1830s, landowners, farmers, and other reformers debated how best to encourage cottagers to develop gardeners' tastes, skills, and habits. In 1826, William Stevenson, author of the *Agricultural Surveys of Surrey and Dorsetshire*, expressed concern about the lack of institutions, associations, and lectures dedicated to the spread of horticulture in the rural districts. Without these forms of support, Stevenson found it very difficult to interest "peasants" in gardening. He thought the only way to do so was "by proving to him, that by its proper cultivation he may benefit his health, save his money, and cheaply contribute to some of his animal gratifications."²⁷ Once the gardener found him/herself materially interested in edible gardening, enthusiasm might extend to ornamental gardening and from there, to the study of natural sciences.

Others shared Stevenson's idea gardening was a habit that, with practice, led the gardener from base material interests to aesthetic appreciation and intellectual enjoyment. In response to Stevenson's recommendations, estate manager William Buchan reported on an experiment he oversaw for Lord Cawdor at Stackpole Court in Pembrokeshire. While enlarging, repairing, and improving ventilation for farm laborers' cottages, Cawdor instructed Buchan to put in front and back gardens to promote their "comfort." Buchan established the gardens with fruit trees and ornamental plants, but found when he informed "the cottagers at the same time, that they would have to keep the whole in good order for the future . . . the information was not received with a good grace by some of them, prejudiced as they were against the introduction of any thing new." Cawdor and Buchan encouraged the cottagers' cooperation by offering prizes for the "best cultivated garden" and for those with the "most flowers." Cottagers who needed to be bribed into the activity were surely aware the "improvements" promoted the estate owner's scenery and real estate value. Tenants who were originally opposed to the new gardens were soon asking for cuttings and seeds, and the prizes, Buchan reported, were eventually deemed unnecessary.²⁸

In fact, the tables turned as cottage gardens became the norm. Jeremy Burchardt's quantitative study of the allotment movement shows a significant increase between 1830 and 1845, and finds by the early 1840s "there was a consensus in upper-class circles that labourers ought to have allotments." In 1830, Kirkliston suggested when landlords provide new and attractive cottages, the inhabitant "will consider himself in honour bound" to improve the grounds by growing a garden. In response, Charles Hulbert of Shrewsbury added that landlords should be obliged to always provide gardens with cottages, which would in turn beautify and increase the rent of the property.²⁹ Aesthetic results depended upon behavioral reform, but the latter was increasingly not only a happy by-product, but actually a defined goal of garden programs.

Gardens easily served this purpose because their con-

dition provided visible evidence of the gardener's habits. Following the model offered by Stevenson, Cawdor, and others, when John Moggridge first reported on his experiment, he added: "I mean to fix a day annually for bestowing prizes and rewards publicly, which, as a general and regular inspection must then take place, will, I am sure, prove a powerful stimulus."³⁰ The garden's condition provided a concrete and visible measure of the gardener's exertion and compliance. Vine-covered cottages and cottage gardens came to signify settled and modest domesticity, while unkempt gardens signified undependable inhabitants with empty pockets and insecure morality. Gardening's built-in reporting mechanism made it an ideal rational recreation.

In the era of rational recreation, the garden was evidence of the owners' habits, and by extension, of his/her degree of dependence on the poor rate, attachment to place, and potential obedience. Houses and workshops without gardens, a small cold frame, or even just a window plant, were the sites of poverty, and by specious implication, ignorance and immorality. Allotment garden promoters believed a tenant with a well-tended garden was sure to be a good and sober tenant. The condition of house and grounds were read as the signs of a person's morality first, and secondly—only as a result of degraded or upheld morality—a sign of economic discomfort or sustenance. The condition of a cottager's garden was a measure of morality only because it was an indication of time spent at home. A well-kept garden was the garden of someone who didn't go to the pub regularly and consequently wouldn't be rioting for food, aggressively demanding hand-outs, burning equipment, or agitating for trade unions. Gardening was a substitute for other activities, and one, by developing and encouraging regular habits, re-created the gardener.

ENDNOTES

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3 Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 161. See also Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational recreation and the contest for control, 1830-1885* (1978; NY: Methuen & Co., 1987 paperback edition).

