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Developing Fitness Capital

by

Omar Mushtaq

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Sociology

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN FRANCISCO

[redacted]

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Dedication

I would like to thank my academic colleagues for their never-ending support, especially my committee. Namely, I would like to thank Dr. Shari Dworkin for her constructive advice, feedback, and unconditional support. Throughout the years, she has been a continuing source of mentorship and inspiration. I would also like to thank Dr. Faye Wachs and Dr. Howard Pinderhughes for their substantive expertise, methodological feedback, and support, as well as Dr. Angelique Harris for providing feedback, advice, and mentorship.

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Abstract

Gym practices often naturalize masculinity. Many scholars debate exactly how men naturalize these practices. Some suggest that men internalize gym practices simply by working out. However, this angle often leaves questions about how men reconcile representations of masculinity with their actual practices and social location. Applying a cultural capital approach may, then, be the best way to explore these questions. Pierre Bourdieu suggests that individuals develop their preferences through deploying cultural capital, or cultural resources, within a given cultural field. Other theorists have applied this cultural capital framework to various fitness arenas, such as boxing gyms and fitness centers. However, since cultural capital develops over time, transfers to varying degrees across different cultural fields, and reproduces the social structure, any exploration of the concept must also take these components into account. How, then, do fitness practices reproduce masculinity and the social structure?

To study these three components of cultural capital in relation to fitness practices, I conducted an exploratory study that examines how men acquire and deploy cultural capital. To do so, I applied qualitative methods through in-depth interviews and applied a grounded theory design. I then interviewed 35 men between two different gyms. In accordance with grounded theory, I applied theoretical and purposive sampling to develop codes, categories, and themes of behavior.

Results showed that men acquire and develop fitness practices through early interactions with adults, peers, and early cultural fields, such as educational institutions. Results also revealed patterns among men in how the cultural field shapes cultural capital. These patterns include variations within a cultural field themselves (such as a football player) and crossover between differing cultural fields (an adult entertainer and a model. Next, I examined how cultural fields reproduce both social status and masculinity. By examining occupations, men reproduce three patterns of work: labor-intensive occupations, aesthetic-oriented occupations, and white-collar professions. These occupations affect how men deployed cultural capital and created differing body types. Finally, men of color internalize dominant standards of masculinity through navigating White-dominated cultural fields.

The current study puts forward a new concept known as fitness capital as a means of addressing the limitations in previous fitness studies’ application of cultural capital. Fitness capital provides a conceptual framework that has been missing from previous analyses of cultural capital. Fitness capital addresses how individual cultural fields reproduce masculinities in the context of social stratification. In the conclusions, I discuss how this concept and the findings have sociological implications for how individuals interact within a larger cultural field.

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INTRODUCTION

On August 25, 2017, news broke that Rich Piana passed away at age 45 after being placed into a medically-induced coma. Prior to this, Piana had been an acclaimed professional bodybuilder for 20 years, during which time he learned how to take anabolic steroids as part of his workout routine. Steroids were an integral part of his routine; in fact, he and other professional bodybuilders have created YouTube videos on how athletes can take steroids "safely," so other athletes might follow in their footsteps. Atkinson (2007) and Monaghan (2001) document how bodybuilders, such as Piana, take these illicit steroids as means to embody their understanding of masculinity. Thus, what killed Piana was not simply the use of steroids, but also the pursuit of masculinity. One place where men pursue masculinity is at a fitness center or a gym.

Interestingly, the development of gyms is situated within the historical process of the commodification of health (Sassatelli, 1999; Crossley, 2006). In other words, gyms sell memberships under the pretense that the gym provides a space by which individuals become healthier. As individuals are sold the idea that gyms are places of health, they also learn that they must embody health (Glassner, 1989). To embody health, individuals engage in practices to match this ideology of attaining health.

On the path towards this attainment, individuals engage in behaviors that conform to this ideology and then individuals recognize that they themselves are physically healthy. Thus, the idea of "fitness" enters the fore. Fitness is the physical embodiment of attitudes, behaviors, practices, and physicality of reaching "health" (Glassner, 1989). As in Piana's case, attaining "fitness" does not necessarily mean one is physically healthy. For example, a cultural ideal of health might prompt individuals to physically embody being "skinny." Being skinny, particularly in Western culture, symbolically represents having control over one’s diet and having the time and energy to work out. Similarly, Western culture’s association of “fatness” with a lack of health and health risks and can even be viewed as being closer to death. Concerning the example of being skinny, in pursuit of this goal, one might engage in strict forms of dieting (a fitness practice associated with losing weight) and become dangerously underweight. Thus, fitness practices can be open to interpretation and might not coincide with cultural ideals of health**.**

Connecting Health to Fitness

Cultural norms help conflate health with fitness practices. Mainstream culture deploys these norms through the processes of producing gendered representations, intersecting identities, social practices, and naturalization. First, gendered representations are deployed by the dominant culture through iconography, media, and other institutions. These institutions often deploy “cultural ideals” of gender within Western society. Individuals understand themselves through these images of fitness. These individuals then engage in behaviors/practices that eventually are naturalized within their experiences. Furthermore, these processes take place within a stratified social context.

Fitness to Fit: Gender and its Intersections

Even though constructions of health and fitness are at odds, fitness is often embodied through gender. Fitness practices can be gender specific and can connote notions of masculinity and femininity. In the last example, the cultural ideal equating skinny to healthy can be gender-specific, related specifically to the construction of the overall health of women. In other words, for women to embody health, culture prescribes a version of femininity that involves women being forced to attain smaller, toned bodies (Bordo & Heywood, 2003). However, just as fitness practices do not necessarily match with health, cultural ideals of health can also become intertwined with gender. Therefore, there can be disconnects between cultural ideals of gender, the bodies individuals develop, an individual's health, and the practices in which individuals engage (Bordo & Heywood, 2003; Davis, 1998; Dworkin & Wachs, 2009; Edmonds, 2008; Orbash, 1998; Robertson, 2006). This dissonance can be highly pronounced, especially in men (Monaghan, 2002; Robertson, 2006; Robertson, 2013; Young et al., 1994). Men might believe that getting physically large represents a cultural ideal of masculinity. Being physically large can connote strength and, therefore, a symbolic perceived ability to withstand illness. However, to attain this cultural ideal, they might engage in behaviors that are deleterious to their health, such as taking steroids or avoiding cardiovascular exercises.

While men work to embody cultural ideals of masculinity through fitness, these cultural ideals do not exist in a monolithic vacuum. In other words, while there are dominant cultural narratives of masculinity, there can also be other narratives told about specific types of masculinity that are not necessarily grounded in white, upper-class masculinity. This would mean that the kinds of bodies men attain, as well as the fitness practices they engage in, might not necessarily be grounded in a singular narrative of masculinity (Connell, 2005). Additionally, men do not share the same social position (Messner, 1995). In addition to being socially categorized as "men," men occupy a myriad of other social positions, such as being part of various racial/ethnic groups, social classes, sexual orientations, etc. This then means that men not only strive for different kinds of cultural ideals based on their social position but also engage in practices that are filtered by and through their experiences.

Men's varied social positions, however, do affect their health/fitness practices. While men have higher mortality rates than women, working-class men, especially those holding jobs requiring manual labor, face additional strains on their bodies (Dolan, 2011). These strains coincide with working-class constructions of masculinity (Dolan, 2011). Similarly, men of color navigate health practices differently than their non-White counterparts (Courtnay, 2000). The literature demonstrates that health practices vary by social position and masculinity, but the literature does not address the nuances and complications of how these fitness practices and constructions occur, especially in the context of the gym and gym practices.

While men's social positions guide their practices, these health/fitness practices are also naturalized. As men engage in projects seeking the "perfect body" (Monaghan, 1999), they begin to naturalize their practices. Andreasson & Johansson (2014) find that men access and deploy various forms of resources, or cultural capital, in order to build their bodies. In pursuit of developing masculine bodies, according to Andreasson (2016), these practices include working out on equipment/free weights, eating particular foods for specific purposes, ingesting supplements, and acquiring gym knowledge. Together, all of these fitness practices shape how men access the gym. As they do so, Andreasson (2014) argues that men naturalize the texture and feel of working out. Masculinity becomes an embodied project that naturalizes these practices.

Goal of the Project

Gyms are often seen as a site where notions of "health" intertwine with fitness practices. These practices then often intertwine with notions of "correct" ways to perform masculinity. However, masculinity varies across different social positions, such as social status, race, gender, and sexuality and it is also naturalized through fitness practices. Given these dimensions of how masculinity is constructed, I propose to establish a conceptual framework that can elaborate on how multiple social contexts affect how men develop fitness practices along class, racial, and sexual lines. To address this gap and build this conceptual framework, I draw upon the framework of Pierre Bourdieu’s notion of cultural capital (a framework that discusses how cultural resources are deployed) and its relevant applications.

A cultural capital framework enables the researcher to understand both the material and immaterial resources deployed by individuals that then situates them within social structure. In this case, this framework connects the individual’s perception of the gym with his/her access to various resources. Particularly, this can include but is not limited to fitness knowledge, food, and workout behaviors. These resources are situated in relation to a cultural field or a cultural institution, and these institutions have two main dimensions: 1) they establish guidelines/expectations of masculinity, and 2) they are intertwined with the social structure, especially racism, heterosexism, and other status-related inequalities. Finally, an application of Bourdieu’s approach suggests that men naturalize gendered behavior through the development of the habitus. In order, then, to unpack the relationships between cultural capital, the body, and masculinity, I identify three main theoretical frameworks and their gaps.

Theoretical Literature and Gaps

This project examines three main bodies of literature: cultural capital, body capital, and fitness/masculinity literature.

Cultural Capital and Sport

In an effort to link individual agency to the broader social structure, Bourdieu (1984) in *Distinction* provides a framework to understand individual action: cultural capital. In this framework, Bourdieu discusses how individuals develop a “habitus,” or an internal sense of self. This sense of self is situated in a cultural field or an institution. For example, sports, fitness centers, gyms, and certain occupations are examples of cultural fields. Individuals develop their habitus through learning and deploying “cultural capital.” Cultural capital is “cultural resources” that help individuals navigate cultural fields. These resources can include attitudes, preferences, ideas, practices, discourse, and so on.

Through cultural capital, individuals begin to embody various aspects of each cultural field. These cultural fields have pervading guidelines (*doxa)* or expectations that individuals must navigate to be considered successful within said field. In addition, cultural fields are situated in the context of the broader social structure. Cultural fields serve to reproduce existing social structures and relations, such as class, race, and other forms of stratification. Individuals leverage cultural capital in order to navigate cultural fields. As they do so, they reproduce various aspects of social stratification.

Sport is a very commonly studied cultural field (Bourdieu, 1978; Stempel, 2005; Brown, 2006; Warde, 2006). In the cultural capital literature, various researchers have demonstrated how sport reproduces various constructions of masculinity (Brown, 2006) and reproduces social class. Stempel (2005) finds that individuals of a higher social status participate in particular fitness exercises that reinforce their social class. For example, Stempel (2005) finds that men of dominant social classes engage in more cardiovascular exercises and moderate weightlifting. This contrasts to working class men who find more strenuous forms of weight lifting appealing (Stempel, 2005). Sport also reproduces racial inequality through cultural capital (Etile & Etile, 2002). Etile & Etile (2002) found that certain factors, such as race, educational attainment, and family structure impact participation in sport. Also, these factors also contribute overall academic performance, suggesting that some resort to playing sport because of structural disadvantages.

Body Capital

Bourdieu (1990) argues that “the body is in the social world but the social world is in the body." (p. 73). As an application of cultural capital, theorist Loiq Wacquant deployed the notion of "body capital." In his ethnography, Wacquant (1995) studied a working-class boxing gym. In his analysis, he finds that these men develop a physical repertoire that leads to "success" within the boxing arena. Not only do these men engage in specific practices (cultural capital), but these practices enable them to embody masculinity. Thus, their masculine forms are the capital they both deploy and enact in this particular cultural field. He terms this "body capital." Wacquant's analysis was limited to simply a working-class boxing gym. He explicitly argues that gym spaces are separated from other social spheres (26). Unlike the current study, he did not compare similar cultural fields across different social statuses, nor was he able to distinguish masculinity between various social classes, which in turn conflates "masculinity" with "working-class masculinity."

Masculinity and Cultural Capital Literature

Masculinity and fitness are well-researched areas in constructivist gender studies. This literature focuses on two main branches: representation and practice. As will be discussed in chapter three, various forms of media, namely fitness magazines, represent an idealized image of masculinity (Alexzander, 2003; Dworkin & Wachs, 2009). Practices that follow suit serve to naturalize this masculinity (Messner, 1995). Forms of cultural capital include practices, in which men develop a tactile memory of fitness practices (Andreasson, 2014/2016). Language also helps to develop and reproduce masculinity at the gym (Monaghan, 1999). For example, men grapple with notions of "bigger" and "smaller" in order to both access and situate themselves within dominant forms of masculinity (Monaghan, 1999). One main limitation with this line of work in is the assumption that the gym does not reproduce other aspects of social structure outside of masculinity, including social status, race, etc.

Research Gaps

The above existing literature has four main gaps: issues of temporality, conflicting cultural fields, structural consequences of masculinity, and variations of masculinity and language. Each of the above limitations within the existing literature is taken in order.

Temporality/Time: Masculinity is often viewed as an ongoing project but current work tends to assume that there is one cultural field at a given cross-sectional snapshot in time. As Messner (1995) argues, children learn about, and participate in, fitness/masculinity practices. As they age, these practices become naturalized. Thus, fitness/masculinity research can benefit from examining how fitness/masculinity practices develop over time. Bourdieu's perspective can provide insight into how masculinity is integrated into fitness over periods of time longer than a single snapshot allows.

Conflicting Cultural Fields: Existing literature assumes one primary cultural field in which individuals negotiate a specific set of cultural expectations. However, current literature does not examine how status transposes across or within cultural fields. Quite often, there is a dissonance between the demands of one cultural field and another; likewise, competing doxa may exist within a specific field. Sometimes, there is overlap between two fields. All of these aspects of cultural fields will be examined in the current work.

Structural Consequences of Masculinity and Fitness Practices: While masculinity is a complex process, cultural capital lends insight into both masculinity's textuality (how men develop what feels natural) and its structural consequences. Further, by adding the cultural capital framework to an examination of fitness, one can examine how fitness practices are integrated as part of other social structural practices outside of gender construction.

Variations of Masculinity and Language: Existing literature in the sociology of bodybuilding discusses how language contributes to constructions of masculinity and sexuality. The literature assumes that the cultural ideal of a masculine fit body rests in linguistic notions of "size," "bigness," and "leanness." For Monaghan, this is a key component in how men access, and reproduce, definitions of masculinity. However, this ideal differs across different cultural fields. Consequently, the meaning of these forms of language changes depending on context. This variation will be examined in the current work.

Research Question

To address these gaps, I posit these questions:

How do fitness practices (as cultural capital) reproduce masculinity, the social structure, and the cultural field?

I will answer this question in relation to the four main domains noted above. These include:

1) When men deploy cultural capital, to what extent does cultural capital affect constructions of "natural" masculinities?

2) To what extent is cultural capital transferrable across different cultural fields?

3) To what extent do fitness practices, as cultural capital, reproduce social inequality?

4) How do definitions of masculinity vary among different social groups? How does that affect how they deploy language as cultural capital?

By answering these questions, the current work will not only provide a more thorough explanation of cultural capital, but can then also highlight the complexities present in masculinity, fitness, and cultural capital research.

Contributions to the Sociological Enterprise

These four domains help to further expand the analytical capabilities of cultural capital in relation to the dimensions of masculinity, fitness, and inequality. Through the application of cultural capital to these three dimensions, in the current work, I will introduce the notion of fitness capital.

