Aspects of Postmodernism and Body Culture – A View From Britain

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Introduction

“Postmodernism” and “the body” are two of the most fashionable words in academia at the moment. If you want to get a lot of people to your lecture you better put one of them, or even better, both, in your title - whether or not you actually know what you mean by them!

For a number of reasons I do not feel it is possible for me to make a contribution to the debate about whether or not Japan is a postmodern society (Harootunian & Miyoshi, 1989; Woodiwiss, 1991; Smart, 1993). My own view is that it is possible to use the word postmodernism as a 'portmanteau concept', which captures something of the uncertainty felt at *fin de siecle*, without it having an identifiable sociological signified or empirical social referent (Wilson, 1992; Mestrovic, 1991). My preference, in social science terms, is for the concepts of 'late' or 'high' modernity (Giddens, 1990, 1991).

In what follows I will attempt to illustrate this preference by exploring the question: are contemporary developments in theorising the body and body culture best understood as an aspect of postmodernism or a continuation of trends linked with capitalist modernity? In order to do this it is first necessary to examine the concept of, and some aspects of the debate about, postmodernism. I will then focus my attention on three forms of contemporary body culture - fashion, sport and fitness. I will conclude with some remarks about possible areas for research in the future.

Before this, by way of an introduction to myself, and at the risk of placing a false coherence on my writing on sport and leisure up to now, there are some areas of previous research interest which provide the context for the issues which I want to consider today.

From 'enforced leisure' to body culture

At the beginning of the 1980s I began researching state responses to mass unemployment in Britain, and the management of youth unemployment in particular. I was especially interested in attempts to deal with the 'enforced leisure' of young people, as unemployment has sometimes been referred to, with the establishment of 'work-like experiences' in youth training schemes. My first published piece on leisure looked at the social control of spare time of unemployed young people in the 1930s and 1980s. I suggested that there was a similar logic to measures taken to discipline and habituate the young unemployed to working life in the 1930s and in the 1980s, and in both periods these were met with some resistance (Horne, 1986).

My papers with David Jary on figurational sociology were the result of a growing fascination with a sociological perspective which I had not discovered until I came to teach sociology of sport and leisure in 1980 (Horne & Jary, 1987, Jary & Horne, 1987, see also Jary, 1987). As a *critique* we meant to take up some of the valuable additions which the perspective offered to other, more mainstream sociological traditions, rather than consign it to the theoretical dustbin. We have not always been understood in this way (Dunning & Rojek, 1992) and in a future publication we hope to put the record straight on this matter (Jary & Horne, 1993).

In our earlier critique of figurational sociology, although it is a central focus in Elias's work, we made little mention of the significance of the body. Yet, as Chris Rojek (1992) has recently pointed out, Norbert Elias was among the first to indicate how sociology had ignored the body:

Long before Foucault, Elias examined the body as a nexus of power, and unequivocally related historical transformations in bodily appearance and self-discipline to transformations in the social structure (Rojek, 1992:14)

Clearly Elias's view of the body, as a self-controlled, self-restrained entity, reflecting the disciplining and training required by bourgeois society, provides one basis for a historical sociology of the body and the emotions (Rojek, 1992:30).

The approach that David Jary and I took in these essays has been considered as sympathetic to 'neo-marxist cultural studies' (Rojek, 1992:8). I have also had an essay included in a recent special issue of *Sociology of Sport Journal* (Volume 9, No 2, 1992) devoted to 'British Cultural Studies'. In so far as I have become increasingly interested in the cultural meaning of sport, the different meanings of it held within and between social groups in society, and their connection to the diverse representations of sport and physicality manifested at different times by the mass media, this is not a completely erroneous representation of my general theoretical and methodological orientation. David Jary can comment on the accuracy of this for himself. What is interesting is that I would not personally wish to put myself forward as an advocate of 'cultural studies',

except in a very loose sense.

I do not like the label 'cultural studies' mainly because, in Britain and North America especially, it has come to signify an almost exclusive concentration on the study of 'cultural texts', the ways in which they articulate and construct social identities, and the ways in which they are interpreted and consumed, almost to the exclusion of a consideration of the very considerable *power* of the cultural institutions responsible for the creation of dominant cultural images. The culturalist concern with lived experience has its strengths and weaknesses. It emphasises human agency, whilst losing sight of the processes that shape and constrain the conditions of existence of people. The danger in studying popular culture, is it can lead to an uncritical celebration of "consumer power" as people power.

The identification of theoretical and methodological deficiencies in the 'cultural studies' approach (see McGuigan, 1992 and Barker & Beezer eds, 1992) and also a recent critique of "Gramscianism" in the study of culture and popular culture (Harris, 1992), have reaffirmed my belief that cultural studies is in need of a thorough critique from a sociological perspective. (I hope to begin this in another paper on 'Gramscianism and Weberianism in British Sociology of Sport and Leisure' and in a forthcoming study of the contribution of Stuart Hall to British sociology).

I have indicated in a paper on representations of fitness in British women's magazines (Horne & Bentley, 1991) some of my concerns in the area of gender. The question of whether being fit and physically active enables women to challenge dominant patriarchal ideas, or whether fitness is all too easily accommodated within a contemporary view of gender relations, still seems to me to be an interesting problem, and not just for women. For me the feminist impact on the 'sociological imagination' has been *fundamental*, requiring gender relations to be taken into account when conducting any form of sociological enquiry - whether theoretical or empirical research. Gender is not just another variable or perspective to be 'added on' and earlier sociological research into sport and leisure can be criticised, in terms of its theoretical assumptions, methodologies and implicit value judgements, for ignoring this. In fact it could be argued that without feminist research the topic of "the body" in social science would be virtually nonexistent, and certainly very different.