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5 Ironically, the centrality of pubs and drinking to working class botany clubs was ignored by observers who wanted to idealize artisan naturalists as role models for rational recreation, as shown by Anne Secord, "Science in the Pub: Artisan Botanists

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A PERSONAL PEDESTRIAN HISTORY

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The fabric of community

I can't remember what sneakers I was wearing the first day my middle school gym teacher told us we were going to go outside and run cross country. But I know without remembering what clothes I was wearing that day, since they were the same gym clothes we wore in every gym class in the early 1970s—coarse white cotton shorts, a white cotton T-shirt, calf-length "sanitary" (white with accent stripes on top) socks. Probably, the sneakers were basketball sneakers, most likely Converse Chuck Taylors, pretty much what we all wore before the initial prototypes of what would become Air Jordans became the rage. Our first cross-country run—I was in sixth grade—was a lap around the back parking lot, half way up a hill we called "Agony" in high school, then a long gradual downhill through parking lots around the school, around a paved path circling a practice football field, and then back around the same parking lot where we began—about three quarters of a mile. This was the first time I had ever run "long distance." I was surprised to find I was pretty good at it, or perhaps other boys my age were much less good at it. But in those running clothes—that white cotton uniform, the standard issue jock sneakers—I began to run, away from my family, from my hometown, and from who I might have been had I stayed.

Today, when I go out to run, everything has changed. The socks, shirts, and shorts are high-tech fabrics, silky, moisture wicking, free of the binding and chafing that used to let us know we were doing something hard. These days, running shoes are engineered for all manner of human variations and biomechanical quirks—no more one-size-fits-none. But the changes are not just in what I wear. Running has changed. Selling sporting goods has changed. Making clothes and sneakers has changed. I can hardly explore all these changes in this short essay, but

I do want to try to make sense of the way these changes have played out in my life because this story of a running life and clothes is a Pennsylvania story.

When I first tried cross country running in sixth grade, I was only a few months into my first year of school in Pottsville, the city of a little under 20,000 whose school district my town, Port Carbon, population 3,000, was a part of. Through fifth grade, I had attended the same Port Carbon elementary school my parents had gone to, and played baseball and basketball in Port Carbon leagues with other kids from town. In sixth grade, though I continued playing those sports, I met kids from the larger district, developed some of my first serious crushes on girls from Pottsville, and began to see new possibilities for myself as a student and an athlete. When I discovered running... and in the most unlikely place—gym class...right alongside gymnastics (at which my weak-limbed body seriously sucked), swimming (I couldn't swim and hated it besides), and basketball (I could shoot, but didn't much like roughing it up under the basket).

Running snuck up on me slowly. I joined the youth track team in eighth grade, running distance events after school and playing teener league baseball at the same time. That first season of track, I ran for the Rockets. Our orange uniforms were some kind of coarse synthetic material on top and lightweight nylon shorts. These team-issue running togs came with a once-fleecy, shrunken cotton sweat suit, pretty much what track athletes wore in the 1970s when they weren't braving the elements in short pants and tank tops. I think I bought a pair of canvas running shoes for that track season, but I can't remember much about them. The track was cinder, as almost all around that part of Pennsylvania were at that time, and so track spikes replaced the shoes.

Encouraged to try out for cross-country by an older runner, Brian Tonitis, who had played baseball with me in Port Carbon, I showed up for twice-a-day captain's practices in August. These pre-season practices took me into the heart of the running subculture at the high school. Early mornings, driving to practice in David Baxter's tan boat of a car—always slow cruise speed, never fast—we were bare-legged-slender, sprawled across the seats in what was left of the nighttime cool. Stretching on the stadium grass, we would linger to avoid beginning our runs into the steadily increasing heat. But as we pulled on early morning legs and talked through the grunts, I soaked in the entire body culture of running—the skinny bodies, the shoes, the clothes, the balms and oils for sore muscles. My sense of social identity at school melded with a new kind of cultural interest—for me, running was what music or drugs became for others...a fascination, a connection with other guys, and maybe most important, a way out of the football jock culture we runners thought dominated Pottsville Area High School in the 1970s. (I'm not sure we were wrong, but we were definitely biased.)

