

Notes

1 Introducing a Sociology of Snowboarding Bodies

1. Citations from specific magazines, websites, videos and so on are listed in the Bibliography.
2. All interviewees received both an information sheet that outlined the project and their ethical rights, and a consent form. All interviewees had the choice to remain anonymous (full confidentiality), to be partially identified (e.g., occupation, and/or first name) or to be fully identified (full name and occupation), and signed the consent forms accordingly. While all but two agreed to be fully identified, in this book all interviewees have been given pseudonyms, except where the participant agreed to full disclosure and identifiers (e.g., age, occupation) help contextualize a particular comment or example included in the text. I have removed the full dates of interviews and personal communications.
3. Importantly, I was critically aware that entering virtual spaces for 'research' purposes raises many ethical issues, and thus I did not actively participate (e.g., post comments) on interactive websites or forums. Information published on publicly available travel, sport, and local websites, however, was used in conjunction with other cultural artifacts (e.g., magazines, films) with the primary intention of further developing and refining themes emerging in my fieldwork and interviews.
4. Of course, theoretical synthesis is not a new idea for feminists, some of whom have been combining the insights of two or more theoretical traditions for many years (e.g., Marxist feminism).

2 Remembering the Snowboarding Body

1. Early versions of some parts of this discussion originally appeared in *Sporting Traditions* (see Thorpe, 2010a).
2. In recent years, a myriad of snowboarding memorabilia collectors have also emerged, some of whom pay thousands of dollars for early snowboard equipment (especially snowboards).
3. Every historical artifact in the Salty Peaks Snowboard and Skateboard Shop and Museum is security tagged and inventoried; customers are under the surveillance of 28 video cameras.

3 Producing and Consuming the Snowboarding Body

1. Although his full name is Jake Burton Carpenter, Jake recently changed it to Jake Burton to avoid confusion. Hereafter I will refer to him as Burton, except where he has published under either Jake Burton or Jake Burton Carpenter.
2. There are different levels of sponsorship. Burton sponsors young riders at a 'factory level,' supplying them with snowboarding equipment. The next level is a 'rookie' sponsorship, where riders receive equipment and/or clothing, occasional

travel budgets and other incentives. The top level of sponsorship is Burton's Global Team, some of whom earn six-figure salaries.

3. According to a recent study conducted by the United States National Sporting Goods Association, only 11 percent of American snowboarders are members of racial/ethnic minority groups; 3.6 percent Asian, 2.3 percent Hispanic/Spanish/Latino, 1.6 percent African American, 1.1 percent Native American, and 2.4 percent other (NGSA Newsletter, 2001).
4. *Transworld Snowboarding* stated that 44.3 percent of American snowboarders have a household income of US\$75,000 a year or more (Hard Numbers, 2005, p. 58).
5. Clipping tickets is common practice among (typically younger) snowboarders and skiers on a tight budget; they approach patrons in the resort car park who appear to be heading home from a morning on the mountain, and offer them a cheap price for their used lift ticket (e.g., \$20 for a lift ticket initially purchased for \$80).
6. Since 1995 Chill has provided over 14,000 disadvantaged youths from 14 North American cities, as well as youth in Sydney (Australia) and Innsbruck (Austria), with the opportunity to learn to snowboard (for more information visit <http://www.burton.com/Home/chill,default,pg.html>).
7. It is important to note that very few proponents of the notion of base and superstructure actually adopt such a determinist perspective. Moreover, Marx and Engels never held to such a doctrine. According to Engels, 'neither Marx nor I have asserted this. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic factor is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, absurd phrase' (letter to J. Bloch, September 21–22, 1890, cited in Larrain, 1991, p. 47).
8. In these respects, post-Fordism 'overlaps to a good extent with some central aspects of post-modern theory' (Kumar, 1995, p. vii). A significant body of work links postmodernism and post-Fordism (e.g., Grossberg, 1992; Hall, 1989; Harvey, 1989; Jameson, 1991). For a critical discussion of such approaches, however, see Gartman (1998).
9. Theorization of the historical evolution and change from Fordism to post-Fordism has not passed unchallenged. In fact, post-Fordism is a hotly contested concept and, like the phenomena it seeks to understand, lacks a fixed and uniform interpretation. Hence, one must approach the literature on post-Fordism as a debate rather than a universally accepted theory of transition (see Nadesan, 2001).
10. This chapter has focused on the cultural positions of Western women as consumers and producers in the global boarding culture. Further research is necessary to examine how the positions of female snowboarders, as cultural consumers and producers, vary among different countries.