The content of this talk can thus partly be explained as an attempt to bring together previous research interests. In addition, as a result of teaching courses in sociology of the mass media, culture and popular culture, I have become increasingly aware of the centrality of images of sport, fitness and the body in contemporary consumer culture. As Charlotte Bloch (1987:440 - 441) has written:

During the past ten years, some remarkable shifts have occurred in the dominant body culture. These may be summed up as a new sensitivity toward the body. This new sensitivity has manifested itself, in part, in an explosive increase in participation in sports, and in the emergence of new alternative forms of exercise

which challenge sport and its achievements, combat and obvious forms of competition. These new forms include jogging, yoga, tai-chi, relaxing exercises, and body-consciousness courses, body-building, etc.

The cultivation of the body can be seen not only in the field of athletics, but also in other aspects of body culture: in fashion,...; in the health-consciousness boom; in the prescriptions for new dances; in the focus on the movement-potential of the body, as manifested in the use of bicycles, skateboards, rollerskates, etc. Last, but not least, this sensitivity... is manifested in the growing quantity of literature concerning sports and the body, and in the willingness to speak about the body.

Sociology and the Body

In the 1990s this sensitivity toward the body in wider society has not abated, and there has been a small explosion of texts recently identifying the 'body' as an important topic for sociological research and social theory (see Featherstone et al (eds), 1991; Frank, 1990, 1991; Freund, 1982, 1988, 1990; Freund & McGuire, 1991; Shilling, 1991, 1992, 1993; Turner, 1984, 1991, 1992; and also Giddens, 1991, 1992). In addition in the past 18 months there have been two major conferences organised by sport and leisure studies associations, one in the USA, the other in the UK, which have explicitly thematised 'the body' as a central focus. 'The body' has undoubtedly become part of the sociological 'agenda'. What factors have stimulated this concern?

Sociological consideration of the body, like consideration of sport and leisure, develops in a specific social context. As Max Weber (1949:106) pointed out, 'advances in the sphere of the social sciences are substantively tied up with the shift in practical cultural problems'. Until recently, sport and leisure were considered marginal to mainstream sociological concerns. To a considerable extent they still are. The body has not only been marginal, it has been virtually ignored altogether in sociological theory (Frank, 1990; Turner, 1991).

'A provisional response to sociology's traditional neglect of the body is simply that it was a male sociology' (Arthur W. Frank, 1991, p. 41). Interestingly, virtually all of these recent references to sociological interest in the body are to male sociologists. Another suggestion is that contemporary interest in the body marks the 'return of the repressed' in social science. Bryan Turner's *The Body and Society* showed (Turner, 1984:30) that in the context of early sociological theorizing the marginalization of the body was not surprising:

The epistemological foundations of modern sociology are rooted in a rejection of nineteenth century positivism, especially biologism which held that human behaviour could be explained causally in terms of human biology.

It might be argued that the re-discovery of the body in social theory, is the result of the

collapse of traditional dualisms, formerly associated with modernity, such as "mind - body", in which the intellect has taken priority over physicality, cognition over emotion and knowing over being. Christy Adair (1992:25) has recently shown, in her excellent analysis of women and dance, that it is actually more helpful to think of 'a mind/body position as far as possible', rather than to maintain the mind - body opposition when considering body culture.

Some authors have suggested that the emergence of a distinctive focus on the body in art, fashion and culture generally is a part of the wider 'postmodern' culture (Kroker & Kroker, 1988). For example, in discussing the paintings of the British artist Francis Bacon, Roy Boyne suggests, that 'the postmodern sensibility involves a shift of emphasis from epistemology to ontology...from knowledge to experience, from theory to practice, from mind to body' (Boyne, 1988: 540). I will argue, instead, that the social and cultural trends identified as comprising contemporary body culture may best be understood as aspects of what Bryan Turner (1992:12) calls the emerging 'somatic society', in which 'the body is the principal field of political and cultural activity'. This somatic society is most definitely part of modernity.

Since the body is culturally, as well as physically constructed, however, it has always been difficult to know exactly where nature ends and culture begins. As the social anthropologist Mary Douglas once commented in an essay on 'The Two Bodies':

The social body constrains the way the physical body is perceived. The physical experience of the body, always modified by the social categories through which it is known, sustains a particular view of society. There is a continual exchange of meanings between the two kinds of bodily experience so that each reinforces the categories of the other. As a result of this interaction the body itself is a highly restricted medium of expression (Douglas, 1973: 93).

Rather than witnessing a sharp break with the concerns of modernity and 'modernist' sociology, we will argue for a great deal of continuity. It is now necessary to examine the concept of, and some aspects of the debate about, postmodernism.

Postmodernism and the condition of postmodernity

Postmodernism is such a contentious term that there is no single, fixed definition of it - a feature of postmodernity itself! Nonetheless it is possible to say that it refers to two distinct, though possibly related, features of the contemporary social world:

1. Substantive changes in economic, political, cultural and global processes; and
2. A crisis, due to a collapse of certainty, in ways of representing or understanding the social world.

The first, which following Harvey (1989) I shall refer to as 'the condition of postmodernity', include the following:

- i). a shift from 'fordist' to 'post-fordist' production methods (from mass to specialised production techniques; mass - market to specialist niche markets);
- ii). changes in the occupational structure (eg. the decline of manufacturing employment in the advanced capitalist countries);
- iii). a shift from corporatist forms of regulation between state and economy to more laissez-faire policies with the rise of neo-liberalism and government (de-regulation /privatization in the west);
- iv). the decentring of 'the West' as the focal point for the global economy (the rise of the Japanese and other economies in South East Asia).