Fitness capital helps researchers move beyond a limited analysis of how individual cultural fields utilize the body and builds upon two main premises: first, that practices reproduce social inequality (cultural capital); and second, that bodies, as a result of these practices, have differing meaning in differing spaces (body capital). Fitness capital as a concept will combine and extend these two concepts by adding the notion that different cultural fields demand different cultural practices. In addition, fitness capital allows for conceptual recognition that although individuals build bodies within a cultural field, they are still subject to the demands of multiple fields or even a variety of demands within a specific cultural field. Further, fitness capital includes how constructions of bodies intersect with structural patterns of inequality, such as various forms of social status. As mentioned in the limitations and will be described in each chapter's literature review section, current understandings of cultural capital and bodily capital do not describe the relationship between social status, cultural capital, and bodily capital. Finally, fitness capital as a concept can help expand an understanding of the doxa, by showing how the governing logic, between cultural fields varies, especially in regard to governing logics of masculinity. This then allows for a deeper examination of how agents deploy and interpret cultural capital.

Thus, while the current work contributes greater nuance to existing studies of cultural capital, this dissertation also contributes to work on the body, gender/masculinity, occupations and social status, and questions about health and notions of "fitness." Finally, this dissertation explores fundamental sociological concerns about the relationship between individual agency, constraint, and structure.

Chapter 2 Methods

The goal of the study was to examine the question, “How can cultural capital (as fitness practice) reproduce masculinity and the social structure?” This included addressing gaps in temporality, conflicting fields, structural consequences of masculinity, and variations of masculinity and language. To address these questions, I conducted 35 in-depth interviews to explore how these processes function; I applied the in-depth interview method because I was centrally focused on how men generate meanings. Through interviews, I examined how men perceive and understand concepts such as “fitness” and “masculinity.” Additionally, I explored the ways in which men defined and deployed cultural capital to produce particular corporeal forms. I also examined men’s understanding of this capital and analyzed their perceptions of the embodied outcomes. I was interested in differences in men’s narratives according to their race, their occupation, and their education. To examine these narratives, a grounded theory framework guided the subsequent analysis. Given that grounded theory enables one to study meanings and social processes (Charmaz, 2014), this was the most appropriate method.

The study initially sought to compare gyms but did not find many sites of difference; however, I will nuance the site when appropriate. Johansson & Andreasson (2016) find that gym-going individuals have different access to peer groups, occupations, and kinds of training, so one might infer that there might also be variation in terms of men’s understandings of fitness, the cultural capital they deploy, the structural constraints they face, and the kinds of bodies they produce.

Sampling

Theoretical Sampling

Grounded theory is based on theoretical sampling principles. According to theoretical sampling, the data was systematically collected until “saturation,” or the point at which no new information would be collected on a particular theme or conceptual category (Charmaz, 2014). The data was initially coded to find general patterns. Next, these patterns were refined into more specific codes that examined nuances of the general theme. These codes were then refined further and secondary coded were added. The key premise of this process was to saturate each category with data so that theoretical categories can demonstrate both patterns and nuance. There were also cases where some of data overlapped with conceptual and theoretical categories.

Theoretical sampling then helped answer the main research question, “How do fitness practices (as cultural capital) reproduce masculinity, the social structure, and the cultural field?” The respondents were able to describe how they developed fitness practices and how these fitness practices overlapped with their social worlds. As the respondents provided their accounts, I was able to systematically find particular themes, which were then explored in the interview process and in the data collection. Codes were then assigned to the collected data and further refined. Sampling continued until each of these themes was “saturated.” For example, I examined the relationship between occupation, masculinity, and fitness practices. Sampling continued until each “type of occupation” was “saturated” with data. Thus, theoretical sampling helped answer the research question by allowing an examination of how different types of cultural fields contribute to the development of fitness practices and masculinity. These cultural fields offered patterns in experiences and practices; however, there were nuances in these practices, and exploring these nuances is the ultimate goal of the project.

Specifically, when I applied theoretical sampling to explore these nuances, I focused on the following main areas:

Specifically, when I applied theoretical sampling to explore these nuances, I focused on the following main areas:

1. **Fitness practices**: diet, exercises, supplements, peers, and other fitness practices. I focused on sampling on fitness practices because these are forms of cultural capital men used at the gym and because they provided an insight into the men's fitness goals and understanding of masculinity. For example, when men discussed getting bigger/stronger, I was able to follow up with questions about what they did to get bigger and stronger, what this meant to them, and their understanding of masculinity as they did so. This area also allowed me to uncover the histories of who these respondents worked out with, for how long, and to what ends.
2. **Occupation**: what respondents did for their work, such as manual labor or education, what their work was like, and how fitness played into their work lives. Bourdieu suggests that different cultural fields provide varying norms/guidelines. Thus, different occupations (as individual cultural fields) provided different uses of the body as well as corresponding definitions of masculinity. Sometimes, the respondents described the kinds of bodies that particular occupations demanded and were able to locate themselves within these demands. This, then, provided me an understanding of how these individuals navigated the doxa of a particular cultural field.
3. **Race, ethnicity, and sexuality**. I chose to sample for gay men of color because they have a unique experience within cultural fields and masculinity and are largely left out of the fitness, masculinity and cultural capital literature. Cultural fields espouse dominant ideologies of masculinity. However, especially within the LGBT community, most cultural fields also define masculinity as White. Thus, they operate in a cultural field which espouses cultural norms of masculinity. Because they are not White, men of color generally must navigate a cultural field

that offers competing sets of expectations within the same field. While this demonstrates how social stratification functions within a cultural field, this also demonstrates how gendered expectations can be nuanced within a cultural field.

Thus, when asking respondents about how race affected their masculinities, there were two main ways. First, when respondents discussed their masculinity, I asked them probing questions about describing what they felt was masculine and then had them nuance their response to include their racialized experiences. In addition, I sometimes directly asked them about their racial identities playing a role in their experiences. According to Bowleg (2008), this is one way that intersections of experience can be documented. This is because this line of questioning can potentially isolate distinct layers of experience. By isolating different layers of experience, one is able to paint a complex portrait of intersectional experiences.

4. **Educational background**. Bourdieu uses education as the hallmark of cultural capital. In a similar vein, education plays a major role in how men develop their fitness practices. As a result, I focused on the respondents' experience with educational institutions, such as elementary, high school, and collegiate-level institutions because school was often one of the first places they began participating in sports and encountered peer knowledge (men learned about working out from other), formal credentials (trainer-based education), and other ways men learned about sports. All of these forms of education were types of cultural capital men acquired to later build their workout routines.

5. **Health**: conceptions of health. Sport literature in masculinity studies focuses on the role of masculinity as it contributes to injury and other health risks (Young et al., 1992). Interestingly, compared to their lower-status counterparts, men that were involved in higher-status occupations reported that they wanted to work out to embody health. Thus, when they reported their fitness

practices, it was in relation to what they understood as health. These conversations rarely came up with their lower status counterparts.

Purposive and Snowball sampling

Sampling also consisted of both purposive and snowballing techniques. For example, in preliminary interviews, some respondents noted the importance of how their jobs affected their workout practices. I purposively sought out individuals who commute to work to adequately represent these experiences.

Purposive sampling based on grounded theory had two main functions in this study. First, given the existing literature, purposive sampling also served as a means of representing understudied experiences, especially those experiences that included high educational and occupational attainments, high income levels, and men of color. Second, in accordance with grounded theory principles, purposive sampling enabled me to achieve saturation to ensure my data adequately represents my phenomena. Thus, purposive sampling helps to include experiences of individuals who might otherwise be out of reach within the sampling frame.

Second, purposive sampling also enabled me to answer the research question focused on how cultural capital provides insights into fitness practices and masculinity. Wacquant’s (1995) study noted how men built their bodies in the cultural field of the boxing gym. In my study, I was interested in how, for example, occupational status affects how men build their fitness practices. More labor-oriented occupations provided both notions of masculinity and set practices in order to engage in labor. Similarly, aesthetically-oriented jobs forced individuals to sell the images of their bodies, and I suspected that these individuals would have their own particular practices as a result of these expectations. Thus, these kinds of jobs had to be particularly sampled for because they had different cultural practices associated with different kinds of cultural fields.

The sample was deliberately drawn from two specific gyms because social context, social stratification, and embodiment intersect in important ways. As primary gatekeepers for the gyms and their membership, gym managers were contacted in order to gain both entrée and letters of support. In preparation for this project, I received letters of support from the gym managers of both the gym in Sunset (Inner Sunset Gym) and in Mission (Valencia Street Gym).

The inclusion criteria for the study were as follows: male, aged 18-59, ability to speak English, and at least two months of experience at their particular gym. The exclusion criteria for the study included women, participants under age 18 or over age 59, men who attended a gym less than two months, or any participant that could not speak English.

Interview Domain

Initially, the main areas I explored were how men deploy cultural resources at the gym, how their social location affects their fitness practices, and how these practices functioned in relation to a their health. As noted in Appendix B, the interview guide mirrors these topics. However, the data presented focuses on cultural capital because this data is missing in the existing literature.

The interview guide began with asking respondents to contextualize their fitness routines by providing a history of how fitness/sports related to their lives. I also asked respondents to discuss several factors, including possible early engagement with sports/fitness, socialization in terms of diet, their parents' background, and their parents' potential influence on their children's diet/fitness. By asking these questions, I learned how the respondent developed his preferences for certain kinds of practices over others and how these early socialization experiences informed his behaviors as an adult. Additionally, I also examined each respondent's class and race position and the kinds of resources he had access to (or not) based on this social location.

After examining the respondent's upbringing, I asked them to walk through their current (at the time of the interview) fitness routine, including their exercises and diet (see Appendix B for an explanation of how exercise and diet intersect with social position), and how they came to shape this routine. I also had them discuss how they came into the world of fitness and gyms by having them describe important people, moments, and institutions that introduced them to this world. Next, I had them contextualize this routine in terms of their daily lives, including work, financial resources, education, and race. Doing so helped me link each individual's practices to social class, race, and the bodies they create.

In addition to contextualizing the respondent's routine in terms of their lives, I also found it relevant to contextualize their routine in terms of the respondent's understanding of health, especially in light of their social location. This additional contextualization allowed me to see how respondents link the development of their bodies to their perceptions of health.

The data was collected, transcribed, and analyzed from October 2015 to September 2016. The write up of the project occurred during the 2016 to 2018 school year. Data collection occurred in the following steps:

1) I set up a booth outside each gym; this booth featured flyers advertising the study and an accompanying sign-up sheet. This sign-up sheet asked interested participants for their name, address, telephone (cell/home/work), and email address.

2) Interested individuals were then briefed about the study and given a consent form (see Appendix A attached). I reviewed the consent form with each participant, and once the respondent filled out the consent form and a demographics sheet, the respondent could then participate in a phone interview scheduled at the convenience of the respondent.

2a. If the individual contacted me via phone or email, he was asked to meet me at the field site to receive informed consent.

3. Scheduling the interview took place either on site or at the earliest convenience of the respondent.

4. If the interview was not scheduled on-site, I then contacted the potential respondent via email or cell/work/home phone to schedule the interview, which would be carried out either in person or over the phone.

5. As was discussed in the signed consent form, the respondent was notified that he was recorded during the interview.

6. After the interview, the respondent was sent a 20 dollar gift card by mail.

7. The data was kept in a locked cabinet and was encrypted onto a computer.

8. The recorded interviews were transcribed and then analyzed.

Chapter 3 Developing a Fitness Habitus

INTRODUCTION

While addressing the question, “How do fitness practices (as cultural capital) reproduce masculinity, the social structure, and the cultural field?”**. . . ,** currently, literature in the sociology of fitness explores the question of how fit bodies acquire the sheen of “health.” Bodies are deemed fit and healthy when they conform to gender-typical norms and practices (Bordo & Heywood, 2003; Davis, 1998; Dworkin, 2001; Dworkin & Wachs, 2009; Edmonds, 2008). Existing literature explains these practices through three main threads: representations of gender, socialization practices of how fit bodies are gendered, and how individuals develop gendered identities in the midst of these competing forces. While these threads in the literature attempt to describe how gender is actively “done” in the fitness arena, they do not effectively link how individual, specifically masculine, identities are actively interpolated in the fitness process. This space in the literature lead me to ask the questions, “How are constructions of masculinity naturalized through fitness?” When explaining this idea of naturalization of fitness practices, it is also important to examine how these fitness practices intertwine with social inequality. This, then, necessitates a follow-up question: When fitness practices are naturalized by masculinity, how do individual cultural fields create these expectations of masculinity? In order to answer these questions, I apply Bourdieu’s notion of cultural capital and his framework to gender.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to understand how masculinity naturalizes fit bodies, I examine two main threads of literature: the social construction of gender as it applies to masculinity and sport, and the application of cultural capital to gender and sport.

Masculinity and the Sociology of Sport/Fitness

There are two dominant understandings of masculinity in the social science literature: essentialist and constructivist. Essentialist gender theorists argue that masculine bodies are defined by sets of physiological/psychological traits (Johnson& Repta, 2012); masculinity is then learned as the consequent "sex role" of these bodies (Johnson & Repta, 2012). However, constructivist masculinity scholars focus on how masculine bodies are created in the context of socialization and practice (Connell, 1987; Messner, 1990), as well as on documenting how definitions of masculinity have shifted and changed over time (Kimmel, 2009). These scholars discuss how masculine bodies are created in the context of social institutions, such as sport, and learn aggressive behaviors and bodily practices (Coakley, 1998; Sabo & Panepinto, 1990; Crosset, 1990; Messner & Sabo, 1994; Crosset, 2000). Constructivist scholars also highlight how men learn and "do masculinity" through institutions that support and maintain men's privilege (Lorber, 1994; West & Zimmerman, 1989; Messner, 1997).

Constructivist masculinity theorists agree that masculinity is a construct that is embodied, interpreted, and learned through social interaction and social institutions. However, they differ on the extent to which they masculinity as a privileged social and cultural form across social contexts. For example, Connell (1987, 1995) and Connell & Messerschmidt (2005) argue that there are culturally-valued forms of masculinity that are privileged over other kinds of masculinity. Connell (1987) calls these forms of masculinity "hegemonic masculinity," where masculinity embodies a white, upper-class, heterosexual form of masculinity. Conversely, masculinities that fall outside this paradigm are marginalized and subordinated. Others, such as Eric Anderson (2011), note that masculinity changes over time and, as a result, can exist in feminized versions of its aggressive counterpart. Anderson names these kinds of masculinities "inclusive masculinities."[1]

In terms of the sociology of sport literature, constructions of masculinities and gender are well-documented. The literature tends to adhere to two main threads: representational practices in sport/fitness and identity and disciplinary practices. In terms of representational practices, the literature focuses on how media, specifically fitness magazines, commodifies images of health in order to sell representations of "fit bodies" (Sassatelli 1999; Mcguire, 1999; Andreasson, & Johansson, 2014). The media does so by selling gendered images of women that are often sexualized (White & Gillet 1994; Davis, 1997; Alexzander, 2003, Dworkin & Wachs 2009). Similarly, men are sexualized, but this usually takes place in gay contexts (Benzie, 2002; Rohlinger, 2002; Alvarez, 2010). These images also intersect with racialized and heteronormative imagery (Cooky et al. 2010).

In addition, the media also produces discourse that involve constraining bodies into conforming to essentialized notions of biological sex via institutionalized sport (Cooky et al., 2010). Messner (1990) documents how sport masculinities are intertwined with traits such as dominance and aggression. For Messner, these traits are often naturalized. As a result of this naturalization, men engage in particular practices, such as excessive weight training (Klein 1993), in order to reaffirm their identities. Sometimes, overtraining leads to ignoring pain and causing health problems in the pursuit of masculinity (Pringle & Markula 2005).