4 Representing the Boarding Body: Discourse, Power, and the Snowboarding Media

1. Earlier versions of some parts of this chapter originally appeared in *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* (see Thorpe, 2008).
2. The panopticon refers to Jeremy Bentham's design for a building that maximizes the working of power. Subjected to the 'omnipresent gaze of authority' in specially designed buildings, individuals scrutinize their own behaviors in a manner that 'renders them docile: they become their own supervisors' (Pringle & Markula,

2006, p. 43). Although Western states never implemented Bentham's design, Foucault (1991[1997]) identified panoptical power as a critical dimension of modern society.

3. As I have explained elsewhere (see Thorpe, 2008), the recent development of high-quality female-only snowboarding films (e.g., *As If* [2005], *Brighta* – Japanese all girl snowboard film [2007], *Stance* [2009]), also increasingly provide women with the opportunity to define their own criteria for inclusion, exhibit skills, create new meanings and values for women's snowboarding, and challenge dominant gender discourses.
4. Here 'discursive effect' refers to 'a momentary production of a phenomenon, such as the production of objects, subjects or conceptual understandings' (Markula & Pringle, 2006, p. 29).
5. A reverse discourse often uses 'the same vocabulary' as a dominating discourse but produces an opposing strategy or social effect (Foucault, 1978, p. 101).

5 Cultural Boarding Bodies: Status, Style, and Symbolic Capital

1. In this sense, there are some similarities between Bourdieu's conceptualization of social space and practice, and the concept of hegemony. Arguably, Bourdieu's conceptual schema is more useful because it is grounded in the 'real' and concerned primarily with the particular.
2. 'Going bigger' translates to more amplitude. 'Going fatter' means to perform the most technical maneuvers with style.

6 Female Boarding Bodies: Betties, Babes, and Bad-Asses

1. There are, of course, some notable exceptions. In the 1890s and early 1900s, for example, Sigmund Freud argued that gender and sexuality were socially constructed; the Frankfurt School then adopted his ideas in the mid-twentieth century. In the 1960s and 1970s, Michel Foucault also argued that all humans were social constructs – an argument that feminists adopted in the 1980s and 1990s with a Foucauldian stance.
2. An earlier version of this chapter originally appeared in *Sociology of Sport Journal* (see Thorpe, 2009).
3. Of course, feminine capital may also be used by men, and masculine capital may also be used by women.
4. However, perhaps due to his concern with the French working classes, Bourdieu tended to gloss over certain interclass differences (see Shilling, 2004), that would be pertinent to this discussion of intergroup gender relations within (and across) sports fields such as snowboarding, skateboarding and/or surfing.
5. Unfortunately, capturing the voices and understanding the lived experiences of 'pro-hos' proved difficult for this project, primarily because few women self-identify as 'pro-hos'. Rather, 'pro-ho' tends to be a label imposed upon 'other' women whose feminine dispositions and behaviors do not comply with the cultural valuation system within the snowboarding field. Some men are also identified as 'pro-hos' when they are perceived to be investing too heavily in social relationships with key figures in the sport or industry.

7 Male Boarding Bodies: Pleasure, Pain, and Performance

1. Scholars working in sport studies in the early 1990s enthusiastically embraced the concept of hegemonic masculinity because it offered both a way for feminists to explain women's complicity in their own subjectification in a post antidiscrimination law (e.g., Title IX) society, and an opportunity for men to 'deconstruct their own sexual politics' (Ingham & Donnelly, 1997, p. 390; Messner & Sabo, 1990; Pronger, 1990). Numerous scholars continue to use Connell's conceptual schema to facilitate understanding of the gendering processes related to sport, particularly the 'critiques of heavy contact, male-dominated sports such as American football and rugby union and the sexist and violent cultures that support such sports' (Pringle, 2005, p. 257).
2. Interestingly, the weight of logic and evidence offered by this new generation of gender scholars compelled Connell to 'reshape' her position (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 845). Yet her suggested modifications failed to satisfy some of Connell's critics who proclaimed their arguments leveled against Connell's original conceptual schema continued to hold true. Rather than helping capture the complexities of gendered power relations in the twenty-first century, Connell's recommendations for reformulation appear to extend the shelf life of a problematic conceptual schema.
3. An earlier version of this chapter originally appeared in *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* (see Thorpe, 2010b).
4. See Chapter 9 for a discussion of the culturally exalted masculinities of big mountain snowboarders.
5. Young Australian male snowboarders, for example, are particularly notorious for their distinctive larrikin behavior. In Whistler, Canada, I overheard local residents joke that this is the one place in the world where there is 'racism against Australians' due to their drunken, obnoxious, violent, and often sexist behavior in bars and at parties, disrespect to local property (e.g., rental accommodation), and dangerous practices on the mountains (e.g., hiking out of bounds without safety equipment) (Field notes, November 2005; see Chapter 8).
6. The concept of hegemonic masculinity was 'originally formulated in tandem with the concept of hegemonic femininity – later renamed 'emphasized femininity' to acknowledge the asymmetrical position of masculinities and femininities in a patriarchal gender order.... [Regrettably] in the development of research on men and masculinities, their relationship has dropped out of focus' (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 848).