To these we can now add a fifth:

- v). the collapse, after "glasnost" and "perestroika", of the post-Stalinist state socialist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

What is 'postmodern' about these developments? David Harvey (1989) and Scott Lash (1990) have provided two influential, though slightly different, attempts to account for them.

Scott Lash (1990:37) argues that postmodernism is a *regime of signification* which 'articulates' with a new *regime of capital accumulation*. For him this economic regime is best understood as 'disorganised capitalism', the key features of which are: mass production / consumption giving way to flexible production/specialised consumption; increasingly a service and information based economy; the shrinkage and fragmentation of the working class (or at least manual jobs); the fragmentation of opposition into decentralised social movements; and the resurgence of (new right) individualism (Lash & Urry, 1987, ch. 1; Lash, 1990).

The connection between postmodern culture and the economy of post-fordism/disorganised capitalism is that the new regime of accumulation is more and more a regime of signification: more and more goods produced are *cultural goods* (Lash, 1990: 39). Even the relations and means of production are increasingly cultural (i.e., involve discourse and symbolic communication, in "quality circles" or via "team briefings").

Harvey (1989) develops these ideas in his historical materialist approach. For Harvey contemporary economic and associated cultural changes are a response to the crisis of capitalist accumulation in the West which accelerated after the oil crisis in the 1970s. The 'fixes' deployed to stabilize the western economies (such as the growth of importance of financial capital and the reorganization of the labour force from 'fordist' to 'post-fordist' principles) also affect people's experience of space and time-accelerating turnover time in production entails parallel accelerations in exchange and consumption. Time and space are now heavily compressed.

Harvey points to two specific changes in consumption - i). the mobilisation of fashion in mass (not just elite) markets, which provides a means to accelerate the pace of consumption in clothing, ornament, decoration, and a whole range of 'lifestyles' and recreational activities -leisure and sport, pop music, video and children's games; and ii).the consumption of services, which expands more than the consumption of consumer goods -including personal, business, education and health, and entertainment (eg. spectacles, happenings and distractions are a fundamental part of the culture of postmodernity).

The second dominant sense of postmodernism is as *a crisis in ways of representing the world*. Understood thus, postmodernism, refers to a collapse of certainty in understanding the social world (a change in knowledge), with first 'science', and then 'society' increasingly problematized. The epistemological and associated ontological crisis which this creates for sociology and other social sciences, means that many of the central concepts and their social referents (such as 'social class' and 'social actor') appear to have been *destabilized, fragmented and disorganized* (M. Barrett & A. Phillips, eds, 1992; Lash & Urry, 1987 op cit).

The link between these two meanings of postmodernism - as substantive change and crisis in meaning - is found in the writing of Frederick Jameson (1991) and Jean - Francois Lyotard (1979/1984) who agree on many of the characteristics of a distinctive postmodern cultural and aesthetic sensibility. These include:

1. The rejection of 'grand narratives' which attempt to totalize the social structures and to grasp society as a whole.
2. The erasure of a view of history as progress, with some unitary divine or human goal (salvation, socialism), the Enlightenment "project", and associated ideas such as a 'scientific', emancipatory, rationality.
3. The conception of the human individual as a unitary, rational, self - reflecting subject is regarded as delusory, in favour of the decentred, fragmented subject.
4. The notion of deep structures (and the associated view of an underlying determining reality) is rejected; whilst the dominance of images, appearances, and surface - effect without depth is affirmed. Whereas modernism sought to transcend the fragmentary, transient nature of the social world, postmodernism accepts it and celebrates it; image and reality are blurred.
5. Parody, nostalgia, kitsch and pastiche are preferred over more positive modes of artistic representation (like realism and naturalism).
6. Finally, there is a preference for the populist and the decorative over the brutalist and the functional in architecture and design.

Fundamental cultural changes have thus been associated with the economic, political and social changes referred to as 'postmodernity'. Whereas modern, or 'bourgeois', culture was held to be work - centred, rationally organized and have clearly demarcated

domains such as work and leisure, and public and private life, post-modern culture is seen as consisting of images and spectacles, 'relations of consumption, relations of leisure experience and commodities' (Rojek, 1992:3). For Chris Rojek 'the proposition that leisure and sport must be taken as serious topics of enquiry is an obvious and prominent feature of post-modernist discussion' (ibid).

This is a very crucial claim. I would argue, however, that before we herald the postmodern condition as another version of the 'leisure-centred society' idea, first circulated in the 1950s, that we need first to consider the question posed by Harvey (1989: 118): if the only thing we can be certain of in contemporary society, is uncertainty, which social forces have produced this condition?

Without wanting entirely to be enlisted into Jurgen Habermas's 'camp', I think there is some force in the view that postmodernism represents the 'dark side' of the modernist project, rather than a break with it. The postmodernist recourse to argument by assertion has also been criticised by Habermas (1987: 337):

Such discourses unsettle the institutionalized standards of fallibilism; they always allow for a final word, even when the argument is already lost: that the opponent has misunderstood the meaning of the language game and has committed a category mistake in the *sorts* of responses he has been making.

The attempt to consider the relative merits of different theoretical approaches requires some acceptance of the possibility of 'fallibilism'. Because postmodernism does not do this I want to suggest that whilst it may be helpful as a portmanteau concept, insofar as it 'is useful to have a word that names our confusion, and our aspirations toward changes we cannot really imagine' (Wilson, 1992: 4), *the concept of postmodernism is not adequate for the task of grounding a coherent sociology of the body, sport and leisure, culture, or whatever.*

Rather than being a fundamental break with modernity, I follow Giddens, Harvey and others in considering the 'postmodern condition' as a late stage of modernity (see Giddens, 1990: 46-53). Undoubtedly Giddens' and Harvey's position are open to criticism (see Morris, 1992 and Smart, 1992 for a critique). Giddens sustains much of the ambivalence that so many writers ascribe to the postmodern condition. Yet so too do many alternative Marxist and feminist critics of postmodernism.