Sports themselves also reproduce hegemonic masculinity. For example, Sabo & Panepinto (1990) describe how hegemonic masculinity, specifically values of toughness, strength, and dominance are reproduced in American football. As part of their socialization, American footballers are encouraged to embody these characteristics (Sabo & Panepinto, 1990). To examine this embodiment, Trujillo (1995) examines the discourse of sports casters to describe how images of hypermasculine athletes are created through sexism. In turn, football spectators view football athletes' bodies as, for examine, "machines," "weapons" and "tools." In addition, some literature in American football focuses on the reproduction of social inequality, such as viewing sport and America as a "meritocracy" (Hawzen & Newman, 2017) and positional segregation (Best, 1987).

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[1] Many critiques can be leveraged against the concept of inclusionary masculinities since they represent a kind of masculinity demonstrated by men in privileged social positions. This is true, especially as highlighted by Alfred Lubrano (2004). Lubrano finds that upwardly mobile working-class men are ridiculed by their peers for engaging in behaviors, such as studying, because those behaviors are perceived as feminine. Additionally, when looking at straight men's attitudes toward dance, Maxine Craig (2013) finds that straight men typically view dance as a feminized space, but it is also a space that represents an upper-class kind of genteel masculinity.

Literature on Masculinity and Fitness

Given the context of global capitalism (Andreasson & Johansson, 2014), Johansson (1996) argues that gym spaces are heavily gendered; where masculinity is concerned, gyms are spaces in which men develop their bodies. Existing literature focuses on two main areas in regard to masculinity: representation and experience.

Representation and Gym Masculinities

Lafrance (2012) argues that the men's bodybuilding magazine genre emerged through constructions of hegemonic masculinity, or masculinity that marginalized femininity. These constructions, especially in print media, entail that men's bodies must be "hard" and "strong" (Alexzander, 2003). Other forms of media represented this form of masculinity through the depiction of bodybuilders (White & Gillet, 1994), such as Arnold Schwarzenegger (Boyle, 2010). Other times, masculine bodily ideals could be negotiated, especially between these cultural ideals of masculinity and being "aloof" toward these ideals (Norman, 2011).

Gym Masculinity Practices

Messner & Sabo (1994) note that sport, and by extension fitness, involves men learning violence as part of hegemonic masculinity. In terms of body-building, Gilett & White (1992) and Klien (2003) describe how men build their bodies under the guise of hegemonic masculinity. Part of this kind of masculinity means that, as men build their bodies to get stronger, they perform an exaggerated form of masculinity that is both sexist and homophobic. Messner (1992) argues that this occurs through repeated conditioning of the body in terms of gendered practices. In examining this hegemonic masculinity (termed the "masculine imaginary"), Monaghan (1999) notes that men experience insecurity with their bodies, which in turn causes them to excessively work out with weights. This can translate into engaging in deleterious behaviors, such as steroid use (Monaghan, 1999; Atkinson, 2007) and other practices that can cause injury (Young et al., 1992). Similarly, men learn specific practices, including workout techniques (Monaghan, 1999; Andreasson & Johansson, 2014) and dietary habits (Spencer 2014), that naturalize hegemonic masculinity.

Other scholars have introduced Bourdieu into conversations about body building. Loiq Wacquant (1995) applied Bourdieu's notions of cultural capital to describe how men naturalize masculinity in arenas calling for physical violence (a boxing gym, for example). To do so, Wacquant places an emphasis on the practices men engage in within these cultural fields. These practices are internalized and naturalized into what he terms "body capital." Other researchers examined gyms and bodybuilding within the gym as its own cultural field. Andreasson & Johansson (2014) describe how men deploy cultural capital at the gym. Additionally, Andreessen (2014) argues that this capital is similarly naturalized and embodied, especially when men first learn how to work out.

Cultural Capital, Gender, and Sport

As theorized by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984), cultural capital was first developed to describe how individuals perceive cultural objects, such as art or music. Bourdieu (1984) postulates that individuals perceive external objects through an accrued knowledge base built through experience and observation. For Bourdieu (1993, p. 2), knowledge provides the context (Bourdieu uses the term “code”) through which people “read” and engage with these objects. Using knowledge, people then develop a “set of dispositions” (Bourdieu calls this the “habitus”) that enable some to favorably engage with certain objects over others. While individuals all use knowledge to “read” objects, Bourdieu (1984) argues that this knowledge is unequally distributed. As a result, habitus is then created through an unequal distribution of knowledge.

In Bourdieu’s theoretical framework, the reason for this unequal distribution of knowledge is because differing socialization mechanisms (such as the educational system) teach practices and values predicated upon the social structure (social class is Bourdieu’s structure of study). Consequently, Bourdieu then terms this unequal distribution of knowledge as “cultural capital,” where “knowledge” is accessed differently dependent upon one’s social position (namely social class). In turn, this knowledge is deployed as a resource that reproduces different outcomes. Using Bourdieu’s (1984) example, some might find a classical song entertaining because they were trained in the context of their social class to favorably perceive the song (a highbrow taste), whereas some might not favorably perceive the classical song because they do not have the “codes”/knowledge or cultural capital (provided by their classed socialization) to link their “habitus” to the cultural object. Thus, cultural capital provides a theoretical framework to link individuals’ values, beliefs, behaviors, knowledge, and perceptions (“capital”) to the social structure because capital is both patterned and unequally distributed per various social axes, such as social class.

In his later work, Bourdieu (2001) applied his theoretical framework to the study of gender inequality. Bourdieu suggests that biological sex cannot account for how society ascribes symbolic meaning onto gendered bodies. He terms this “symbolic consecration” (13). This meaning, for Bourdieu, is socially ascribed though socialization practices. In his discussion of gendered socialization practices, he suggests that gendered “hexi” are constructed through a “mythico-ritual system” (42) that involves excluding the feminine. Brown (2006) suggests that this framework can be applied to sport by engaging in practices of “somaticization,” “observation,” and “naturalization” (196). In other words, sport practices allow for the development of tactile memory and masculinity (somaticization). Men watch others as part of developing their habitus (observation). Finally, sport practices “naturalize” gendered traits.

Limitations of Existing Literature

Hegemonic Masculinity as Main Focus

Masculinity theorists assume that men build their bodies under norms of hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity, coined by R.W. Connell (2005), argues that the dominant form of masculinity in the West is constructed in the context of physical strength, aggression, heterosexuality and higher social status. To an extent, this is correct. However, there are multiple contexts that call for enactments of masculinity that are not solely situated under hegemonic masculinity. For example, the literature does not explicitly cover dimensions of social class, race, or sexuality as it directly relates to fitness practices. The current study attempted to address these gaps in the current and anteceding chapters.

Cultural Capital and Bodybuilding Limitations

I offer a similar critique about the current cultural capital literature in relation to body-building. Wacquant (1995) explicitly argues that, “The gym offers a relatively self-enclosed site for a protected sociability where one can find a respite from the pressures of the street and the ghetto, a world into which external events rarely penetrate and onto which they have little impact" (26). Wacquant is explicit that the development of bodily capital only applies to that specific cultural field. The "streets" are separated from the cultural field (the gym). Andreasson & Johansson also restrict their analysis to the gym itself and not to cultural fields outside the gym. For Bourdieu and his approach, however, capital is transferable. There are multiple contexts or cultural fields that individuals engage in, and this is because of one's social position and access to different cultural fields.

To respond to the above limitations, the current work will extrapolate on how inequality intersects with the cultural field and how the variation within/between a cultural field affects how masculinity is produced. In the next section, I examine how men develop their habitus through cultural capital and the social status

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After describing the literature on masculinity, cultural capital, and fitness, the results that follow will attempt to address these limitations. In these results I examine how men develop their habitus, or preferences, in relation to several factors: family, gym partners, and educational institutions. They learn these preferences through early interactions with family members, gym partners, and educational institutions. In the conclusion, I will discuss the implications of these findings in relation to existing literature.

Habitus through Early Interpersonal Relations

Families

It is common for men to develop gendered dispositions through accounts of the gym and fitness with family. These gendered dispositions were intertwined with different aspects of their social status. When men in the study developed their gendered attitudes, they did so through interacting with male family members. Many men in the sample described early interactions with male counterparts that often guided early introductions into either sports or a world where "stereotypical" definitions of masculinity would be learned or enacted. For example, while growing up, Carl read men's magazines featuring Arnold Schwarzenegger and tried to emulate his masculinity. When describing how his uncle served as his introduction into gym life, Carl explained:

> *"Yeah, he [his uncle] helped. He was one of the first members in Samson's Power House gym in Rochester, New York and helped, you know. He was at their very first location with probably with eight people at the place [laughter] and he'd followed the guy who owns the place, Jim Rockwell as he transitioned from gym to gym to gym. He actually used to have a gym in his basement so we trained out in his basement sometimes and sometimes we go to Samson's. It's like, "Come over now!" We both work. He worked the afternoons, and I worked at the afternoons at the factory. We chilled in the morning, hang out watch ESPN, and watched some fitness workout type stuff on TV and get ourselves a little get up and going and we head off to the gym." (49, White, Mission Gym).*

That respondents in the study revealed that men are, in essence, introduced to social worlds where they learn their fathers' and brothers' occupations, the programs they watch on TV, and, most importantly, the types of activities they (will) engage in. For masculinity theorists, these contexts play a central role in helping men develop masculine performances (Messner 1990; Kimmel 2008). However, Bourdieu surmises that these gendered performances occur because individuals acquire cultural capital and a "gendered habitus." Similarly, in the *Logic of Practice,* Bourdieu (1980) describes how the generational transmission of cultural capital occurs through kinship ties. Similarly, the gym goers, especially those born in the United States, had backgrounds where individuals were exposed to the gym or some kind of sport early on and thus learned how to acquire, deploy, and ascribe meaning to, cultural capital and fitness:

> *"Well, I'd have to say the most important support attribute that he [Carl's uncle] taught me that stayed with me today was dedication. You know, he taught me, 'you can't look the way you want. You're not going to be at the gym.' So, he was really strict about what time we started, making sure I was there. I said I was going to be there, and you know, I hold those attributes today. (49, White, Mission Gym).*

It is not simply that Carl recognized gendered embodiments that the fitness industry sells to consumers, but to attain this representation, he has had to develop specific cultural dispositions and habits. To develop these dispositions, Carl and other respondents developed a kinesthetic and visual awareness as they learned fitness practices.

Kinesthetic and visual awareness

Within the family, respondents developed an internal sense of how the weights felt (kinesthetic awareness) and appropriate visual cues (visual awareness) as they developed their fitness practices. For example, Carl noted,

> *"Oh, like when I worked out with him, we would do like three body parts in a day. We would do chest, shoulders, tri[cep]s. So, we do bench press, and we do a flat bench. We do incline bench. We do decline bench then we do some flies. And then we go over do some shoulder presses, so shoulders laterals, front, rear do some shrubs um and then we would cap it off with triceps workouts. Next day would be back and bi[cep]s, so we do back and biceps um, we do lap pull downs, um underarm, three different manners….".(49, White, Mission Gym).*

Carl described how he developed his first fitness routines. However, in addition to learning the routines, men also described how much workout technique became a cultural disposition and habit. He noted,

> *"He showed me how I didn't know how to line up my hands evenly on the on the bars to know that I'm using the right. You know, I had the right spacing and hands. There are lines that are grooved in to any Olympic weight bench or weight bar. Forty-five-pound bar and he would teach me how to use the line as a place to keep my hands, even. So I was evenly pressing the weights, you know, off of the bench and stuff. He was really strict about teaching me. He really showed me how to use all the machineries and stuff. You know, how to use proper form, proper techniques, or how to squeeze at the bottom. He was really strict on it. I used to drive him nuts because when I wanted to do my biceps. I cheat my ass off and arch my back. I could get my arms to look are better than his but used to get mad as hell because I cheated. I got my arms look good. He used to be really strict with it for whatever reason but his biceps never look as good as mine." (49, White, Mission Gym).*

Carl focused on the spacing of his fingers and his hands on the barbell in order to properly execute proper form. Essentially, Carl learned how to develop his masculinity through developing a tactile memory of how to navigate the barbell. For Bourdieu, Wacquant, and Andreasson and Johannsson, this kind of tactile memory coalesces into the "habitus." Carl knew how to properly manipulate the barbell. He even describes how he knew he "cheated his ass off" by arching his back at inappropriate times. He understood "proper form," and how he mentioned that his uncle would be "mad as hell" if he broke form. Here, Carl learned the ability to identify a mistake because he acquired the capital necessary to enact forms of a kind of masculinity that is functional for him and environment, especially considering Carl's social context: an environment of factory laborers, sports, and the gym.

In another example, Andrew develops both a feel for the weights and appropriate visual cutes. Andrew, a personal trainer, discussed how he,

> *"First started going to the gym with my [his] cousin. He taught me how to feel out the weights. If the weights felt really heavy, I [he] would put it down. I would do this until I could find a set of weights that I could lift for about five or six reps. That's how I started." (32, White, Mission Gym).*

Andrew "felt out" the weights and gauged their heaviness based on "feelings' He continued,

> *He [his cousin] taught me first to use machines. I was using my back a lot so he showed me how to keep my back straight. He pushed my back in when I slouched. It felt strange at first because I wanted to hunch over. Also, he saw I was hunching over the pull machine. He made me look in the mirror to watch my back. That was something I learned. (32, White, Mission Gym).*

Here, Andrew unpacked how his cousin taught him how to straighten out his back. When describing how he learned to keep his back straight, his cousin had to physically apply pressure to help Andrew understand his back placement. In turn, this made him feel "strange." By feeling "strange," Andrew experienced a bodily sensation that he learned to be aware of. Not only did he learn how to feel these differences, but visually, he learned to pair these feelings with the visual action of keeping his back straight. Likewise, Jim, a graduate student, described a similar experience. When describing how his older brother taught him to work out, Jim explained,

> *"When I first started working out, I didn't really know what form was. My older brother watched me while I squatted. He said I needed to bend my knees all the way. It was really*

> *awkward because I couldn't bend my knees. He had to get me on a machine that released my hip flexors so that squatting would feel less awkward."* *(27, Middle Eastern, Sunset Gym).*

Jim continued,

> *"My brother also made me squat in front of a mirror. He wanted me to see how I was not going down [on his knees] all the way. I would just go down half way. He then compared the way I squatted to the way he squatted. We would then squat together. (27, Middle Eastern, Sunset Gym).*

Similar to Carl and Andrew, Jim described how he learned to exercise with weights. When he learned how to weight train, Jim developed a visual cue to aid his ability to squat. By watching his brother in the mirror, Jim learned how to engage his knees while he learned to squat. Thus, the respondents developed kinesthetic and visual awareness for their bodies as they learned to work out. This is similar to Wacquant (1995) where he discusses how boxers learn to control biological and physiological functions in order to engage in disciplinary techniques. For Wacquant's boxers, the active disciplinary measures his respondents deployed normalized their routines and practices. Likewise, Andreasson and Johannsson describe similar patterns where individuals learn to work out. They found that gym-respondents repeated similar exercises and eventually learned to naturalize their sensations. Thus, individuals developed a tactile memory of the weights and gym equipment.