From the runners on the team I found out about local sporting goods stores like Huff's, a little hole-in-the-wall of a place a half floor down from street level in downtown Pottsville. There, Huffy presided, and his name suited the atmosphere, which was filled with cigar smell and a gruff, aggrieved, customer-non-service made worse by the store's reliance on the man himself fetching down every item from its nook or cranny. It was at Huff's I was first introduced to modern running shoes—Tiger Onitsuka Pintos—and at first thought they seemed flimsy. Of course, that was the point...minimal weight, just enough to glide on, nylon not canvas. Shoes like Tiger Pintos helped to initiate me into the aesthetics of function I underwent as part of the cross-country team.

Port Carbon was a town centered on its one industry, cloth processing. During my childhood, my dad had worked at the John L. Miller Bleach and Dye plant in town and coached the Carbon Textile little league team on which I played. The little league field at John L. Miller playground sat just across a branch of the upper Schuylkill River from the plant so that my baseball childhood smelled of the factory's chemicals and was colored by memories of how the creek's changing tints responded to the out-flow pipes' waste. Though the factory's business involved cloth processing and not garment making, cotton and its blends were the staple cloths I knew from my dad's work and the occasional scraps or samples he'd sneak home for my occasional school projects or for household rags. Cotton cloth was what supported my family, along with my mom's beauty shop. While my new running clothes were part of a cultural and aesthetic expansion of view, they were also a turn from the cloth I grew up with.

Geek targets

Part of what most interested me about the society of runners and what we wore to signal our participation in it was the way we troubled masculine dress and behavior by what we wore and how we acted. In the 1970s it was still possible for young men wearing flimsy nylon short shorts to get a rise out of everyday Pennsylvania citizens, and certainly to raise the eyebrows of former military men who coached the football team. Our body types were vaguely effeminate—slim, even willowy—and rather than steel gray or white shorts and T-shirts, we could be seen running along road sides wearing bright yellow (one of my first pairs of nylon running shorts), crimson (sure, the school color, but out on the roads?), and bright blue. It was almost as if we *wanted* to be noticed...and of course we did. It wasn't only the clothes, of course, but also the publicness of our claiming space for our sweating skinny bodies on local roads. Athletes were the guys who sweated in the dark weight room off the sour smelling football locker room, in the gym, or under the lights in the stadium. But we were out where anybody could see us, sweating, straining, and making a spectacle of ourselves in ways that suggested we wanted attention. And I suppose we did, though I think we only vaguely had a sense that what we were up to in our sport somehow was outside expectations for us as young men. (This was, I should mention, only at the beginning of women even considering participating in road running in the region where I grew up. I ran with a few young women who risked participating in the sport, and they depended on male friends and their own vigilance to make it even conceivable to run off the stadium track.)

When we ran the roads, we could count on regular heckling and, since we were adversarial sorts, confrontations with young and old men in beaten up cars and trucks. The most benign encounters featured inspired taunts such as, "Hup, two, three, four" and "Run, run, run." We should have ignored these, but we often flipped the bird or otherwise risked escalation. But not all our confrontations were relatively harmless. Just by running around in bright colored skimpy clothes in the 1970s, we could expect to have drivers play chicken with us, swerving across lanes of traffic towards us just to see if we'd jump into the wild brush off the side of the road. Or cars full of guys would stop to block our paths and mutter threats to "Beat the s**t out of us." And since we were, after all, not pacifist philosophers but young men raised to express the same testosterone fueled rage, albeit in our countercultural, fashion-eccentric ways, we threw rocks, gave back as vile obscenities as we got, and taunted grizzled tough guys to "get out of that truck and let's see how tough you are" believing that outside their V-8s none of these knuckleheads stood a chance of catching us. My friend Brian, I recall, once flipped the bird to the wrong pickup truck and found himself pursued along a railroad access path for nearly a half mile until, to get away, he had to wade across a widening portion of the Schuylkill River to ditch them. So, when I say we were challenging codes of masculine

behavior by wearing our skimpy shorts on the roads, there was real risk involved. Fortunately, I never knew anyone who actually ended up in the hospital...except for me...but that's another story.