I will argue, in the next section, that analysis of sports and leisure activities in contemporary body culture shows that they are predominantly *modernist* constructions. Modernity is not yet ended. In Britain we may have become more individualised in our tastes for sport and leisure (Seaton, 1990), fewer people may participate in and watch live the 'mass sports' of team games, and these sports may be more widely consumed as television programmes than as physical activities (Philips & Tomlinson, 1992: 25). Yet this does not herald a complete break with the past, but more a sign of developments *within capitalist modernity*.

Aspects of Contemporary Body Culture

I want to briefly consider three areas of contemporary social and cultural life in which transformations in bodies and images of bodies have become increasingly apparent: fashion ; sport; and fitness.

1. *Fashion*

Writers on fashion and design have been amongst the foremost critics to recognise elements of *postmodern playfulness*, *transgressions* of the social order, *de-differentiation* and the collapse of fixed oppositions, especially high and low culture, in their object of study (Kroker & Kroker, 1988). Some have acknowledged the existence of two types of postmodernism, however: one is radical, offering a critique of oppressive modes of thought and oppressive systems of social relations, and enabling hitherto oppressed 'Others' to emerge; the other is conservative, celebrating the crassest forms of capitalist consumerism (see Foster, 1983:xi - xii; Lash, 1990:37ff).

In *Adorned in Dreams*, for example, Elizabeth Wilson (1985:204-5) pointed to the contradictory nature of fashion - it has the potential to challenge the reactionary ideologies within which it is enmeshed, but nonetheless it is part of capitalist consumer culture. Stressing the former, radical, possibilities of postmodernism, in her most recent book (Wilson 1992a: xv), she argues that in fashion postmodernism 'reveals the playful, arbitrary and chosen aspects of personal identity, to which dress makes an important contribution'. For her the radical potential of postmodernism is that it can be used as a label for the 'zeitgeist' (spirit of the times):

in which fashion, rather than naturalizing the arbitrary, as Roland Barthes insisted, denaturalizes supposedly natural gender and other identities, and thus it has a radical potential in calling attention to alternative possibilities (op cit: xv - xvi).

The extent to which the radical potential of fashion is realised must be questionable. Attention to the surfaces and styles ignores the wider socio-economic environment in which fashion circulates and is produced.

In an essay on the "multiplication of the media" Umberto Eco (1986:148-50) once wrote about 'a not imaginary' scenario:

A firm produces polo shirts with an alligator on them and it advertises them... A generation begins to wear the shirts. Each consumer of the polo shirt advertises, via the alligator on his chest, this brand of polo shirt (just as every owner of a Toyota is an advertiser...). A TV broadcast, to be faithful to reality, shows some young people wearing the alligator polo shirt. The young (and the old) see the TV broadcast and buy more alligator polo shirts because they have "the young look".

Eco then posed some questions: *-where is the mass medium?:* the ad?, the broadcast?, the shirt?; *who is sending the message?:* the manufacturer?, the wearer?, the TV director?, the analyst?; *who is the producer of ideology?:* the manufacturer?, the wearer (including the celebrity who may wear it for a fee)?, the TV director portraying a generation?; and *where does the plan come from?* Eco concluded that there is no longer a single, dominant, manipulating ideological source because of the expansion of the media and different locations of images.

But this can be seen, not so much as a postmodern multiplication in the points of power and influence, as a feature of the transformation in the economics and circulation of cultural commodities, of which sportswear is but one item. In capitalist consumer culture advertising, using images of female, and now, increasingly male, bodies has been central to the stimulation of desire for some time. What has been especially noticeable in recent years is the increasing use of images of *sport and physicality* to sell anything from government health education programmes and shares in newly privatized companies, to soft drinks, confectionary, credit cards, cameras and computers.

2. *Sport and fitness chic*

The growth of the sports clothing business, the interpenetration of the worlds of fashion and sport, have made images of sport, part of the currency of everyday life, more central than ever before (Whannel & Williams, 1993:5).

Historian of fashion James Laver (1969:44) has noted the relationship between sportswear and clothes - the fact, for example, that all modern male forms of dress originated as sportswear - and Wilson (1985:166) believes that 'sport has been the most important twentieth century influence on fashion'. Now casual wear is dominated by sport derived styles - jogging suits, T-shirts and running shoes for daily wear - it appears that 'surface appearances and the secondary circulation of images have become central to the image of sport' (Whannel & Williams, *ibid*).

Are there any indications that postmodernism is influencing sport? What would postmodern sport be like? Possibly it might be purely televisual - blending elements of sport and light entertainment. Yet 'quasi-sport', as Whannel calls this, has been around for some time on British television, especially as 'competition in its various forms continues to be a resilient means by which narratives can be produced and audiences won' (Whannel, 199:114). There is not much indication of demand for pure postmodern *play* on contemporary British TV. Sport, as a performance and a process, remains a modern cultural form.

Again, as Whannel and Williams (*ibid*) point out:

The colonisation of sport by marketing and advertising means that there is no longer a neat distinction between the event and promotion. Does the clothing promote

Michael Jordan, or does Jordan promote the clothing? Do the Olympics promote Coke or Coke promote the Olympics?

With the advent of globalised advertising, in which US/English language is becoming universal, sport can operate as another part of the process in which local commercial, financial and geographical barriers to multinationals selling world products is dissolved. The message can still be targetted at 'the people who count' in different countries and continents.