Not all respondents came from a working-class background. Some male familial role model had other experiences, such as medical training, that could influence their child's workout. Eyal, a trainer/law student, discussed how his father helped provide fitness information rooted in his occupational background:

> *"Well, likely my father was a medical doctor, and he was also into weight training. He kind of showed me how the body works and muscles function, extend, contact, all that stuff and about set and reps how to go about it. Well, also, you know, not over-work the muscles and let your muscles actually grow when they are recuperating. You want to work out muscles two days in a row. In terms of lifting with weights, you want to let them rest and to maximize your gains, you know endurance and strength. You should do about three sets of ten. You don't have too much rest in between sets and exercises, that you rest just enough, and develop strength by lifting kind of heavier resistance weights. That's pretty much a set program. The rest of the time, what he [his dad] kind of showed me how to do was, of course, form. The correct form of exercises where you are lifting weight resistance, the stretch goes to your muscles where you suppose. Doing incorrectly means it goes to your tendon, ligaments, or where you hurt yourself." (29, Middle Eastern, Sunset Gym)*

He explained further that,

> *"It was pretty much that you know just had an in-depth knowledge about the body and the different muscles. It showed me which muscle is which and how it functions. You know, doing a certain pull motion and brings into play x, y, and z muscle. And pulling or pushing engages muscles. So it's pretty much how muscles engage and how they contract. and their working out position and things like that." (29, Middle Eastern, Sunset Gym)*

Eyal described how his father taught him to work out. He described how he learned about how to "maximize" gains, rest, and learn proper form without damaging his muscles. Eyal also acquired a particular knowledge set including bodily vernacular. Other respondents also reported how their family's background played a role in guiding their fitness knowledge. Given Eyal's father's occupation as a doctor, medical knowledge provided Eyal with information that would later help him apply information as a trainer:

> *"It pretty much all came together. It's very similar and then of course I just learned a few more stuff. You know more stuff in more detail about how the body works and you know how to recover from injuries. You know more in depth about different muscle fibers and you know how to promote certain type of muscle fiber growth, and pretty much, the kinds of a supplements kind of all came together." (Eyal, 29, Middle Eastern, Sunset Gym)*

Essentially, Eyal's father's training augmented his son's understanding of fitness. Eyal gained an "in-depth" knowledge of muscle fiber function and growth. In addition to providing knowledge about muscle growth and form, upper status individuals valued health above strength. Steve, whose father worked was a lawyer, described,

> *Dad was really concerned about my safety. He told me it was important to lift weights responsibly. It was not about how strong I was, but it was important to be healthy. So when we lifted weights together, he would make sure I wasn't rushing into lifting. He would always watch my form and would always make sure I would complete at least 10 reps of a weight before he would let me move on.*

According to Young et al. (1994), men engage in deleterious behaviors that reproduce masculinity, and Harrison, Lawrence, & Bukstein, (2011) note that lower-status men, particularly men of color, are disproportionately placed in positions where they are exposed to higher rates of physical injury. In this case, Eyal gained knowledge to prevent this kind of injury because his father was a trained physician. On the other hand, Steve's father was focused on form and safety.

This focus on safety and form stood in stark contrast to men like Carl, Daniel, and Jack. Daniel, a retail worker noted,

> *My dad fixed cars for work. All of the guys in his shop were really big. They would stay in that shop for hours just fixing cars. They lifted heavy tires all day and they sometimes pushed cars that couldn't run. This is what my dad did and his dad before him. So my dad said I had to grow up to be big and strong like them. He made me start eating a lot. It was weird at first because I was skinny and I wasn't used to eating all the time. But after a while, I got used to it. He also made me go to the gym and made me start to lift weights. This was back in middle school so he tried to get me to start young. Then he made me go to the gym. It was an old gym. Even though I wasn't experienced, he made lift heavy weights (38, Latino, Sunset Gym).*

He continued,

> *So what he would do is try to start me off using light weights, and then the next week, he would make me make me double, sometimes triple, the weights. It was really heavy and it definitely was not comfortable. I struggled for the first couple weeks until he decided to lower the weights. But he wanted me to build my strength and do it fast. It hurt but I eventually got used to the weights and started to lift heavier because I ate more. This is how I started. (38, Latino, Sunset Gym).*

In other words, Daniel described how the desire to be "big and strong" drove him to lift heavier weights. Daniel's father and his workers, who are auto-mechanics, inspired this desire. For these auto-mechanics, having bigger bodies is a necessity to perform their jobs and lift heavy objects, such as tires. Thus, fitness practices, such as "eating big" and "lifting heavy" were thrust upon Daniel at an early age in order to increase his strength for his "future" occupation. Other respondents also commented similarly. When describing how his dad (a construction worker) taught him how to work out, Jack described,

> *"To get big, he made me start eating a crap ton. I was really skinny and couldn't haven't the food at first, but then eventually, I got used to the food. He also made me lift really heavy weights right off the bat. I went from like, 10lbs to 25 [lbs] in a week. It was really hard. I was so skinny then and I had never lifted anything before. It really hurt but I got used to it. (32, White, Mission).*

Similar to Daniel, Jack also explained how he was put on a similar regimen. For Jack, eating "a crap ton" was something that he needed to do to put on mass. He also lifted heavy weights. Lifting heavy weights was uncomfortable for him because he was being asked to lift heavier weights than his body allowed. These cases have two main implications.

First, cultural capital is disproportionately accessed by status. As echoed by Andreasson & Johannsson (2016), these men generally learned what *felt right*, what movements were *wrong*, and most importantly, how these nuances were important in measuring up to masculinity. While masculinity operates within a series of representations (White & Gillet 1994; Davis, 1997; Alexzander, 2003, Dworkin & Wachs 2009) and embodiments (Messner 1990; Kimmel 2008), they also acquire a series of learned practices that they acquire, which later will translate into skills for tailored cultural fields. As Brown (2006) suggests, not only is there a performative aspect of gender in that there is a repetition of practices, but that these practices become internalized and naturalized. This is especially a case given that the men develop both visual (for example, knowing where the lines fall on a barbell), but also tactile (knowing what feels right) memory of how to deploy said practices. Thus, when masculinity is embodied, men develop a habitus, including a visual and kinesthetic awareness, that informs this embodiment.

The second implication of the results above is that this then means that men access masculinity differently. Lubrano (2004) notes that working-class men focus on building their bodies as a means of achieving masculinity. Additionally, while the men are attempting to engage in fitness, they are engaging through different means. Carl, Daniel and Jack, for example, had access through their working-class kinship network, complete with notable bodybuilders, and working class role models. Conversely, men like Eyal and Steve, had fathers in white-collar professions that enabled them to pass down information (capital) to their children. The interviews suggest that these forms of capital later played a role in the kinds of labor with which men later engaged. This means that masculinity is built into differential status positions and is accessed differently according to status.

Gym Partners

Another means through which cultural capital was deployed was through access to gym partners. It was common for men to have a gym partner while in school; as the respondents became older, it was common for them to have gym partners that were relatives, friends, or other gym members. These gym partners or "workout buddies" were generally platonic friendships or particular people who seemed skilled at working out. When discussing how he interacts with fellow gym mates, Andrew, a sales representative at the gym and trainer, noted,

> *"I usually ask people that I know that they're devoted to actually working out. And actually, people that know and just like having a normal conversation. Sometimes they'll stop and ask a question, like oh "how you are doing with the diet . . . ", and then sometimes, they ask you what to eat. You know, that's the type of person that doesn't study about health or eating healthy because they just rely on the supplements. You know supplements can only do so much. The main key it's your diet, your diet is going to*

> *be basically determine how long your body is going to last you."(32,White, Sunset Gym)*

Other respondents felt at ease asking for similar kinds of information, Matt, a software programmer, explained, "I don't think I have this same issue with the people where they are just afraid of the gym, I used to go there and talk to people if you want or ask questions…". When individuals sought out information from one another, they often sought information from their peers. Rodney, a 27-year-old White man, mentions how, when working out with his fraternity, he "paired up with other guy and that guy would help them [him] workout." Likewise, Tyler continued,

> *"Besides spotting each other or helping each other out? I mean, it's really just cheering each other on. A lot of times, if it looks like the team's morale was low, the coaches would get us together as a whole team just to cheer on one guy as he's trying to finish a set. "It's definitely a lot of comradery. I mean, it was the way at football games: a lot of yelling, a lot of motivation. It's like, 'Come on! You can do it! Finish strong! things like that. It gave me a bad extra burst of energy or the extra motivation to finish. No one, no one ever gave up or fell short because of that you just pushed your body to a new limit that you never thought you had*." *(37, White, Mission).*

The cheering and sense of camaraderie created a perceived "boost" that helped Tyler to continue exercising. Along these lines, Jorge, a 27-year-old Latino, mentioned how working out with a spotter (someone that helps one lift weights) was "basically motivating me, like give me a line like 'let's go,' like when I didn't feel like going, he would push me and I would do the same to him. I would try to push them and he would spot me and he would push me to lift more heavy weights." Using peers at the gym clearly provided motivational support. Not only did peers provide moral support, they also provided safety: Tyler noteed,

> *"Yeah, I mean since we're paired up in group of twos, your spotter was not only there for safety, but I mean, they kind of encourage you and push you through the set. You're never expected to work out alone. Just because they're too strenuous, you need to someone there to push you whether it be coached or not."* (37, White, Mission).

Since the weights were "too strenuous," Tyler and his friends were "never expected to work alone." Similarly, Jorge mentioned, when lifting heavy weights, "ah, yea usually we have a spotter to make sure you don't drop your weights on yourself. Basically, I used to lift something really heavy stuff and like to the point where your arm is shaky." These accounts represent how men not only watched other men work out, they also helped one another develop these practices, such as lifting heavy weights. Similar to Brown's (1996) account of acquiring a gendered habitus through sport (observation), here, the men learned how to work out through socializing one another. However, men did not simply watch one another (as Brown describes), but rather, they provided "motivation," or the drive to work out that shaped their habitus. This was especially true when men engaged in practices that pushed them beyond their physical limits (Klien, 1993). For most of the respondents, peers were invaluable resources that provided both motivational support and extra physical support.

"Professional" help

Similar to how men acquired the status-based information that shaped their workouts, trainers also provided access to capital that individuals without trainers lacked. Rodrigo mentioned how his friend, a former trainer, provided him a "food guide." He discussed how, "I guess like a diet plan he sent me, so, I try to keep up with that and I also prep up my meals and try to eat accordingly to what he says." In addition, Rodrigo mentioned that his friend gave him the idea to keep a "food journal" and taught him other fitness practices, such as "isolat[ing] a muscle per day. I do six to seven sets, six to seven different workouts, one muscle, three sets, twelve reps." Tyler also noted that he learned workout practices from his peers that work out, including from other triathletes and trainers:

> *"They'll basically ask what my goals are. Based on what I'm trying to accomplish, they'll tailor exercises towards that. For example, since I'm always in team sports, they are not going to tell me to put 200lbs on a squat machine and do that. They're more going to tell me to do exercises that balance all the muscle groups in my legs, my back, my arms in order to keep me ready for along a long race." (37, White, Mission).*

For example, he learned to incorporate "plyometrics" into his fitness routine.

> *"It's a lot of body weight exercises you are using. You are not using any weights. You are kind of using your body's own weight or resistance to get a workout, so things like planks or suicide planks, pushups, wall to wall squats. I can't think of anything else. (37, White, Mission).*

He then incorporated these technique into his fitness routine.

> *"In weight training? Usually, I usually try to do plyolmetrics in between lifting sets to kind of give my body a rest from the wear and tear of weight lifting, but continued to have the strenuous work out that you didn't get from a plyometrics set. So I'll do maybe three sets of ten bench presses and then between each set of ten bench pressing. I'll do some sort of plank or some sort of a wall set or squat just to keep my body working but resting the muscle groups that I have been lifting with." (37, White, Mission).*

Tyler explained how he incorporated plyometrics into his routine, and his trainer supplemented his routine. As Rodney and Tyler described, working out with peers provided motivational support, but trainers were a guaranteed form of this motivational support. Among many respondents, Robert describes working out with his trainer to provide “motivation.” Additionally, he described,

> *“I mean one instance would be the coach would say if I could do say a fifty butterflies under certain time, then the rest of the whole team would get out early. So the coach would stop practice entirely, line up both ends of the pool and everyone on the team, and they just watch me do fifty flies off the starting block. The entire time, when I’m walking up into the starting block., all the guys at the gym are cheering for you, psyched up and pumped up ready to go. Of course, once you hit that wall and you make that time, everyone just gone wild.”* (34, White, Mission Gym).

Thus, even though men could receive motivation from peers, trainers were also a source of motivation to ensure that their clients were able to lift weights that was requisite for their training. However, the respondents applied professional help in terms of gaining other practices and strategies involved in building their bodies.

Institutional Exposure and Access to Sport

The cultural field of sport also played a role in how men deployed cultural capital. Most respondents cited how educational institutions were the first institution (cultural field) in which they were exposed to fitness. Historically, sport has been a masculinist enterprise (Messner, 1994). Even with the passage of Title IX, team sports continue to be a site that emphasizes the production of hypermasculinity (Hickey, 2008; Hill, 2015; Tischler & McCaughtry, 2011). Respondents accessed fitness education in school through sports, physical education, and, to a lesser degree, health courses. Even though health-focused courses existed, most of the respondents placed a greater emphasis on sports. When the respondents reported that they played sports, they generally also had weight training that accompanied their sport. Omar, a young

Black researcher and former student athlete, starting sports around early adolescence also initiated him into the gym. Being "12" or "13," he discussed he "comes from Texas and we [they] start pretty early working out at the gym for football so about the time you're in 8th grade, 7th grade you're already lifting weights…". He then described how conditioning for football was important:

> *"I was like really young because I played football so that's totally young. [We had a] real standard kind of working out. Once you start working out like as a team, there are things they'll tell you to do, particularly at times, like, 'oh this, so and so.' The school year lasts nine months, so during that time, you are kind of under that curfew. And those three months that you are not competing, then they are asking you to do stuff on your own, [like] throughout the summer. So that's running sprints. If you can get into a weight room, that's fine. When you get in high school and college and stuff, of course, you have access to the weight room, but in when you are younger, you may or not have access to a weight room or they have you run sprinting usually running jogging, trying to stay in shape be ready and then as soon as you get back you go like two weeks of basically hell for you to really trying to get back into it before the season starts." (33, Black, Sunset Gym).*

Omar described how he gained access to the weight room because he started football training. This access was seasonal, but at the same time, it was necessary to help him adjust to his sports' physical demands. He continued,

> *"You probably are going to gain some muscle and gain some weight. It's like to ask you to kind of bulk up a little bit. I mean, for football in Texas. We during that time, when you first get back, you are in the mornings running. You run plays practicing football. You*

> *lift when you come back for your afternoon session. You do all over again and do it throughout the school year. You're lifting three days a week. During that time when you are in school, you lift three days a week. You're going outside practicing during the day if it is during the season. When it is not during the season, we were required to run track so we were required to lift during the day and then run track in the afternoon, so we have like track practice after this. So that was to keep us in shape while football season was in in play. So yes, during the time, when you are coming back, yes, probably need to bulk up. But also, it's like a delicate balance because you're also not wanting to be overweight. You want to come back somewhat in shape. You need to also be gaining some muscle. So there is a kind of requirement to gain muscle." (33, Black, Sunset Gym).*

Omar described how he worked on his body during football season: he physically "bulked" up, lifted weights, and engaged in complementary fitness practices, such as running track when he was off season. Omar engaged in these behaviors because they were requisite to his development as a football player. In contrast, there were also respondents who did not participate in weight training when playing school sports, and still other respondents, still speaking in the context of sport, developed fitness practices outside of weight training. As a teenager growing up in Japan, Hiro mentioned how he "played gymnastics when I [he] was 14 and 15." He generally focused on activities such as 'floor activities,' the 'pommel horse,' 'swinging,' and other kinds of activities associated with gymnastics, and, in terms of complementary fitness practices, mostly did some weight training and "swimming." However, even doing so, Hiro says,

> *"Basically, I was so skinny, just like, almost bone and skin. I didn't think about my body much, like girl bodies, but this [these bodies] in gymnastics, we focused on like, core athlete, muscle movements, and basic training that didn't require weights." (37, Asian,*

Sunset Gym)

Even though Omar and Hiro were athletes who used weights to differing extents, both intended on building their bodies for sports and in some way eschewed physical forms that were considered feminine. Omar wanted to "bulk up" while Hiro expressly associated "thinness" with a feminine body. In other words, both respondents used "gym vernacular" (Monaghan, 1995) to describe the development of their bodies, but they so within a gendered cultural field. Bourdieu (1990) suggests that formal educational institutions provide an initial cultural field for how individuals acquire their habitus. In other words, educational institutions establish a context by which individuals engage in practices. In addition, this context establishes "unwritten rules" or "doxa"(Bourdieu, 1990) of how individuals proceed within institutions through said practices. In this particular case, sports within schools provided a context by which many men in the study learned about initial exercise practices. These practices were learned given the constraints of the sport. Thus, the cultural field provided pragmatic expectations for men in terms of how they modified their bodies. Through this field, men also learned masculinity.