At around the same time we were bringing fluorescent-colored clothes to public pedestrianism in Schuylkill County, Frank Shorter was redefining distance running for Americans through winning the marathon gold medal in the 1972 Munich and silver in the 1976 Montreal Olympics (though gold winner Waldemar Cierpinski of East Germany is now understood to have used anabolic steroids to achieve his Montreal victory). If the populace of my region of Pennsylvania had not yet taken much notice of the emerging running boom, we runners had. We shared information on our finds: Dolfin running singlets and running shorts and the Womelsdorf running shoe shop that became a Mecca of sorts for local runners. Though we were still sent to local sporting goods stores for school subsidized athletic products, their stock lagged behind our knowledge about the latest clothes and shoes and so were sources of contention. Some among my friends, like Brian, scoffed at the heavy, ill-fitting products the school would offer us as standard issue. Why would someone wear coarse cotton shorts on a six-mile run when the chafing produced would make you sore for a week or more afterward? And why wear those poorly designed Converse "bobos" to run when a pair of Onitsuka nylons made you feel fast, light, and nearly unbeatable? On the other hand, David Baxter was a contrarian, sometimes wearing the "uniform" shirts and shorts just to prove it didn't matter, while at the same time preferring good shoes to bad. It was a matter of what really mattered to running fast for Baxter, and his functionalist aesthetic earned him a certain respect. Though we were living amidst coaches and families who had no clue, our own particular youth culture made us our own experts, even if in school we were pretty much treated like the goofball teens we usually were.

Being set apart from local culture as a runner profoundly affected how I saw myself not just in terms of sports but in terms of my intellectual future. Like others my age, I also defined my tastes through choosing music, reading books, and watching movies that weren't what others chose. But running's adversarial stance was the beginning of these other oppositions in part, I think, because it was through running I gained the support of mentoring young men. Running pulled me away from my father's influence—he had been my baseball and basketball coach—and suddenly I found myself listening more closely to the experienced runners than to coaches, since the runners were way ahead of these adults in terms of their knowledge of the sport. I understood pretty quickly, as I suppose teenagers in all kinds of fields do, that adults' knowledge is often five or more years outdated and if one's peers are really committed to cultural knowledge, their ideas are much better indicators of what is currently important, innovative, and worth adopting. From running, I learned to choose what I read based on what peers mentioned, what I read on my own, and where my curiosity led me. I learned to

read about music and movies in order to find out how to think about what might interest me. Running culture taught me to raise intellectual questions and make my own decisions. No wonder people in pick up trucks wanted to run me off the road.

So it shouldn't have been a surprise that the college that made the most sense to me was not Penn State, not even Frank Shorter's Yale, but rather Spiro Agnew's "Kremlin on the Krum," Swarthmore College. I knew little about Swarthmore when I applied—it was outside Philadelphia, it was Quaker, and it was small. But I knew how it felt to be there on a visit, when my host student let me into his room, encouraged me to make use of whatever I needed, and then told me he was heading back to the library. The quiet loneliness I felt on that visit somehow spoke to me, no doubt because I was a long-distance runner. So I knew I should go to Swarthmore and nowhere else, but I didn't know at the time the school had a great running tradition in the not-too-distant past under Coach Joe Stefanowicz. When I arrived as a freshman I joined a group of upper-classmen and a pair of freshman, Steve Daniels and John Blankfield, who together set about trying to reclaim some of the program's late-1960s/early-1970s glory. We never did have great success as a team, but we were devoted to the sport as only smart guys with NCAA Division III running talent can be. Coach Joe was a great mentor, sort of an über senior on the team who shared his knowledge about running shoes and took us to visit Bill Battey's, a sporting goods store whose shoe selections made us salivate. We'd actually run the two or so miles to Battey's store in Media, try on and maybe even buy shoes, then run back carrying or wearing our new shoes. Between my high school years and college, the running shoe marketing boom had begun, and innovations in design were a monthly feature in *Runners World* or Swarthmore alum Ed Ayres' *Running Times*.

Nike waffles, a shoe style whose prototypes featured soles pressed famously with a waffle iron by legendary Oregon coach Bill Bowerman for his star Steve Prefontaine, represented the hottest among a series of creative approaches to shoe design. But what most strikes me when I look back at that time was how important innovation was to our thinking about ourselves as athletes. I still remember long, late-night arguments about training technique—how fast should intervals be run, was long slow distance really a way to get strong and fast, should we race in our training shoes or train in our racing shoes? We were restless thinkers as athletes, but I don't think we were unique because the mid-seventies boom produced a kind of intellectual curiosity about running performance that was probably a logical offshoot of the cultural production that was the era's pedestrian marketing and publishing. We read about running. We talked about running. And for the most part the centrality of conflict with the "straight" athletic world diminished as local road races became more common and runners on the streets came to seem less outré. Running around Swarthmore and the nearby suburbs, I felt less worried about being confronted, challenged, and

assaulted. In fact, there was often a kind of respect that came from non-runners, shouts of encouragement, or an impressed shake of the head as if to say, "God bless you. I couldn't put myself through that."