3. *Exercise and Fitness: healthy bodies and the postmodern self*

It has been argued that 'the exercise video is a quintessential postmodern object' (Glassner, 1989:183-4). Such videos reverse the usual structure of representation - the (real) viewer mimics the actions on the tape and strives to alter her or his appearance to resemble the representation (images). The video is also likely to be a *simulacra* - a representation for which there is no authentic original. M. Morse, (1987/88) considered the production of the Jane Fonda exercise video. It looks like a recording of Fonda leading a class in aerobics, but it took three days to shoot. First with Jane Fonda without the class or the soundtrack, which was dubbed later; then 'the class' was recorded separately without Fonda present. Exercise machines in health clubs and for home use, such as stationary bicycles and rowing machines, are themselves simulacra - 'like the bodies to which their users aspire, they are technologically induced copies of copies' (Glassner, 1989:184).

Hence, according to Glassner, it is the attempted blurring of dualities, especially the self and body, 'which earmarks contemporary fitness practices and their attendant ideologies as postmodern' (op cit:185). In postmodernism the physique has become the sign of the self in a way which 'add-ons', such as fashionable clothes and cosmetics, no longer can. A fit body is the external manifestation of the desired healthy state. As such one's body comes to symbolize the extent of one's self-managed, corrective, behaviour. A sigh that one is in control, as much for men, as for women.

It is possible to contrast this view with that of Robert Crawford (1985). At the beginning of the 1980s fitness boom in America he investigated the way that consumer capitalism appropriates and creates a 'healthist body culture', in which health behaviour is viewed as a moral duty and illness a moral failing. 'Success' in this area is evidence of discipline, self-control, mastery and will-power, all important personal attributes for economic productivity under capitalism. Signs of 'failure' are confirmation of loss of control, moral weakness, impulsiveness, self-indulgence and sloth. Crawford argues that the 'victim-blaming' approach to personal responsibility for health disguises the social production of disease and further undermined demands for rights and entitlements to health care. He posed the following question :

Is "taking responsibility" for one's own body - through "health" or "fitness" or "self

-care" - a political act in itself? Or are individual lifestyle changes precisely what "power" requires of us at this historical moment? (Crawford, 1985: 96).

In order to address this question, which I see as a central one, we need to consider the emergence of the 'somatic society' (Turner, 1992:12).

Sociology and the Theory and Politics of the Somatic Society

We might define the somatic society as a social system in which the body, as simultaneously constraint and resistance, is the principal field of political and cultural activity (Turner, *ibid*).

The somatic society is therefore one in which the forms of body culture already discussed will feature alongside other 'body politics' - to do with new reproductive technologies, HIV/Aids, and by no means least, ageing populations. I want to conclude with some remarks about possible areas for research in the future.

1. The politics and control of the (female) body.

Arthur Frank's comment that women have 'differential conditions of embodiment' (Frank, 1991:42) suggests one reason for the centrality of feminism in contemporary discussions of the body in sociology. The Women's Movement was responsible for focusing attention on women's bodily oppression in the 1970s and 1980s. Primarily interest was on the control of women's bodies and sexuality by the male scientific medical establishment (Boston Women's Health Book Collective, 1971). Additionally concerns about the representation of women as sexual objects in sexist and pornographic imagery, advertising and the mass media, body disorders (such as compulsive eating) and the role of male-dominated institutions (such as sports) in restricting women's bodily development, began to be raised (Oakley, 1981; Gilroy, 1989).

In some feminist writing the female body has been highly valorized in an explicit attempt to combat what is seen as the *somatophobia* ('fear of the body') of men or to emphasize the creative potential of women (see Daly, 1978). Yet this tends to *essentialize* male and female difference (Gatens, 1992). Additionally by focussing on the body as *the* site of women's oppression, it is almost as if the body alone becomes the main source of female liberation (Haug et al, 1983/1987: 248). The human body/corporeality is important, but is it the most important site of social struggle?

2. Theorising the body: Foucault and the regulation of bodies

Some Feminists have used the ideas of Michel Foucault in an attempt to avoid essentialism. Foucault is associated with post-structuralism or discourse theory, a broad label which also includes the writings of Derrida, Lacan and Julia Kristeva (Sarup, 1988). Although there are divergences within their approaches, a common

feature is their concern with *language and representation*. Rather than being seen as a medium, language is thought to actually *construct* the world. Hence in Foucauldian analyses the biological attributes of male and female bodies are considered as socially constructed in *discourse*. The body is seen as *socially and linguistically constructed*.

Using Foucault's ideas (1975, 1981) as a modern version of Weber's 'rationalization' thesis, Bryan Turner's concerns have encompassed both the government and regulation of all bodies (regardless of sex), or 'bio-power' (Turner, 1984, 1987, 1992), and the development of a phenomenological account of bodily processes. This is seen by some commentators as an overly ambitious and eclectic undertaking (Chaney, 1985). According to Freund (1988:), Turner (1984) actually only provides a study of *discourses on the body*, not the body itself, which is what Foucault does, in part, try to analyse.

Two critical consequences follow from the Foucauldian or post-structuralist approach. Firstly, as just noted, there is the problem of discursive reductionism, wherein the physical body more or less disappears. Secondly, in Foucault's position human self-determination as a potential form of human development is automatically foreclosed. As Haug et al (op cit :206) put it, he 'treats human beings as wriggling fish caught in so many nets'.

One recent development in social theory and the body is the work of Chris Shilling (1991, 1992, 1993) who has identified the 'dialectical' quality of Pierre Bourdieu's *sociology of practice* as an improvement on essentialist and reductionist accounts of the body. The problem remains that many see Bourdieu as essentially a *reproduction theorist*. The end result is a theoretical position which states that social inequalities, predominantly class inequalities, are reproduced through embodied differences, but quite how far this extends the sociological repertoire is debateable.