Even though the respondents were not explicitly learning to demonstrate hegemonic masculinity, they are still learning particular bodily practices for both their respective sport activities/cultural fields but also for masculinity. Messner (1990) argues that the repetition of "masculine acts" essentially reify masculinity, while Wacquant (1995) demonstrates how such physical repetition forces gym-actors to naturalize bodily sensations, such as pain. However, in both accounts, there is an implicit assumption that men engage in these practices under the auspices of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005). However, under this assumption, men engaged in practices to work toward hegemonic masculinity, but these respondents in the sample defined masculinity based on two frameworks: to get stronger and to exclude the "feminine."

Thus, in setting its cultural expectations, sport as a cultural field does not simply provide the expectations or "rules of the game" that forces its actors to conform; in abiding by these expectations, the actors develop definitions of masculinity based on size. The actors "bulk" for the practical necessity of sport, but they also defined themselves against the feminine in order to reify their masculinity.

While Brown (2006) mentions that individuals naturalize the "feel" of sports through observation, in this particular case, individuals both learn practices and a vernacular ("bulk up," "skinny," etc.) by which they learn gender within fitness as a cultural arena. Instead, this provides a space for Monaghan's (1995) framework to include gym vernacular as a form of cultural capital men use to shape their habitus and their bodies. Thus, men deploy vocabulary in order to access images of masculinity through which they construct their bodies.

Disposition Through Interfiled and Intersport Variation

In the previous section of the results, the respondents reported how men developed their fitness routines and their masculinities through cultural capital. They did so through developing their gendered habitus within the purview of a cultural field. Brown (2006) argues that the cultural field provides the "logic" by which men engage in gendered fitness practices. Men naturalize, watch, and repeat practices within a given cultural field. However, sometimes a given cultural field has its own variations. This next section lays out a general framework for how cultural capital intertwines with the cultural field. Additionally, the results that follow will examine how masculinities themselves are intertwined with how cultural capital overlaps with other cultural fields.

Variation within a Cultural Field

It was common for men to express nuances of their fitness practice as they prepared for given cultural field. Football players, for example, experience variation within their cultural field, one form of which involved how coaches at different levels monitor their players. Omar discusses the differences between high school football and college football. As a high school football player, Omar described that coaches were less likely to set his diet compared to his college coaches. He explained,

> *"If you are playing in college you yes, they also set your diet, um so um in high school, well that not as common. But you could be at these big high schools and you could get someone who's also helping you with your diet. If you're playing college football, yeah, they're also setting your diet. They are not necessarily setting your diet meaning that 'this is what you are going to eat,' but they are kind of helping you with your calories. If you're playing professional football you are definitely having someone who's counting calories for you." (33, Black, Sunset Gym).*

Here. Omar described his experiences playing football both at the high school and collegiate level. He described how high school athletes are given help with their diets. However, in college, athletes are scrutinized and managed over their dietary intake. This is especially since athletes have individuals who "count" calories for "you." In other words, while all football players need calories to navigate the sport as a cultural field, access to someone monitoring their caloric intake differed across levels of the sport. In addition to the variation between amateur and professional levels, there was also variation in positions in sport: different positions required players to be in different weight classes. Omar recalled,

> *"So they [coaches] are also helping you with things like, 'this is what your weight needs to be' because every position in a football field has a different kind of weight category that they want you in, right? Offensive line men are going to be much heavier than your*

> *receivers and defensive backs right? And pretty much if you get under weight and overweight, they kind of also regulate you in that as well." (33, Black, Sunset Gym).*

In this scenario, Omar described how coaches handle athletes, especially helping athletes with managing their weight. This then leads to positional differences within the sport itself. This contrasts to Sabo & Panepinto's (1990) and Trujillo's (1995) work where hegemonic masculinity creates a monolithic expectation of American football athletes' bodies. However, while these images of hegemonic masculinity exist in football, the researchers do not relate these socialization differences to representational differences. Interestingly, Best (1987) highlights that these positional differences reinforce patterns of racial segregation. However, he does not highlight the practices that create these forms of positional difference. While variation exists within the sport itself, most variations, however, happened to be between the sports themselves. For example, Arjay, a dancer, described,

> *"Most dancers, if you look at them, those are the types of people who have very lean bodies. They don't have a ton of muscle, but the muscles that they have are very well defined because they use it over and over and over. Like the legs of the dancer are very different from the legs of I would say even a football player. (40, Asian, Sunset Gym).*

Arjay pointed out that dancers and football players have different physiological features ranging from the "leanness" of their bodies to the size of their legs. Dancers have defined legs without being heavily muscular. Thus, the conditioning for these sports have separate processes. Parker describes the conditioning differences between modelling and dancing. When discussing how he conditions himself for dance and modeling, Parker notes,

> *"If I'm dancing. I'm not going to work out my legs much because I tire them out. Like, I don't want to fatigue myself. Modeling, it's not much different than my normal workout*

> *unless I will try to add an extra workout before that doesn't follow my normal routine. It's kind of just a general like everything that's going to pump me up a little bit. You know, that it really doesn't change so much." (40, Asian, Sunset Gym).*

In addition to his regular routine, Parker, then, adds an extra workout for modeling compared to when he's "dancing. Similarly, Alex also describes how his training differs between strength training and swimming. He mentioned how,

> *"My strength training coach had a Masters in Physiology. He basically studied the most efficient ways to get us in swimming shape and that one hour lift every Tuesday and Thursday. He also had a back-handed swimming technique so he was kind of hybrid between the two, and then our swim coach was strictly technique based coach. He was like technique and strategy and of course, general swimming in turns. (32, Latino, Mission Gym)*

Alex then provided an example of his training,

> *"Every workout, he'd give us circuit to follow through. With a team of groups of two-s (so one lifter, one spotter), we have a workout a circuit of maybe six different stations. Each lifter has one-minute lifting interval and then you obviously rotate with your spotter for the next minute when you are resting." (35, White, Mission Gym).*

Given his background in physiology, Alex noted that the strength coach imposed a regimen of circuit training in which each member of his swim team occupied different physical roles every minute. He described how each workout team engages in one-minute, interval training per station. This differed from his swimming coach, who specifically taught swimming technique. Thus, the conditioning for both strength training and swimming differed. Similarly, Omar mentioned how playing different sports imposes different physical demands on his body.

Coming from a football background, Omar mentioned how staying in shape meant that he focused heavily on running. He explained that,

> *"For me, most of my stuff centered around football, so I mostly had to be in shape for that. I mean, track is a totally different place. It's going to get you in shape regardless because you are out there running. All you are doing is running. You have to get in shape if you are going to be anywhere just to even get to practice, right? So that and it's usually in the spring. It's usually after football practice because football players don't run across country, which is usually in the fall. Just because the fall is the football season, so usually, running in the spring when you are in the outdoor season track has an indoor and outdoor season. So you are running in the outdoor season." (33, Black, Sunset Gym).*

Here, Omar described how they ran in order to get in shape for football, and eventually, track. As a result, Omar explained,

> *"You do sometimes have to do some extra stuff when, sometimes, the coaches are going to have you do some extra stuff. So like so you do a lot of running after practices. This doesn't happen with basketball. With football, during a game, it exhausts a lot of energy out of you. Then, you take a kind of beating. So it is like a one of few sports that you only play one game per week. Sometimes, people cut that [exercise] down to five days, but for the most part, you play one game every seven days. That is because you need to recover because it takes a lot out of you, usually after a games as well. You come back and you are sprinting, like light sprints or swimming. Sometimes they have you swim, like swimming laps. All of this is just to keep you from getting sore. It's kind of a workout." (33, Black, Sunset Gym).*

Thus, given the physical toll of football, the conditioning for football requires "extra conditioning" compared to that required of basketball players, especially in terms of additional running.

Crossover

Compared to preparing for differing positions within one cultural field, some respondents to report how fitness practices and physical conditioning "crossed over" from one cultural field to another. Hector mentioned how the physical training he had in capoeira benefited his job as a bartender. He described how "I do not like retaliate with it [capoeira]. I think it's [capoeira] is about the control of your own [body]. It's like you have to control over your own emotions. You'll lose control over it [your body]. From his capoeira training, Hector learned how to control his body and emotions. As a result, he applied this notion of control to his occupation. For example,

> *"People come in and will come in the bar. If they could be drinking or come in off the street, looking for a fight, they're looking for trouble. They're looking for a fight and they could be looking for with anybody so I don't know for my perspective. If I'm working, I have to look out for the other people that are not going to be able to protect themselves…I mean they shouldn't have to, they're, and they're out to be entertained. (48, Latino, Mission Gym)*

While working at a bar, Hector explained that some customers can be belligerent. Hector assumed responsibility for his clients' safety. He then provided an example,

> *"A crazy comes in off the street. You say, 'you shouldn't be in here.' You know somebody is not drinking, they're here to like pick pocket. There's an under handed reason. I can spot them. I ask them to leave. They don't leave before I have to get to the point where I*

> *have to call the cops. Before the point where you even have to raise a fist, you try to talk to somebody and reason with them. Not everybody is willing, even submit to reasoning. They're looking for a fight and so the idea is that you want to be able to confront them in a way that you're diffusing the situation without ever hitting them." (48, Latino, Mission Gym)*

Given that Hector mentioned that capoeira is a "defensive sport," he explained how he learned the ability to control emotions and his body from capoeira.

> *"The idea is that you're not supposed hit somebody. You can kind of scare them, but you should never touch people. It's kind of like that. I feel like I'm in a handful of fights where I've actually hit somebody. But that you know, that is when you get in the middle of it. You're trying to break a fight up. You can get hit or you can get into hitting somebody, but in most cases, I think that you want to able to diffuse the situation and never hit never hit the person. And actually, just kind of get them to leave because they're frustrated with you're not giving into them. What they want, they actually want them to hit. They're looking for some excuse to kind of come back at you, and if you diffuse that, luckily, you know hopefully they won't get to that situation." (48, Latino, Mission Gym)*

Hector described how he had to break up fights at the bar. He mentioned how he put himself in physical danger. He mentions the risk of hitting someone, but for the sake of diffusing the situation, Hector controlled himself in aggressive situations at work. As a result, he transposed this practice set from capoeira. He drew on both the "psychological" techniques to control his body and the specific bodily movements from capoeira in order to maintain order at the bar. These psychological techniques were similar to how Wacquant (1995) described how his respondents exerted psychological control over natural urges, such as having sex and eating. For example, in order to prevent a bar fight, Hector had to physically keep patrons apart. He described,

> *"I want to keep you at arm's length when you're if you're even fighting. The closer you get to people, you're actually challenging them to confront you. Maybe if you keep in them at least within arm's length, they can know that they have a kind of personal safety zone around them, and hopefully, you want to able to get people away from each other if they're kind of broken that wall." (48, Latino, Mission Gym)*

By keeping patrons at "arms-length," his goal was to create a personal safety zone to keep people away from the violence. Thus, while this crossover rarely occurred among respondents, when it did, it usually occurred in the transfer of behaviors and not bodily practices. Ultimately, the data presented contrasted with how existing scholarship assumes that individuals create bodies within one cultural field (Brown, 2006).

In the upcoming chapters, I explain the links between the cultural fields of occupation, race and sexuality and the extent to which individuals reproduce these fields. In these chapters, I will reference the construction of these particular cultural fields in relation to the extent to which individuals reproduce these fields.

CONCLUSION

Previous fitness literature largely examined how gendered representations and capitalism shape how men work out at the gym. In these accounts, research identified how gendered representations provide cultural imagery to construct hegemonic forms of masculinity and fit bodies. Other strands of literature identified how men conform to these definitions of masculinity and examined how, through various practices, men naturalize masculinity. However, neither strand provides processes for *how* men naturalize said forms of masculinity. Applying

Bourdieu’s cultural capital approach, men internalize masculinity and develop “fit bodies” through their habitus. To do so, fitness practices are naturalized, observed, and repeated. However, this assumes that men navigate cultural fields through one set of bodily expectations. Instead, men sometimes navigate cultural fields with competing doxa. Less often, these expectations carry over into other cultural fields, allowing men to navigate multiple cultural fields.

While cultural capital shapes how men engage the gym, it does so with the potential of reproducing social status (as will be examined in chapters four and five). Researchers have documented that masculinity is reproduced in sport (Messner, 1995) and at the gym (Wacquant, 1995; Andreasson, 2014). As mentioned in the literature review, Wacquant (1995) provides an account of how gym masculinities were shaped through practices. However, his argument is situated inside the cultural field of the boxing gym. Additionally, he conflates masculinity with “working-class masculinity” because these practices are, for him, a given within this field. Andreasson (2014) provides a similar argument in which men naturalize masculinity through cultural capital. In relation to Stampel’s (2006) argument, practices simply do not equate themselves to pieces of social status. There is a multifaceted process by which this happens. The approach includes an active socialization process where individuals learn both practices and cultural dispositions. However, these pieces of literature do not provide an approach that allows the researcher to understand the overlap between fitness practices and the broader social structure.

The literature must acknowledge that cultural capital is both the means and the ends of social stratification. The data presented here demonstrates that status-oriented masculinities arise not just at the gym, but through early childhood institutions, such as family and education. The family provides early engagement in fitness practices, as well as access to cultural resources that might not necessarily be shared among different social statuses. Similarly, educational institutions provide a formalized means through which cultural capital is distributed. Additionally, while existing literature emphasizes how gym partners shape gym practices, not everyone has access to individuals, such as trainers. Trainers are individuals who could provide additional practices to develop one's body. This access alone can be structural and could potentially serve a stratification mechanism.

Furthermore, when examining the role of the cultural field, most literature assumes that the cultural field is inherently one institution (the boxing gym or one fitness center). The data presented demonstrates that the cultural field can provide additional variations in the production of masculinity. For example, as in most classic cases, such as with Wacquant, a cultural field provides guidelines in terms of how to develop within the cultural field. However, there can be variations in how different positions within a cultural field might change the kinds of masculinity one is trying to access (as with the case of football). In football, existing literature describes how hegemonic masculinity shapes the kinds of representations men attempt to embody. However, the data presented describes how different positions within football lead men to attain differing kinds of bodies. This puts into question the relationship between constructions of masculinity (representation) in a cultural field and positional differences within said cultural field.