Then, one day I was on my way back to campus from an eight-mile run with a friend. We had just crossed a busy road, and he had moved a few steps ahead of me on the sidewalk when I was stunned and the breath knocked out of me. I stopped gasping, having no idea what had happened, and my friend Rich kept going. In a few seconds I collapsed, and Rich ran back and, seeing me suddenly felled thought I had been shot, though there was no blood. He banged on the nearest door, demanding they call an ambulance. Only when I came to did we piece together I had been hit with a water balloon—my soaking wet sweatshirt tipped us off—tossed by some teenagers from a car moving 40 or 45 miles per hour. At that speed, a filled water balloon becomes a dangerous projectile, something about which the no-doubt physics-challenged teen non-pedestrians had little clue. The ambulance arrived and took me straight to Riddle Memorial Hospital, where an EKG and x-rays discovered nothing seriously wrong. But a runner's irregular heartbeat kept me in intensive care overnight for observation. Apparently broad cultural acceptance does not eliminate a runner's vulnerability to random violence. A geek target is still a target.

Back to the future

So what has happened to running and its shoes and clothing since the late 1970s? Now, road races, far from being a kind of cultural transformation of pedestrian reality are a predictable regularity throughout country—they advertise corporate identity, raise money for charities, and provide participants with predictable experiences from the "runners' expo" and pre-race pasta meal on through to the managed ad hoc transportation systems that make their massive scale possible. Running clubs have regularized training for long-distance races to such an extent they can move any willing citizen through the steps necessary to reach their personal race target, all the while finding in the social relations among fellow runners a new style of bond that, in my recent experience, has more in common with workplace "team" relationships than did the idiosyncratic clusters of contentious true believers we were in the 1970s. (I have never heard members of a running club have a real argument about the relative merits of one or the other training regimen.) Certainly, to adopt the stance of iconoclastic outsider as a runner today can only be a matter of personal preference.

Clothes, too, have changed. When I open my drawer of running shirts and shorts now, I see a palette of bright but masculine colors, carefully engineered from hi-tech fabrics to eliminate chafing, wick sweat away from my body, and, in general, allow me to exercise vigorously without the surface discomforts we used to think of as an essential part of exercise. The cotton shirts, shorts, socks, and sweatpants of my textile-industry youth are gone, but so, too, are the bright geek flag colors and unflattering cuts

for skinny bodies. Now Cool-Max polyester, soft as cotton to the hand, rules, with only the occasional silky or lycra touch to let only the wearer feel there's still something a little odd about our exercising bodies. (Only a small portion of the running clothes in my dresser drawers were made outside the United States.) Today's runners like their clothes' queerness a little less obvious.

Now, too, runners' bodies aren't the skinny spectacles whose very visibility taunted football and basketball players in the 1970s. We want our muscle groups to have targeted workouts, so in a sense it's not surprising more people than ever "run" on treadmills in climate controlled athletic clubs where they can also add a little work on their abs and their upper bodies. In fact, pure runners—athletes who obsessively do nothing but run—are rare since cross training has become the norm. (We runners used to think of our pathetically scrawny arms as evidence of our oppositional bodily priorities.) The health club has added benefits, of course: we avoid conflict with pickup-truck-driving or water-balloon-throwing aggressors. At the club, our only conflict is with the fellow customer who overstays their allotted time on the aerobic machine we signed up for in advance.