3. *The body and social 'distinction'*

In the 1960s, the social anthropologist Mary Douglas noted the tendency for any social group that felt that its identity was being threatened to expand the number of controls that regulate the group's social margins. The passageways of the body, the points at which the outside may "pollute" the inside, become the points at which controls are imposed:

Thus dietary and sexual taboos are elaborated. The body is literally "closed off" from other social groups; external threats are neutralized. Thus group identity is protected. The morality of health is a middle-class morality. Prohibitions against smoking, unhealthy diet, and at-risk sexual promiscuity are the signs of "responsibility" and respectability. The reputed "internal locus of control" of the middle class may thus not simply be a matter of a social experience that imparts a sense of controllability; it may also be essential to middle-class self-image (Crawford, 1985:100).

These ideas can be seen in work derived from research carried out by Pierre Bourdieu in France in the 1960s (1979/1984). Concern about the body plays a central part in the postmodern lifestyle of the 'new petite bourgeoisie', especially as an aid in formulating class 'distinction' (Mike Featherstone, 1983, 1987, 1991; see also Lash & Urry, 1987; and Turner, 1988). Featherstone has also demonstrated the possibility of extending Bourdieu's theory of class reproduction to the *social management of ageing* via the valorizing of 'youthful appearance' in consumer culture (Hepworth & Featherstone, 1982: 90-109; Featherstone & Hepworth, 1989). The empirical and theoretical questions this work raises are considerable and have already begun to generate some qualifications (for example, M. Savage et al, 1992).

4. *The body and self-identity*

A final influence on recent discussions of the body is the post-structuralist emphasis upon the *decentring of self-identity*. Whereas this sometimes has meant that identity appears as inherently fragile and in constant need of reconstruction, in some recent accounts self-identity is seen as actively produced (shaped and re-shaped) through an interaction of expressive cultural forms (for example media images) and other social and discursive forces (Lash & Friedman, 1992).

In his latest work Anthony Giddens (1991, 1992) has developed a view of the body within his theory of 'reflexive modernity'. The reflexive nature of the self and the influence of abstract systems not only affects the psyche, but also the *soma*. In keeping with the internally referential nature of modernity and self-identity, the body becomes less an external 'given' and instead becomes a reflexively mobilised phenomenon. Hence what some writers see as a wholesale movement towards the narcissistic cultivation of bodily appearance, is in fact, for Giddens, symbolic of a deeper underlying concern to construct and control the body as a form of corporeal security.

For this and the other reasons it can be argued that some very *modern* issues intrude into debates about the body and body culture in contemporary society.

Conclusions

My argument has been that the sociological study of body culture should be a 'sociology of postmodernism', rather than a 'postmodern sociology' (Featherstone, 1988). Rather than a retreat from reason, or the possibility of rational social enquiry producing valid knowledge of the workings of the social world, or the assumption that a critique of the present is done in the name of a better tomorrow, sociologists of the body, sport and leisure, should not be afraid of seeking to grasp sense of the 'bigger picture'. This would involve:

i). placing studies of discourses, texts and ethnographies of body culture, alongside studies of the political economy of advertising and mass communication, in an attempt

to study both cultural *consumption and production*. Critics have suggested that the former research methodologies can too easily ignore the power of the entertainment and persuasion industries (Sparks, 1988). Postmodernist and post-structuralist theories have tended to emphasise the symbolic, as opposed to material, construction of subjectivity and self-identity, and this has led to renewed attention to the media and popular culture as sources of contemporary social identity. In this context, Giddens' (1991) insistence that the self is not a passive entity but a reflexive, re-appropriating and re-skilling one, is a valuable one.

ii). taking into account 'experiential diversity' in contemporary societies - that is non-class, as well as class dimensions of the social order (Walby, 1992) - should be central to the sociological study of body culture. Empirical evidence from Britain points to the continuation of massive social inequalities in the distribution of income and wealth and the significance of these for access to cultural goods and services, where availability is increasingly determined by the market and price mechanism (P.Golding, 1989). An examination of contemporary patterns of cultural consumption in Britain suggests two conclusions:

- a). barriers to contemporary consumer culture remain entrenched and access to it is unequally distributed, especially according to social class, gender and ethnicity (D. Coates, 1991, *Running the Country*); and
 - b). the social distribution of the "postmodern sensibility" is also likely to remain unequal. That a considerable amount of theoretical effort might have been expended recently upon a very small social constituency is just one ironic feature of contemporary cultural studies.
- iii). recognising that a *sociological* approach to the study of body culture and sport and leisure involves empirical investigation, and not simply theoretical speculation. This means that there has to be a degree of contingency and openness about the way we, as sociologists, see the world. We have to be prepared to be surprised by research findings, and not theoretically closed - an impossibility if one adopts a knowing, cynical, ironical, postmodern approach.

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身体論の地平—ジョン・ホーン氏講演の解題

An Angle of the Body Studies: bibliographical notes of Mr. John Horne and on his keynote speech

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1) ジョン・ホーン氏の経歴

ジョン・ホーンは1954年生まれ、当年として39歳。エセックス大学大学院を卒業後、昨年長年つとめたStaffordshire大学を離れ、現在エジンバラのHeriot-Watt大学に勤務している。日本では若手と呼ばれる年代に当たるのであろうが、ここ数年精力的に研究を展開いくつかの優れた論考を公刊しており、現在イギリス・スポーツ・レジャー社会学の中で将来を最も囑望されている一人である。ホーンについて日本ではそれほど知られているわけではないが、イギリス国内では"Leisure Studies" (Leisure Studies Association 機関誌) や"Sociology" (イギリス社会学会機関誌) に早くから優れた論文を発表しており、1987年トムリンソンやデービット・ジェリーと"Sports, Leisure and Social Relations" (RKP刊) を発刊して以降国際的にも注目されるようになっていく。特にこの著の中でエリアス学派の理論フレームを検討した論文、"The Figural Sociology of Sport and Leisure of Elias and Dunning" が国際的に注目を浴び、ジョン・ホーンの名前が知られるようになったといえる。