There are also times in which varying kinds of cultural capital do not overlap in other cultural fields. Respondents described how fitness practices that were conducive in one cultural field, but were not necessarily helpful in another field. In one example, an athlete described how the physical conditioning he received in football contrasted with the kind of conditioning he would need in track. In essence, some respondents used their bodies in more than one cultural field, but the cultural capital they acquired were not always beneficial across cultural fields.

Finally, there are times in which cultural capital carried across differing cultural fields. Some respondents reported how the skills and bodily techniques in one cultural field were easily deployed within another cultural field. For example, one respondent noted how his capoeira skills were helpful at his occupation. By learning how to control his body in capoeira, the respondent described how he learned self-control when dealing with unruly clientele. In this case, cultural capital was transposable between two, differing fields.

In practice, this project expands on how cultural capital reproduces the social structure through both masculinity and fitness. This chapter focused on a general framework for how the cultural field intertwines with sport practices; chapters four and five will provide examples of how the cultural field intertwines with masculinity, social status, and cultural capital. This ultimately helps create habitus.

Future directions in research can focus on addressing the limitations of this current work. The data at hand described how the respondents acquired cultural capital by learning kinesthetic and visual awareness of their surroundings, as well as acquiring cultural capital from fellow gym partners and other institutional resources. However, the study briefly touched upon the role of formal education. For example, one respondent explained how his father’s knowledge of medicine and physiology helped him avoid injury. One limitation is that this study did not delve deeply into this particular theme. As a primary means of social stratification, Bourdieu notes that education is a means of social reproduction and is a classic example of cultural capital. Thus, future qualitative and quantitative studies can also further develop into these processes.

On this vein, this current study assumes that gym partners occupy a similar social status that deploy similar forms of cultural capital. For example, the respondents described how they worked out with one another one teams. In turn, the respondents were able to gain motivational support from their teammates. However, the current project did not delve into depth about the background of these partnerships. If individuals have differing cultural capital sets, cultural capital (as education for instance) differences could then possibly affect said partnership, the negotiation of fitness practices, and possibly the reproduction of status-related masculinities.

Especially when examining how individuals develop a fitness habitus, it is also relevant to examine the role of trainers, especially in relation to how their clients develop bodies. For example, as mentioned in the results, some of the respondents noted having trainers as an intermediary between them and their “fitness goals.” Given the existing body of literature that examines the role of fitness trainers in the reproduction of “fitness,” it would be interesting to examine how potentially trainers, themselves, might be stratified. For example, trainers also have social positions, varying levels of formal education, and fitness education. Bourdieu mentions how educational structures play a role in social stratification, this would then provide varying clientele results that might be dependent upon the client’s social position.

In terms of the work on cultural fields, more work could be done in terms of studying the nuances and potential transferability of cultural capital. The respondents noted three main themes: variation of the bodily demands placed upon them in cultural fields, competing bodily demands between cultural fields, and similar bodily demands across cultural fields. This then complicates several aspects of how cultural capital is enacted within a cultural field. First, research assumes that there is one governing form of masculinity is desirable within a cultural field. However, if there is one governing representation or doxa within a cultural field, the question remains of how individuals manage to attain said representation within a cultural field if there are different positional demands placed upon them within a single cultural field.

Similarly, if individuals report that there are competing bodily demands between cultural fields, further research can delve into how individuals reconcile both practices and representations between these competing bodily demands. In other words, researchers can ask the question, to what extent do individuals deploy cultural capital in one field versus another field? This then opens implications for attempting to understand how competing fields construct various representations, and the extent to which these representation converge or diverge from one another.

Finally, individuals reported that they are able to transpose their cultural capital across multiple fields. Researchers can conduct studies that examine the similarities or differences in how cultural fields construct masculinities. Researchers can also examine the reasons for why these representations compare to one another (if they do), and to what extent these practices actually reproduce these representations.

In chapters Four and Five, I will attempt to examine how cultural fields compare or differ to one another in terms of their expectations and their practices. In chapter Four, I examine how cultural fields field differ per their expectations and how individual actors attempt to reconcile these demands. In chapter Five, I examine how discourse and representation might also conflict with the establishment of developing particular gym practices.

Chapter 4 The Cultural Field, Labor, and Body Capital

To answer the question, “How do fitness practices (as cultural capital) reproduce masculinity, the social structure, and the cultural field?” The last chapter discussed how men deploy cultural capital to get “fit.” Men learn how to deploy cultural capital given socializing influences such as fathers and other male family members. They also acquire and deploy this capital through different status positions, such as their occupations. Furthermore, when men navigate cultural fields, sometimes the cultural field itself overlaps with physical demands at work. Thus, the sub-questions, “To what extent is cultural capital transferrable across different cultural fields?” and “To what extent do- fitness practices, as cultural capital, reproduce social inequality?” . . ., provide a space to discuss how cultural capital is reproduced, especially occupations and social stratification. Occupations sometimes place physical demands on individuals, demands which coincide with gendered and racialized constructions, bodily ideals, and social expectations. In order to describe how these processes function, I examine the literature that focuses on bodily capital, an application of cultural capital. I then discuss literature that relates occupation to cultural capital.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Cultural fields provide rules for how individuals deploy cultural capital. This logic creates and reinforces individual outcomes. By doing so, the cultural field does not only exist to reproduce individual outcomes; it also reproduces the social structure and inequality. In order to further to explain these processes, I examine how occupations require bodily demands on individuals and how fitness practices emerge in order to meet these demands. These demands can possibly intersect with race, class, and other structures. Thus, I explore three main strands of literature. As an application of cultural capital, I explore how men deploy bodily capital within a cultural field. Next, I explore the relationship between cultural capital and occupation. Finally, I explore literature relating aesthetic labor to the reproduction of gender.

Body Capital

The notion of cultural capital has been applied to bodies. Loiq Wacquant sought to understand how men in boxing gyms use the resources around them in order to build their bodies. Similar to Bourdieu's approach but instead examining men in the working class, Wacquant (1995) argues that boxers develop a "pugilist habitus," or values, beliefs, motivations, and behaviors, specific to a boxing gym. He argues that, through specific practices, men develop bodies that are conducive to being successful at a boxing gym. These practices include both rigorous training and dietary regimens and the need to be sexually abstinent and to hold specific sleep schedules. Wacquant then describes how pugilists develop "body capital" by engaging in these practices. By developing body capital, pugilists acquire a symbolic, classed, and gendered significance to their bodies. The closer pugilists get to "ideal" fighting shape, the more they can access masculinity as defined by the boxing institution. Other features that cannot necessarily be shaped or changed, such as height, are interpreted within this ideal of masculinity and framed within the language of the institution. Through this language, a fighter must then change his body to give himself other "advantages" within this particular cultural context.

Both Hutson and Bridges extend Wacquant's framework to focus on the symbolic dimensions of acquiring bodily capital. Hutson (2013) extends Wacquant's work to fitness centers and gyms and documents how a trainer's body is used to give him or her symbolic weight in a gym that allows him or her to establish credibility as an authority on health. This credibility, in turn, helps the trainer to get more clients and acquire more economic capital (money). In this example, the trainer has to use his or her body in order to gain access to resources within a particular field.

Similarly, Bridges applies the idea of bodily capital to masculinity. Bridges (2009) notes that ideal forms of masculinity (see the section below on masculinity) depend on the cultural field (cultural institutions). As a result, men with particular bodily forms are valued differently depending on their cultural field. Bridges (2009) gives the example of a club manager: the manager values his bouncer because his bouncer inhabits a body that looks physically large, which in turn makes him look like he poses a physical threat to rabble-rousers. Body capital, in this context, is used to denote particular kinds of masculine appearances and their relative, symbolic value to a particular cultural field.

Occupation and Cultural Capital

An application of cultural capital not only applies to the formation of the body within a leisure space but also to the workplace as well. Cultural capital provides access to resources needed to navigate the cultural field and culminates in an embodiment that makes this navigation possible. Several researchers have discussed how cultural capital affects access to positions as well as intra-occupational mobility. Rivera (2015) finds that higher-end workplaces screen their applicants' leisure preferences before offering a job. Higher-end workplaces hired employees based on their perceived likeability. This likeability by the interests of their potential employee. Likewise, Shan (2013) found similar results when examining IT workers. For example, IT employers were less likely to hire Asian workers because of a perceived lack of communication and leadership skills (Shan, 2013). In these examples, cultural capital, in the form of social class and race, were deployed in order to receive job offers. Additionally, some researchers have documented how gender functions as cultural capital within a work-related cultural field.

Egerton (1997) found that cultural capital (in the form of educational attainment) helped sons reproduce their parents' occupational status (professional or managerial); however, this form of capital did not help women in the same way. Ross-Smith & Huppatz (2010) discuss how "feminine traits" are deployed to navigate occupation-related cultural fields. Similarly, Kelan (2008) finds that women's social skills are perceived through gendered stereotypes in IT-type occupations. As a result, their male-counterparts devalue women's labor. Additionally, racial minorities sometimes have to navigate gendered and racialized fields in the workplace. For example, Liu (2016) finds that Asian men leverage gendered capital in order to reaffirm their status within an organization. Other racial minorities also import or transpose previous cultural capital into their professions. Flores & Hondagneu-Sotelo (2014) find that Latina workers apply culturally-acquired notions of femininity and caretaking to the teaching profession.

When cultural capital is deployed, it can then be "embodied" in gendered forms. Thus, another branch of how researchers examine gender, cultural capital, and the workplace is in terms of physical embodiment. Women are scrutinized for the ways in which they embody "professionalism" (Haynes, 2012); they then begin to understand their identities through embodying their professions (Haynes, 2012). This also occurs in "gendered' markets, such as care agencies (Husso-Hivonen, 2012) and strip clubs (Mavin & Grandy, 2013). Other studies have found how gendered embodiments come in conflict with gendered actions. This causes stress for women because they are forced to conform to societal expectations. There is also a strong literature in aesthetic labor, or kinds of labor that depend on the commodification of personality and image. One strand of literature on aesthetic labor focuses on the performative aspects of an industry. For example, Pettinger (2005) and Williams (2010) find that service workers use clothing to sell an image of their clothing brands. Similarly, Alexzander (2003) notes the creation of “branded masculinities,” where masculine bodies are used as a “brand” in order to create, and commodify, dominant notions of masculinity.

Other strands of literature focus on the processes by which individuals manage their bodies or have their bodies managed by their work environment. For example, gendered assumptions limit women’s occupational advancement; these assumptions also rely on gendered constructions of how a woman’s body “naturally functions.” Bryant & Garnham (2014) find that because women are assumed to be physically weaker, they are sequestered from positions that demand physical labor. Additionally, aesthetic labor also depends on a continuous process in which the worker has to engage in specific practices in order to maintain workplace “bodily ideals” (Entwistle & Wissinger, 2006).

Other times, the existing literature presents embodiments as sites of gendered oppression. For example, women’s embodiments are often sexualized in particular workspaces in order to sell images of care and class, such as flight attendants (Williams, 2003) and in working at five-star hotels (Kensbock et al., 2015). As a result, they are often harassed and abused in the workplace (Kensbock et al., 2015). Even with faced with this kind of abuse, women, as part of their occupation, are constrained into acting complacent (Good & Cooper, 2016).

Limitations of Existing Literature

Body Capital Limitations

Wacquant provides a detailed account of how bodies are built within a cultural field and documents the processes of masculinity and how masculinity is leveraged as a means of capital. Hutson then applies this notion to understand how trainers leverage this capital to provide a means of income, and Bridges describes how masculinity is leveraged within particular spaces. Wacquant focuses solely on the practices of masculinity to create capital within a particular space, a capital which is not transferrable according to Wacquant. Hutson and Bridges, in contrast, focus almost exclusively on the symbolic meaning of the body.

This literature focuses on the gendered outcomes within a cultural field. To an extent, researchers focus on meanings that these bodies acquire. However, they do not necessarily describe how individuals attain these bodies. The literature, especially on embodiment and occupation, is also limited in the field of masculinity studies. In the results that follow, I will explore how three main forms of occupation: physical labor, aseathic labor, and white-collar labor serve as cultural fields by which individuals navigate their fitness practices. These were the main job types of the respondents. In the results that follow, I examine how labor intensive, aesthetic, and white-collar professions provide varying cultural contexts by which individuals build their bodies.

CULTURAL FIELDS, LABOR, AND BODIES

Almost all respondents described a relationship between the construction of their bodies, the gym, and their occupation. The respondents had three types of jobs: labor-intensive jobs, aesthetic labor jobs, and white-collar jobs.

Service and Labor-Intensive Jobs

Respondents with service jobs (See Table 2) , such as retail workers, generally did not report significant physical use of their bodies, but there were instances in which their jobs had a physical toll, such as being tired, on their bodies. However, respondents in labor-intensive jobs typically required manual labor, and, as a result, gym use augmented their occupations.

Practical Demands of Work

Occupations have different degrees of physical involvement. For respondents who had jobs that revolved around physical labor, the gym supplemented their ability to handle these jobs' demands. While Arjay's job, for instance, required him to have knowledge about particular topics, such as "leaf morphology," "plant structure," "types of plants," "growing patterns," "design," "ecological secession," and "construction," it also required him to perform physical labor, such as "irrigation" and "water management." As a result, he exercises in ways that "mimic the kinds of physical tasks he might perform in his job, and . . . actually mimic the type of movements that you [he does] . . . to become stronger, like lifting things and using your back and your legs and your arms at the same…". For Arjay, this means that he needs to practice movements that involve,

> *"Alot of lifting, . . . a lot of heavy lifting with my arms and my legs . . . a lot of bending lots of bending a lot of stretching. You're on your knees a lot because you're planting things. Your knees get tried and then they get sore, for sure. Some of the movements that we have are some of the exercises that we have to work for landscaping, I'd say more than anything lots of lifting and pulling…" (40, Asian, Mission Gym)*

Arjay described how, as a gardener, there is a lot of heavy lifting. He describes how he is on his knees, and this created wear and tear on his body. Arjay felt tired and sore because there is a constant strain on his body. As a casual gardener, Markus discussed similar physical demands. He expressed that "I garden, but that requires me to lift some stuff sometimes, then to pull weeds and shit but you know but I mean I guess I need. You know you have to do stuff like that over and over again, outside in the garden [at the gym]." Markus lifted "stuff" and pulls weeds. Thus, landscaping is heavily labor-intensive. As a result, Arjay worked to build "strength" and "stamina" so that he "does not feel so tired." For Arjay, building strength meat coordinating the exercise of different body parts just as he would when he is doing his job. His workout focuses on,

> *“my [his] legs, my[his] back my gluts, my [his] chest, my [his]abdominal* muscles, my *[his] arms, my [his] shoulders. I do everything, but I try to do in concert. I try to work almost every part during each workout because I find that actually trying to do isolating exercises doesn’t really builds strength….”(34, Black, Mission Gym).*

Like many other respondents, Arjay had a repertoire of how he “gets stronger” by lifting weights. He focused on working each body part in concert with one another as opposed to “isolating exercises.” Hector, a bartender, similarly mentioned that “strength” and “stamina” were keys to his workout goals. He also applied his strength training to his occupation. Here, he discusses how he engages particular practices to build “core strength” for landscaping:

> *“I do bench presses, but I also do this kind a pop-up, push up, where you do a push up. You go down and then you use the acceleration from the push up, to push you up into like a squatting position and then you jump up from there. Or, I’ll do them just with my own body weight because I weigh 170 almost so that’s enough. What other things I do? I do a lot of abdominal exercises and back exercises for my core because I know that’s definitely one area where landscapers, and I think most people need help with [that] because if you have a bad back. That’s because your core muscles are not so strong, or even if you have some issues with] posture is because your core muscles are not very strong.” (40, Asian, Mission Gym)*

In addition to explaining the physics of certain exercises, Arjay explained how he worked out his core because it prevent injury on the job. Most respondents that had labor intensive jobs had particular body parts that were relevant for their job. Arjay placed importance on exercising his “core” muscles (the back and the abdominal region). For Arjay, not only was focusing on core muscles help him perform his job, but it prevented against bodily “wear and tear.” Full-body workouts that focus on the core help Arjay maintain his body. Thus, to mitigate physical damage, exercising the core was important. Jorge, a librarian, needed to focus on upper body strength for his job at the library. Before working out at the gym, Jorge discussed how he was not able to "lift a lot," but after working out, that exercise now allows him to "lift heavy objects." He explains that before working out,

> *"Right now, I'm 160. Before, I used to be 140. I had a lot of difficulty carrying heavy boxes of books or pushing those carts. I would have to tell someone, 'Hey can you give me a helping hand?" Not anymore. I'm able to do it more."* (27, Latino, Sunset Gym).