Shoes, perhaps, have undergone the most pervasive transformation. After the period of wide innovation and brand proliferation in the late seventies and early eighties, running shoe manufacturing settled into the creation of regularized "lines" of products. Different manufacturers developed their unique styles—different last shapes, toe box sizes, emphasis on types of biomechanics. Shoes continue to be manufactured both in the United States and abroad for United States companies, with Nike being the most celebrated example of a major manufacturer depending on low-wage workers abroad to buoy its shareholders' profits. The running shoe sales business transformed gradually from a subtle craft negotiated between running geek store workers and their customers to a pseudo-science in which customers profile themselves through selecting a series of variables (pronator, medium weight, heel striker, etc.) so they can identify the shoes engineered just for them. With the products, consumers, and sales process thus reengineered, the online shoe sales industry now dwarfs the local running store industry.

The shoes themselves have little of the idiosyncratic style of those I wore in the 1970s and early 80s.¹ Mainstream running shoes today are heavily structured to work with and against the runner's biomechanics. Compared to those early shoes, today's are much bulkier, designed to intervene between runner and running surface, though they are not correspondingly heavier. In recent years, in fact, Nike has created a line of shoes called the Nike Free, a flexible, lightweight shoe that, though it uses fairly advanced materials, has more in common with the minimalist qualities of early 1970s shoes. But Nike has advertised and marketed the shoe not as a regular running shoe, but as a specialty shoe that "calls on the foot to do more of the work in cushioning the impact and propelling

the body forward, providing a workout that regular training shoes don't" ("Nike Free 5.0 Running Shoe" 2008). Sounds more or less like what a running shoe is supposed to do, right? But Nike has included disclaimers on these shoes: "While not an everyday trainer, this shoe will work for many people on short, easy runs" ("Nike Free" 2008). Running shoe ad copy is now apparently written by corporate lawyers.

Refashioning running

Over the past few years, motivated by a few years of knee pain I believed was made worse by contemporary running shoes and their constraints on my running motion, I have run in the Nike Free, in some of the lightest weight training shoes made by the Asics company (the current manifestation of the Onitsuka company from my youth), and in "classic" Asics/Onitsuka shoes now marketed—no doubt due to the advice of lawyers—mainly for casual wear. Though I am a number of years older than I was when I last ran regularly, my new shoe regimen has made knee pain no longer a problem. Though aging has inevitably slowed my running, the experience of exercising in less protective shoes reminds me of what running used to feel like when the runner did "more of the work in cushioning the impact and propelling the body forward."

But running is not the same at all in other ways. I used to especially enjoy the adrenaline rush of running alongside traffic on busy roads; no more. While it's sometimes impossible in car dependent central Pennsylvania to avoid using public roads as part of a run, I spend most of my running time off road on trails, cutting across fields, or using dirt roads in the woods. I trust hunters more than I trust cell-phone using SUV drivers. And yet, the verbal and physical aggression that was a regular part of running's social landscape in my youth is all but nonexistent now. I can't remember the last time anyone over eight years of age even remarked on my running in public. I suppose if I were to put on my bright magenta running tights and wear them on local roads, I could rouse some interest, but I hardly run often enough these days to need to wear that particular pair. And I'm too old to solicit conflict to make running interesting these days.

But putting on a pair of thin soled shoes and heading off into the open fields, up and down the rolling hills, on trails, roads, and fields, at my age still connects me to the inherent resistance of running. A body straining against its environment, stride after stride pushing off and being pulled back. Lungs, heart, and muscles resisting stubborn willfulness...just another five minutes, one more time around the block, just up and down one more hill. We used to get carried away with running as resistance, turning a sport that's about balancing resisting forces into one that was about conflict. But when I see the re-engineering running has undergone, I want to recapture something lost. The resistance of running used to be less like the finely calibrated weights in a gym or counterweights in a piece of aerobic equipment than it was a kind of wild counterforce—from weather, bodily strain, human aggres-

sors, or unpredictable traffic conditions. The reassuring part was we found we could deal with circumstances we hadn't anticipated

Today, I feel more protected, less threatened, more integrated into normal masculine physicality in the way I run. But part of me holds onto the feeling that running can stir things up, provoke some kind of response, throw off the enforced balance of things. Now I understand better magenta tights aren't a bad idea when you run in the woods where the hunters are.

ENDNOTES

1. Nike, a giant that has long since transcended its lightweight, running-founded corporate identity, now manufactures a line of "Vintage" running shoes that are built in the forms of its early 1980s shoes and even distressed to look like they were made in the heyday of running shoe innovation. The company typically does not market these shoes as running shoes, but rather as "style" shoes for casual wear.

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