だがそもそもこの論文が注目を浴びることになったのも、ここ数年British Cultural Studiesやエリアス学派などのイギリス社会学の影響が、国際的な広がりを見せていることと関係があるといっても良いだろう⁽¹⁾。

周知のように現在の社会学の状況は、従来の主流的なグランドセオリー、とりわけ構造＝機能主義の衰退の後、理論的に混迷状況にある。主意主義的行為理論をベースにした諸研究と構造主義の再生、さらにはその融合の試みの中で新しい理論枠組みが模索されており、その意味で理論史的には興味深い時代状況にある。このなかで、すでに60年代よりユーロ・コミニズムの路線論争を一つの契機とした社会史や社会学、文学のなかでの議論を通し、古典的マルクス主義、とりわけその「決定論的」な傾向に対する一定の清算をはかったイギリス社会学の方向性は、この混迷状況に対する一つの解を与える可能性を秘め、同時にギデンスに代表され（エリアスの当初からの中心的方法の一つでもある）、今や流行語ともなっている観がある、StructureとAgencyという問題の焦点づけは、主意主義と構造主義の両面からのアプローチを可能としうるだけに国際的な影響力を与えるに至っている。

ホーンの世代は、このような変化を経た後のイギリス社会学第二及び第三世代に属し、それだけにこのような問題意識や方法をベースに、さらに新しい変化する時代の感覚を加味した展開を行っている。このことが今日の理論形成上重要な意味を持ち、変化する社会状況を同時代感覚の中に持つことの強みは、ジョン・ホーンをはじめ、C. ロジェイクやJ. マグアイヤ、さらにはカナダのR. グルノウといった今後のスポーツ・レジャー社会学をリードすると思われる俊英が、この30代から40代前半の年代層から表れていることの中に見ることができる。

さてホーンの専門とする領域は多彩である。初期の知識社会学（これがN. エリアスとの接合点を持っていくのだが）研究から出発し、労働社会学、とりわけ失業問題をへて、現在はスポーツ社

社会学、余暇社会学、マスメディア論を精力的に研究している。このような経歴はイギリス・スポーツ社会学の研究者の中ではむしろ通例である。同時に来日し、ホーンとともに幾つかスポーツ・レジャー社会学の研究を展開し、今年になってJ・リーグの社会的な研究論文も書いているD. ジェリー教授も、主専攻は労働社会学、政治社会学、理論社会学であり、昨年もギデンスに関する研究書を出版したばかりである。このような事情がイギリス・スポーツ・レジャー社会学研究のふくらみを持たせる結果となっており、確固とした理論的知識を下敷きに、多彩な領域の研究とその融合がその優れた面を生み出す秘訣となっている。

このような研究経歴を経て、ホーンが現在研究の焦点を置いているのは一方でスポーツ、レジャー、それらと失業問題及び消費文化との関連の観察と分析を、他方スポーツ・レジャー社会学の新しい理論枠組の構築を試みることである。今回の来日公演もその延長線上にあり、ポストモダニズムの状況と身体というテーマ設定の中に、彼の現在の状況認識と理論構築の関心が融合して表れているといえよう。

2) 身体論研究の焦点とホーンの講演の位置

さて今回の日本講演の論点は幾つかあるが、主要にはポストモダンといわれる状況とは何なのか。その中で社会学がこの表面的な状況を解説し得る手がかりはどこにあるか—その手がかりとしての身体はどのような位置にあるか、という諸点にその中心がある。ホーンは今日のポストモダンといわれる状況を、ギデンスに習い実は高度近代 (High Modernity) として、近代の延長線上に捉える。そしてそのような状況の表れる基盤として、資本主義の蓄積様式の変化 (ポスト・フォードイズム) をあげている。この変化の中にこそ近代の延長と、その中での変化として「ポストモダン」の状況を見ようとするのである。このような枠組の中で、ホーンは変化する状況の中心点を意味の疎外とその商品化の問題として捉えようとする。この辺は「消費社会の神話と構造」に表れるボードリヤールの状況認識と重なり合う。だがそこで身体の問題をどのように捉えられているか。ホーンはこのことを消費文化の中に取り込まれる身体の意味性の剥離の問題として、他方同時に進行している身体感覚の変化として捉えようとしている。このような状況はアカデミックな領域のなかでも身体認識論的位置づけの変化を招いていると示唆するが、ホーンはこのような状況変化をとらえる枠組みとして、身体を社会の編成原理の中軸におく、ブライアン・ターナーのソマティック・ソサィティという枠組みをあげ、このもとで実はポストモダンの状況は分析し得ることを暗示し、身体は今日の状況の下では周辺ではなくむしろ社会的テーマとなるとするのである。

身体、身体文化、身体をとりまく状況は果たしてモダンの定立として表れているのか否か。この解はシンポジウムテーマであった「スポーツの後にくるもの」に容易に接続する。この問いは、第一に身体文化、第二に身体をとりまく状況—例えばブルデューの言うような、「好み」を規定し、社会的地位や出身と結びつく肉体へのかかわりかた、肉体への接触の仕方—「身体実践の関与的特性」という視角と関わり合っている。