Jorge described how, after working out, he did not need any help with him his job. By working out at the gym and focusing on his upper body, Jorge discussed how, "I[He] can move the heavy cart with a lot of books, a thousand books, like with the weight around like two hundred pounds. Waiting to push them helps me more to have the leverage of weight and the muscles to push myself being able to push both carts." He rationalized that upper body workouts enable him to get more oxygen to his blood:

> "*My body just takes more oxygen so I move slower and get tired more quickly. I become more heavy and I my body losing more energy, more oxygen. Also I cannot like I became slower without muscle." (27, Latino, Sunset Gym).*

In this example, he described the necessity for needing more strength. These men participated in gendered working-class jobs because they require manual, physical labor that revolves around masculine concepts such as strength and toughness (Jackson, 2007). Bridges (2009) corroborates this process by suggesting that gender is deployed a resource within these particular environments. However, he does not expand on the process by which this gendered construction is deployed. The data suggests that while there are gendered constructions of labor, there is an active “doing” process by which this capital is acquired and developed.

In this case, certain parts of the body, such as the “core,” develop a specialized meaning and significance. The respondents relied on their core in order to perform their jobs. While the core had a practical significance, it also acquired a symbolic significance: it was perceived to be the source of “stamina” and “strength.” This is similar to Wacquant’s notion of body capital: the core became a body part to be actively managed in order to acquire both a physical and symbolic purpose. However, with these men, they focus on particular body parts in order to ensure their ability to work, thus transforming their bodies into “working bodies.” These body parts now acquire a symbolic significance.

Furthermore, in terms of deploying cultural capital within the cultural field, this portion of the data suggests that the respondents used the gym in order to meet the needs of their cultural field. For example, Arjay described how he trained his core muscles to become a better gardener. Additionally, Jorge got physically stronger so he can lift heavier objects at the gym. This demonstrated how the respondents deployed gym practices (cultural capital) to meet the needs of their respective cultural fields. Their position within said cultural field determined their bodily needs.

Aesthetic Labor

Generally, most of the men that had labor-intensive jobs used the gym as a means of augmenting their bodies. In this particular cause, their positions within a cultural field led to how they constructed their bodies. They did not “transfer” their cultural capital into another cultural field. Likewise, they rarely spoke about how constructions of masculinity intersected with their jobs and their body projects. In other words, these respondents did not draw parallels between a construction of masculinity, the labor they performed, and the exercises they engaged in. For them, they did not seem themselves needing to conform to a standard of masculinity, rather, they saw their bodies as pragmatic tools to "get the job done."

When Labor Meets Aesthetics

A few men, however, did explain how the aesthetics of their bodies intersected with labor-intensive jobs. For example, in a response similar to Arjay's, Juan, a bartender, paid special attention to how he lifts heavy objects to avoid "wear and tear." When discussing how there is "a lot of heavy lifting," especially "lifting cases of beers, lifting things from lower to a higher position, [and] having to go down to the basement lifting kegs up over your head . . .", he described how,

> *"Some of these cases are 100lbs, not really that big. So I have to make sure my back is ok. I don't fuck that up, I don't give myself a hernia, so it's the core. It's a core thing, and a lot of these exercises that I do outside are for my other enjoyment. But the thing is, they really relate so I don't get hurt at work. I think that your body is your main tool. You have to kind of be careful with it and make sure you are not out of commission if you're not working. Then you're stuck." (39, Latino, Mission Gym).*

For Juan, there was a functional necessity for building core strength. Beer cases were about a 100 lbs., and in order to lift these cases, he needed to learn how to lift these cases so he could avoid being "out of commission." However, this strength also served as symbolic purpose as a bartender. Nick mentioned how, as a bartender and personal trainer, the aesthetics of his body helped him earn more tips.

> *"We have to be realistic about the world we live in. Most people are going to gravitate in to a personal trainer that looks like they know what they are taking about. They want to go to someone who has knowledge. If I come out with a gut, you know if I'm wobbling*

> *to them, they are going to be like, 'what's this guy going to teach me about health and fitness? He doesn't practice himself.' So I take that very personally and I take it to where that's kind of like my motivation. I have to make sure I'm on top of my game so my clients are constantly motivated when they look at me." (32, Black, Mission Gym).*

Given Nick is a bartender, Nick would possibly have the same physical demands on his body. However, in addition to being bartender, he negotiated those demands with being a personal trainer. These demands included having to "look" a certain way so that he seemed "knowledgeable" about health and fitness. Echoing Hutsen's (2013) work on trainers and how they use their bodies to market their services, Nick's occupation demanded that he sell his aesthetic as well as his services. Unlike Hutsen's work, though, Nick also has other occupational responsibilities that overlap with being a trainer. These include his bartending responsibilities. Nick stated,

> *"Flip side to that, bartending, especially working at a gay bar, everything is visual. We live in a world where people are visual. It's a sexual world. They want you to be an object. You are an object and I understand that and I play that part."*

The *aesthetic* of being a sexualized object was also part of Nick's occupation as a bartender., Thus, Nick mentioned that his workouts are structured to benefit both professions: "the effects of the workouts benefit both my personal training and my bartending. There's no certain workouts I would do differently for one or the other. It's just one workout fits all." *(32, Black, Mission Gym).*

In these rare cases, men with labor-intensive jobs not only built their bodies for the labor-intensive situations they faced but also for the aesthetic they had to market. In this case, a cross-over effect happened where cultural capital was deployed for multiple cultural fields.

Interestingly, in these cases, these men not only conformed to particular bodily demands, but they also conformed to constructions of masculinity. For example, when describing personal training, Nick mentioned that "you can't have a gut." When describing being a bartender at a gay bar, Nick said that "they want you to be a [sexual] object." Thus, Nick's body had to be toned, sexualized, and ready for commodification in both cultural fields (personal training and bartending). Part of these bodily demands meant that they overlapped with particular constructions of masculinity (having to be lean for instance). This notion is generally absent from Hutsen's work, as well as the work of other scholars, such as Wacquant and Messner. Thus, there were cases where cultural capital was transferable across multiple cultural fields.

Aesthetics for the Sake of Aesthetics

However, there were a group of men that had to market their physicality as their primary income source. These men did not necessarily perform tasks at their jobs that required physical labor; instead, these men sold the aesthetic of their bodies. Rodrigo explained how, in the fashion industry, he felt intimidated by those around him and "all the beauty and bodies that's all around that you get to see every day." For example,

> *"We have male models running around in the underwear, trying to get ready for the photo shoot. We have the photographer ask me to stand on set so they can test the lighting, but in my mind, it's like I'm not going to look at like they're looking in the film. They have these rocking bodies and I have this freakin belly." (25, White, Mission Gym).*

When describing how underwear shoots work, Rodrigo noted the prevalence of muscular male bodies in the fashion industry and how these bodies are palatable to cultural ideals of masculinity. Especially as highlighted by Mears (2011) and Gruys (2012), the fashion industry routinely creates unrealistic standards of gender, femininity, and masculinity. As a result, Rodrigo discussed how he felt intimidated by working in the fashion magazine industry. Conforming to cultural ideals of masculinity was imperative to workers in aesthetically-defined fields reinforcing ideas of "branded masculinities" (Alexzander, 2003). This is especially true when men's incomes are tied to these kinds of industries. Parker discussed how he presents himself as "toned and fit." This because his body type affects his income:

> *"I was scared that it [his body] would affect my income. Maybe word got around and told someone at work, 'Oh how can you be walking around like that?' or "How is he part of your magazine?' People talk and people listen. That's why I didn't want that to happen. So I knew how I had to change my appearance, and it wasn't only the way I dressed. I wasn't very in-tune with my sense of my style or trends. I had to do research and there are many different types of trends and fashion out there. I had to pick one." (32, Latino, Mission Gym).*

Parker had to change his appearance because he was afraid that he would lose his income. Parker had to embody having "style" and following trends. Thus, the fashion industry (the cultural field) initially gave Parker an introduction into the demands. Similar to Mears' (2011) account of models in the fashion industry, Parker deployed his fitness practices in order to help him prepare for his job as a fashion model. As a model, Parker is forced to watch his weight, and he discussed how he has to adjust his eating habits in order to perform his job:

> *"I'm really bad about eating when I'm modeling. I shouldn't be, but I am just because anything that you eat, especially being my build . . . I swear if I eat a dough nut beforehand you're going to see it floating around my stomach. I can't have a lot of fluids because my stomach will get bigger. I have to be careful of what I eat before modeling so I don't starve myself but I'll typically eat until after I'm done modeling. like after the*

> *shoot is over. I can be pretty irritable by the end of that but I'll keep like a candy bar or something because just sort of have like a little sugar to work off of. It's not the most healthy thing and I definitely have to have over time at the gym afterwards because it's really harsh for my body. Seriously I'm saying. It's hard on your body." (32, Latino, Mission Gym).*

Parker mentioned that he starved himself in order to look fit for a particular photoshoot. As a result, he realized that these restrictions take a toll on his body:

> *"Especially with the dietary restrictions, it's not good for someone my size to not want to eat during it [a photoshoot]. You know what it's going to do to my body afterwards. It tears me down a lot. I am already predisposed to be thin and burning a lot of calories. By the end of that, I feel completely empty like I just have to eat so." (32, Latino, Mission Gym).*

Parker noted feeling "torn down" and feeling "empty." He continues,

> *"It's really like, 'I'm so hungry.' I'll eat whatever right afterwards and then that's it. I'll go to normal. The next day I usually have to be a little more intense for the gym because not only did I eat junk food, but I like starve myself before. So my body is weird in between My body may see it [the junk food] as a fat. I don't know what's going on so yea I got to be a little bit hard core that day usually like." (32, Latino, Mission Gym).*

In essence, because Parker starved himself, binged, and worked-off the excess calories. He also ate junk food after he modeled as he binged. To explain why Parker maintains his experience and these practices, Bordo & Heywood (2003) and Waquant (1995) both describe how individuals engage in similar starvation practices in order to reinforce gendered norms, especially in Wacquant's account of pugilists. Parker notes that in addition to how he dresses, he also changes his appearance. Then he explained how he needs to develop certain kinds of practices to present his body. Parker discussed that gym practices help him match trends:

> *"If I don't I go to the gym, I don't keep my muscle. Like it goes away, but I can build it back really quick too. That's why I have to go every day. I only take one day off because I know that I'll feel bad about my body and my body will not look as I'd like to present it." (32, Latino, Mission Gym).*

Parker discussed how he builds muscle by having to work out every day. By mentioning that he feels bad, Parker made a connection between his body, his occupation, and his sense of self-esteem. Like other respondents with aesthetically-driven jobs, there was an overlap that makes a connection between his body type, muscularity, and his occupation. By only giving himself "one day off," he forces his body to maintain a particular image. Going to the gym, then, is a necessity for men like Parker because they have to maintain a particular presentation of their bodies

In addition to being a fashion model, Parker also noted his relationship to being an adult entertainer. As an adult entertainer/clothing model, Parker placed an emphasis on his appearance. Additionally, as an adult entertainer, Parker needed to be certain he fit into adult film categories that pay:

> *"If want to work for a certain companies, like ones that want to pay you more money, you have to have a certain look. So I strived to have that look. The look that I have tends to sort of go across a lot of a different groups they have. I can play your boy next door, or your twink [skinny younger man], or the jock or college guy, or whatever. A lot of people are stuck in one so they are just either/or: they're twinks or they're jocks. But that's what I like about my body, but at the same time, it was always striving to go to one category that would pay you more. So it's all about the money." (32, Latino, Mission*

> *Gym).*

Parker mentioned how certain adult film companies had wanted him to embody particular looks. These particular looks (the twink, the jock, the college guy, etc.), heralded different roles. However, Parker did not have navigate the differences between these roles because his body type provided a universal entry point into multiple role, and that's what he liked about his body. However, when being asked to compare being a model to being an adult film actor, he described,

> *"A lot models, they don't want you look like that [an adult film actor]. I mean, its ok for some, but thinner is more desired as a model. [Being thinner] is not necessary when it comes to the runway or commercial, but when it comes to photoshoots, typically which is what I do, print model type stuff, the thinner is easier for them to work with. Your fit clothes better. You're just general like that. I don't know if I could explain it. It's kind of the same across the board, like you think that a female model, you are not going to see her being like a gladiator like. That doesn't fit. You want a thin model basically because it's everything that you are trying to sell. It's more about what's on you then you. So less of you I guess the better." (32, Latino, Mission Gym).*

Here, Parker described how being thinner is valuable both in pornography and in the fashion world. However, Parker noted that in the fashion world, when being thinner, you can "fit clothes better." For Parker, wearing clothes and to 'model clothes" took precedence over showing his body. By highlighting the necessity of being thinner, this demand transposed across differing cultural fields. While Parker might have avoided the complication of having to conform to different "positions" within a cultural field (of adult entertainment), Parker still had to navigate multiple cultural fields because he inhabited both the fashion industry and pornography.

Parker demonstrates a "crossover" effect between cultural fields because he navigates more than one cultural field. By starving himself and excessively working out, Parker deployed fitness practices as a means of accessing the cultural field of the modeling world. However, he also inhabited the adult entertainment industry. He essentially rationalized his “thinner” body as having access to multiple roles within the adult entertainment industry. By rationalizing his body type within the porn industry, Parker privleges the needs of one cultural field (the fashion industry) over the other (the porn industry). Thus, Parker is able to meet the demands of two conflicting cultural fields.

In examining men with aesthetically-oriented jobs, these men developed practices that centered around the commodification of their image. While Wacquant’s (1995) notion of body capital discusses how individual gym training lends itself to developing a symbolic value, he does not mention that this value can lend itself to commodification. The respondents in this project engaged in practices designed to meet socially-defined criteria of hegemonic masculinity similar to Wacquant’s boxers. However, the respondents were performing aesthetic labor in addition to performing masculinity. As a result, they then developed their subjectivities around the performance of aesthetic labor, such as not feeling adequate and feeling “fat.” They developed their habitus in relation to the cultural field, and practices then arise through their intrapersonal perceptions of their bodies. Furthermore, some men inhabited multiple cultural fields. By privileging one field over another field, respondents were able to reconcile multiple bodily demands. However, this poses a significant contrast to Bridges’ (2009) notion of gender capital because social status and masculinity intersect as opposed to being deployed within a particular cultural space. Additionally, researchers, such as Bridges, assumes that men deploy masculinity within one cultural field. However, there are instances where men have to navigate more than one cultural field. They have to reconcile (or choose) which cultural field to privilege in order to attempt to satisfy these demands.

White-Collar Jobs

Unlike their labor-oriented or their aesthetic-labor counterparts, men with white-collar jobs tended to not use their bodies as a way to make money. Instead, most of these men described that they tended to use the gym as a way to improve their health. As they engaged the gym to improve their health, their health was placed under the purview of becoming "productive workers."