8 Transnational Boarding Bodies: Travel, Tourism, and Lifestyle Sport Migration

1. For some committed participants this discourse of transnationalism is such that a global snowboarding identity takes precedence over more traditional notions of identity (e.g., nationality). For example, when Haakonsen was asked to explain his highly controversial decision not to compete in the 1998 Winter Olympics, his response revealed stronger identification with the global snowboarding culture, and a transnational snowboarding company, than his nation state: 'Norway is a great country to live, but it's never supported me like my sponsors. My flag should be Burton not Norway' (cited in Reed, 2005, p. 135).

2. An earlier version of this discussion originally appeared in Maguire and Falcous (2010) *Sport and Migration* (see Thorpe, 2010c).
3. In light of government concerns about U.S. unemployment, the law was amended such that only 66,000 visas are available to 'alien' workers per year. Visas are spread out over 12 months and exclude from the cap workers who were employed in the United States during the previous three years. Prior to this law, the ski industry accounted for approximately one-third of all H-2B visas issued each year (H2B Visa Information, 2009). Recognizing the detrimental effects of this quota on the U.S. snow-sport industry, the National Ski Areas Association (NSAA) continues to actively lobby Congress to reconsider this law.

9 Sensual Snowboarding Bodies in Affective Spaces

1. The Alaskan heli-skiing phenomenon started in the mountains surrounding Valdez and Juneau during the early 1990s when local skiers and snowboarders convinced local pilots to give them a lift. 'There were probably only twenty people that were skiing or snowboarding in Valdez', recalls snowboarding cinematographer Mike Hatchett, 'there were no guides; it was total cowboy' (cited in Reed, 2005, p. 116). Hatchett's film *TB2: A New Way of Thinking* (1993) documented some of the first ever Alaskan heli-snowboarding footage. 'When people saw the videos of people making sick powder turns in Alaska, they wanted that. It became a fantasy', says early professional snowboarder Jeff Fulton. Heli-skiing and heli-boarding blossomed into a cottage industry where diehards make the long pilgrimage each spring, and a day snowboarding can cost anywhere upwards of US\$1000; a price-tag covering both helicopter rides and the advice of highly trained guides. According to Brisick (2004), Alaska is 'the place to go if your dreams, board, wallet, and balls are big enough' (p. 119).
2. An extended version of this narrative appeared in *Sociology of Sport Journal* (see Thorpe *et al.*, 2011).
3. Not all core snowboarders participate in the hedonistic après-snow lifestyle to the same extent. For example, while professional Australian snowboarder Torah Bright enjoys socializing and dancing at snowboarding parties, as a devout Mormon she refuses to partake in the more salacious offerings at these events, and describes a 'constant battle' with her peers who regularly tempt and taunt her (cited in Karnikowski, 2010, para. 7). Some participants have also created alcohol- and drug-free snowboarding groups (see, e.g., www.ridersagainstdrugs.org).

10 Body Politics, Social Change, and the Future of Physical Cultural Studies

1. An earlier version of this discussion appeared in a special issue of *Sport in Society* (see Thorpe and Rinehart, 2010).
2. For historical convenience, many scholars and historians break feminism into waves. Thus far, the feminist movement consists of the first (1848 to mid-1920s), second (1960s to early 1980s), and third (early 1990s to 2000s) waves. The primary concern of first-wave feminism was women's suffrage. The 1960s marked a new, more adversarial, phase of feminism. Second-wave feminists focused on the radical reconstruction or elimination of traditional sex roles and the struggle for equal rights; their strategies were more radical than both their predecessors and

successors. Second-wave feminists built feminist organizations and fought for legislative changes regarding the family, sexual relations, reproduction, employment and education. Third-wave feminism emerged in the early 1990s in response to the perceived inadequacies of the second-wave. It was developed by feminists seeking to challenge and expand common definitions of gender and sexuality in contemporary society (e.g., Baumgardner & Richards, 2000, 2004; Heywood & Drake, 1997; Heywood & Dworkin, 2003; Walker, 1995). Put simply, the women's movement has followed periods of mass involvement, backlash, and 'quiet' periods, with different generations living through different stages of the cycle, which directly influence their experiences and attitudes toward feminism.

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