ジョン・ホーンの間うところはつまるところこの両面から、身体文化と、それとの関与的特性—彼の言う「身体感覚の変化」という点からその変化を捉えようとし、さらにそれを生み出す物質的・社会的世界の変化を見ようとする。そしてそれらを近代 (モダン) の延長上に編成されていると結論づけるのである。それゆえ、同時にそのような状況を捉える認識論的枠組み—ポストモダンという枠組み自体を問題の俎上に載せていき、その無効性を問うているのである。

ホーンの講演の要点は以上のようなものであったが、さて身体はどう問われるべきか。身体を介在し、その独自の文化空間を形作るスポーツにおいてこの問いは避けて通ることができないもので

ある。またそれが近代の延長上にあるものか否かは、現代のスポーツ文化の規定やその変化の本質を見る上で重要な問いとなる。ここで再びブルデューを引き合いに出せば、身体とは社会の知覚図式及び評価図式にからめ取られた社会的なものとしてとらえられる。第一に、それは身体と社会との関与的關係としての「好み」として、同時にそのようなハビトゥスを強化するまなざされた身体として、さらにそれらが表出され規格化され視角可能なものとして表れる身体文化（実践—たとえば痩身法）として把握される。この「社会的メカニズム」のなかで、社会の象徴体系の中に身体は位置づけられ、それゆえに身体は基点として社会的実践や権力のメカニズムの基点とその現れとして社会的に存在することになる。このことから身体は社会を問う一つの戦略点になりうるのである。身体を介在してみるポスト・モダンかモダンかという論争は、この象徴体系の内実がどのように変化し、そのからめ取られの様式がどのようなものであるかに依存している。フーコー流に広い意味で権力を捉えるならば、まさしく変化の状況規定は権力の存在様式の如何に関わっている。身体や身体文化のひとつであるスポーツの問題も、その時空間編成の仕方を通しその時々々の権力の編成原理のあり様と結びついている。実はこのような図式から言えば権力の問題こそが身体論の焦点になるのである。

ホーンの講演では、身体をめぐる文化や感覚の変化を資本主義的蓄積様式の変化に規定された、基本的には近代の延長、高度近代の再編成の過程として捉えるが、このマクロな社会変化と身体を介在する権力の問題は今回充分に言及されなかった。だが、既にスポーツ社会学においてもこの問題こそが今日の焦点のひとつになっている⁽²⁾。ホーンの指摘しているように、エリアスの中にこの問題を壁出する視座を見ることができ、一方ではエリアスとそしてフーコー、他方グラムシの摂取のもとに身体をめぐる権力の問題は、ハーグリーブス、ロジェーク、グルノウという、今日のスポーツ社会学において影響力を持つ研究者においても身体やスポーツをめぐる分析の焦点となっているのである。身体やスポーツなどの身体文化が当該の社会の権力編成のあり様と結びついているならば、身体は権力という視座のもとに捉えられなければならないのである。

さて以上述べたように、身体論やスポーツをめぐる議論の今日の焦点は権力論との接合にある。さらに言えば、グルノウが最近の論考の中で指摘するように、この権力の問題はさらに階級をどう捉えるかによって異なった見方となる。例えば、この点フーコーの普遍的常態としての権力論を摂取し、なおかつ階級的権力論の視点を持つグラムシとの接合をはかるハーグリーブスのあり方を、グルノウは矛盾として捉えている⁽³⁾。この問題は単なるペダンティックあるいは些末な抽象論議ではなく、この視座設定の中に、すなわち権力編成の捉え方の違いにモダン／ポストモダンという状況認識の分岐と、従ってスポーツと近代というものの認識の中の分岐軸が表れるのである。昨夏、渡英中ホーンとフーコーの評価について議論する機会を得られたが、社会的主体（Subject）の設定されないフーコーの議論をホーンは完全に否定していた。この点にホーンが高度近代として現在の身体や身体文化の変化を捉える視点がある。ホーンにおいてもスポーツ研究の焦点を、象徴体系をめぐる階級闘争というブルデューの視座を共有しているのであり、近代—資本主義的階級関係—身体（感覚）—スポーツという接続した枠組みのもとでスポーツの現局面は捉えられることになるのである。

ホーンの講演では、重要な論点のうち幾つか言及されていない点が見受けられるが、とりわけ権力論との関係を省いていることがホーンの身体論の位置をわかりにくいものとしている。しかし、これまで説明したようにホーンの身体論の位置は、階級的権力論との接合という位座のもとに存在し、そのもとでモダンの編成＝高度近代というスポーツや身体的位置づけがでてきているのであると言えよう。

さてホーンの講演はこのような身体や身体文化、スポーツをめぐる議論、そして新しい視角を求め発酵している社会学の議論の渦中にある。この議論とそして模索の状況は実は我々も同じところにいるといえるであろう。これまで外国の研究は「摂取」という側面が強かったが、このような問題点の共有は「摂取」ではなく、共同研究という形でその解を模索することを我々に求めているといえよう。まさに「高度近代の極限事例」（ホーンの観察では）としての日本の状況は、存外その解を身近に準備しているようにも思える。

注

(1) 例えば北米スポーツ社会学会では機関誌にて特集号をくんでいる。

“British Cultural Studies and Sport”, *Sociology Sport Journal* Vol.9, No.2 1992 また、D. Andrew, J. Loyによる次の論文も参照されたい。

“British Cultural Studies and Sport”, *Quest* No.45, 1993

(2) 以下の論文はその代表例であろう。

J. Hargreaves “The Body, Sport and Power Relation” in J. Horne et.al. “Sport, Leisure and Social Relations”, *RKP*, 1986

R. Gruneau “The Critique of Sport in Modernity: Theorising Power, Culture, and the Politics of the Body” in E. Dunning J. Maguire R. Pearton (ed.) “The Sports Process”, *Human Kinetics*, 1993

(3) Gruneau(1993) 上記論文