While there were a few exceptions, these men tended to have graduate degrees (Masters and Doctorates) and other professional degrees. Interestingly, they used their degrees to not only develop definitions of fitness and health but also the practices that followed suit. This is not to say the respondents with other job-types did not have education; rather, white-collar men had degrees that were readily applicable to their professions. For example, Bob, a research assistant, discussed how his background as molecular biologist helps him understand nutrition science. When discussing how he shapes his diet for his workout routine, he mentions,

> *"Since I've started doing this diet, I became really interested in nutrition because there are so much like scientific nutrition in it. These are usually linked to an actual science paper. It's been both. Sometimes, it's just been a news article, and sometimes, it's actually like metabolism papers." (28, White, Sunset Gym).*

Reading empirical papers was a skill scientists generally drew upon in order to improve their fitness routines. Anthony, a social psychologist, explained how he is able to understand and draw conclusions from exercise literature. He explained, "The conclusions I draw from the literature, like I said, has physical benefits in some way. I have to figure out for myself, "what will work for me?' and also things like, 'how do I avoid hurting myself?" While men with labor-intensive jobs had to find ways of not hurting themselves, men in white-collar professions had the ability to evaluate literature on avoiding potential workout problems. In addition to using empirical articles as a way to acquire and evaluate fitness knowledge, Anthony placed importance on health:

> *"I wanted to keep getting some kind of exercise. I just didn't want to be totally just totally fit and uncaring. When I was running, it was really relaxing. I enjoyed it. It helped me feel better and deal with life. I was hoping to be involved in some kind of physical activity that would help with that. Also, there is a baseline as to how much people exercise and what kind of exercising is better (whether running is good for your health). But overall, it seems like people who get any kind of physical exercise or anything with bodies are healthier, and also, mentally healthier than people who are who never do anything with what they do.*" *(32, White, Sunset Gym)*

As a social psychologist, he not only had skills that translate into his fitness practices, he also has a knowledge base that he applies to his workouts. Having the ability to evaluate literature and research was unique to those who were academics, although using knowledge to affect fitness regimens was not. For example, fitness trainers had a similar process in which they used their knowledge of the body in order to change their bodies. As echoed in chapter three, Anthony's background provided him the cultural capital he needed to engage with this cultural field. Thus, the individuals not only existed in different cultural fields (personal training and academia), but also, they deployed cultural capital.

Another aspect that characterized white-collar professions was how the gym, fitness, and wellness were physically integrated with their jobs. For example, men that worked in high-end software development tended to have jobs partly tied to the management of their health through the available resources at work. Matt and Hal describe how ergonomics plays a key role in the management of their bodies. Companies, such as Google and Facebook, often play an active role in managing the health of their employees. This was usually carried out for "preventative" reasons, or to ensure that their employees did not abuse their health insurance privileges (if they have these privileges). Hal noted that "because if somebody starts getting carpal tunnel at work, then the company has to pay for it of the treatment for it, so to its far cheaper to prevent that by making sure everything is set up correctly then to treat people optimal." As a result, the workplace itself became conducive to fitness. Hal described his work environment:

> *"[There is] a treadmill connected to it [a work station], and you can walk in it at two miles in an hour. They focus a lot like they want you to come in so there's an ergonomics lady that make sure that the posture is correct, the correct table so you don't get carpal tunnel. You know, you can sit on exercise balls or sofa chairs so that you're always moving. There are micro movements or like, it is good to get up and walk every hour. My coworker would say instead of screen savers that would lock the company's screen that would get up and walk to take a break. So it becomes pervasive everywhere. Then take care of your body." (39, Asian, Mission Gym).*

Hal described how working out was conducive to being a productive worker. He mentioned how he needed to avoid carpel tunnel syndrome and replaced exercise balls with tables. He even described how various messages were placed around him to remind him that his body needed to be managed. Fitness, then, was even integrated into work. Treadmills, for example, were connected to work station. Hal observed that,

> *"They are called walk stations. You can bring a lap top up to it. You connect the screen keyboard and a mouse to it, and then you just turn it on. Walk slowly at a two miles an*

> *hour at most, and then, you can continue writing emails. Also we have meetings on the tread mills." (39, Asian, Mission Gym).*

Hal described how his work stations were set up to incorporate fitness. This emphasis on ergonomics even means gym accessibility; Hal mentioned that "it makes it easier for employees to get access to workout equipment." This is very important because Hal realized that there's convenience he has that others do not have. For example,

> *"It encourages people to work out because sometimes people might say, 'I'm too busy,' and then they go home and not workout. So by having it right there and freely accessible, it encourages people to workout because it's convenient. I mean never under estimate the power of convenience, or sometimes, people might be too tired when they go home. They would say, 'oh I got to get up and drive to gym.' So by the very fact of having a gym on site, and it's free, it increases the probability that people go workout…". (39, Asian, Mission Gym).*

Hal did not have to leave work to workout. Compared to men in labor- and aesthetically-oriented careers, many men in white-collar professions reported greater accessibility to a fitness campus; this was often the case for academics or office workers/management, who either had access to a gym in the office building itself or through an insurance benefit in which the employer pays for membership. For these workers, especially workers with access to an in-house gym, accessibility enabled them to integrate the gym into their work schedules. Michael described how, as an IT business owner, his flexible schedule enables him to work out in the middle of the day. "I mean I work from home. It's like I go to the gym in the middle of the day during my lunch break...". Thus, for respondents in white-collar occupations, fitness was something to be managed by the individual worker for the sake of his health. In the pursuit of embodying health, the physicality of one's body did not determine one's health status, which was the case for both the personal trainers in this study and in Hutsen's (2013) work; a "healthy body" was instead the ability to perform work, such as avoiding carpel tunnel and being deemed "fit."

While white-collar men physically managed their bodies in the name of health, they also engaged in symbolic boundary making practices. Nico, an academic, discussed common perceptions of how his colleagues embody the "average joe." On the whole, Nico perceived academics as individuals who "do not care for these things [appearance]." Instead, he perceived academics as "the average joe." He characterized this as, "Someone who is perhaps maybe 10% over weight, or me 10% underweight for their BMI proportions. They may not be going to gym at all, but they may engage in few physical exercises, but they don't have problems going to the bars and having a few drinks." He continued that "average joe" doesn't engage in "counting calories, or wondering how much you know fat content in their meals just living life and enjoying, [and] not worrying so much about the consequences of food and alcohol and activity." Furthermore, he expanded, "In the academic culture, I've had a professor or two who were very nice, and they were female professors. It's, except for those two, I think I have surrounded myself with in college or colleagues they care much for those things." Nico saw himself as belonging to this culture. He noted,

> *"I think I'm also sort of an average Joe because there's nothing that's very unique in terms of the physical built about my shape. But, I have this sort of paradoxical quest for things being better. That is an extension just of how I am and my personality, but it's a hard struggle, and everyday it gets its difficult because I'm aging and all that good stuff. But you have to still try." (39, Black, Mission Gym).*

Nico noted how he has an "average joe" body type. White, college-educated men echoed very similar sentiments, especially along the purview of "just wanting to be healthy." In contrast with their labor-intensive counterparts, men with these kinds of jobs saw no need to become physically stronger. Steven explained how being physically stronger is not conducive to his occupation:

> *"I've worked with people who worked in a warehouse and I had to do a system for them. They tended to be stronger, bigger, guys because they were moving things around all day long. In that case, sure, probably having those muscles and that strength would probably be really helpful for them. For me, it's not necessary at all. I don't know if in my job . . . I don't know if having muscles would be detrimental for my job. I don't think so. I think people would think of me the same way either way because what I'm contributing at work is all intellectual. It's not physical. I don't do things for my job, like Amanda [a trainer], for instance. You know, she if were a really big, overweight trainer, you'd kind of wonder whether you are getting good training from her. She needs to look like she works out and like she's healthy. And if she doesn't, then she's probably not going to be getting a lot of good clients. Where is from my job, what I look like has very a little to do with how successful I am at getting my job done…". (45, White, Mission Gym).*

Steven distinguished between all three forms of labor: forms of labor that require labor, those that require aesthetics, and those that are perceived to require intellect (white-collar professions). He noted that his strength has "nothing to do with it [his profession]" Instead, he focused on developing soft skills. He described how he places an emphasis on communication and collaboration,

> *"So like we just had an issue where we're having trouble with logging in with one of our systems, and our systems uses a log-in process that's being run out of one of our sister*

> *companies in New Jersey. They're running the log-in authentications services we're running the application. We have to communicate back and forth with them and it was failing. We'd been spending like two weeks running all these matrices and all kinds of analytics on the network connections to figure out where this is failing. None of just what I just described has anything to do with my physical strength. It all has to do with my ability to problem solve and to be collaborative with people. We had to work with about 15 different people who all have different opinions about what's wrong, and we're having to look, and navigate, all that and figure that out many of these people are people I'm interacting with exclusively on the phone. They don't even know what I look like [laughing] in most cases they're listening to my voice…". (45, White, Mission Gym).*

Connell (2005) describes the notion of hegemonic masculinities. For Connell, masculinities are a relational project in which practices legitimize certain forms of masculinities over others (hegemonic masculinity). Even though these men occupy a high social status, they do not typically exhibit subordinating characteristics, such as being a "wimp, milksob, nerd, turkey, wimp . . . " (79). Though that embody hegemonic masculinities still occupy a higher social status. To an extent, they represent Anderson's (2011) notion of inclusion masculinities because they attempt to embody "softer" characteristics, such as wanting to be healthy and fit. However, even though these men embody a "softer" form of masculinity, they still use their status in order to draw boundaries between themselves and men of other status positions, as seen in the case of the graduate student who critiques other men for having larger bodies. For these men, larger bodies are the antithesis of refinement and "civilization" (Ashcraft & Flores, 2003). This, then, conflicts with Wacquant's (1995) notion of the pugilist habitus because men his study defined masculinity on hegemonic terms. However, men in higher social positions have the status and access to cultural and economic capital, but they demonstrate values and behaviors from their attempts to reach hegemonic masculinity.

In addition, the literature on white-collar masculinity is scarce, especially since the literature of the field focuses more on white-collar crime (Newburn & Stanko, 2013) and on masculinity as representation (Ashcraft & Flores, 2003; de Casanova, 2015). The data presented here describes an active "care of the self," in which white-collar men demonstrate care for their bodies, especially given the context of their occupations. According to Alvesson (2004), white-collar occupations, especially those focusing on intellectual work, demand that the workers build their identities for "the good of the company," and if they are not actively managing their bodies for said good, they are seen as pathological. In this case, the respondents exist in a cultural field that demands the maintenance of one's health. This contrasts to the respondents in labor-intensive and aesthetic oriented jobs where they had to meet pragmatic, bodily demands of their particular job. This cultural field follows the demands of neoliberal capitalism, which maintains the ideology of care of the self, specifically one's health, and follows trends of the biomedicalization of health (Clarke et al., 2010). In these processes, individuals deploy personal informatics (Lupton, 2014) as means of tracking their "progress" and engage in self-disciplinary behaviors.

As mentioned above, productivity was the guiding ethos of white-collar occupations. Thus, these men followed the parent of interfiled variation. Unlike their peers that worked in aesthetic-labor profession, men did not have to transpose their bodies across multiple cultural fields. White-collar men were simply focused on maintaining their bodies, and most importantly, their health. They also occupied different positions within the field of a white-collar space (tech worker, academic, or CEO) and modified their practices accordingly.

In order to expand on white-collar masculinities, cultural capital becomes a useful framework because various mechanisms, such as human resources departments and ergonomics programs, provide guidelines for individual men to understand their bodies and health. White-collar men, then, develop practices around these guidelines. Consequently, this adds another dimension to Bridges' (2009) notion of gender capital because these men do deploy practices of masculinity within a cultural field. However, these practices do not always embody the typical notion of aggression and dominance.

CONCLUSION

Previous literature focuses on bodily capital, specifically on how workout practices function within one cultural sphere (Wacquant, 1995). These workout practices exist to provide symbolic value to the body within the boundaries of masculinity (Bridges, 2009; Hutsen, 2013). In contrast, occupational literature describes how things like language, appearance, and gender exist in order to reproduce patterns of inequality. Particularly in regard to aesthetic labor, these forms of literature mostly cover the enactment of femininity. The current literature focuses on how men engage in gendered cultural capital (fitness practices) in order to reify and reproduce social stratification.

Cultural fields place bodily demands on individuals. Thus, individual men navigate cultural fields through the use of cultural capital. When examining the cultural field of "occupation," "work" defines how men shape their bodies. Different kinds of work call for different bodily demands. Labor-intensive jobs call for manual labor; as a result, individuals have to meet the demands of their job by working out specific body parts. Aesthetics labor requires the individual to meet the bodily demands of a culturally-prescribed definition of aesthetics. This in turn affects how the individual shapes his body. Finally, white-collar men in this sample focused on the management of an individual's heath. Institutions largely support men in these professions by giving them access to resources that help them manage their bodies and health. These men had comparatively greater institutional access to these resources as compared to their labor-intensive and aesthetically-driven counterparts and define themselves through their bodies and their emphasis on health over appearance.

These findings have several implications. According to Wacquant's framework, the body does acquire a symbolic meaning. As a result, as Wacquant describes, men build their bodies in accordance with the demands of a particular cultural field. However, men do not simply build their bodies to maintain their masculinity within a cultural field. Instead, they also build their bodies in order to maintain their social status. Thus, men's bodies become extensions of how they maintain their social status.

In terms of the literature on occupations, male bodies also conform to similar gendered expectations. In the case of labor-intensive and aesthetics-oriented workers, both kinds of occupations assume masculine subjects. For example, with labor-intensive work, the occupations assume that individuals are using their bodies. Working-class masculinities assume that men build, and use, their bodies as instruments of labor. However, aesthetic-oriented occupations focus on maintaining a kind of "branded" masculinity. Through branded masculinity, these men tried to emulate forms of masculinity that were valued by their specific cultural fields. In other words, there were not forms of masculinity that dominated every cultural field equally. Instead, the individuals attempted to conform to the particular brand of masculinity that their cultural field was associated with (e.g. "the boy next door" versus the fashion industry). In contrast, white-collar masculinities are not equally invested in the practical use of masculine bodies, nor are they used to sell masculinity. Rather, white-collar masculinities focus on bodies that are unpolished but healthy (the “average joe”). White-collar masculinities did not reinforce “hard” forms of masculinities as compared to their labor-oriented counterparts. Rather, men in white-collar professions used their bodies to define themselves as superior to their working-class counterparts. Connell (2005) suggests that hegemonic masculinities define themselves against what it perceives as subordinating or complicit masculinities. Thus, as men attempted to embody hegemonic notions of masculinity, part of this embodiment was the sheen of having moral superiority over other embodiments of masculinity (healthy bodies over large, bulky bodies).

Thus, the current work helps to extend existing understandings of bodily capital and culture capital by revealing how fitness capital can reproduce status inequalities. The narratives featured in this chapter also have implications for an understanding of how men embody cultural capital to reify status divisions. For example, men with labor-oriented jobs deployed fitness practices in order to maintain Cultural capital works in tandem with the cultural field to provide explicit demands on the body, and the cultural field reproduces social stratification through different deployments of masculinity. Consequently, men embody different constructions of masculinity given a particular cultural field.

However, the current work also challenges said literature. Particularly, the data presented attempts to address the nuance of cultural fields in relation to the production of occupational masculinities. In the data, the responds described they inhabited cultural fields. However, sometimes, the respondents conformed to their respective cultural field. Other times, respondents had to balance more than one cultural field. In some instances, the symbolic meaning of their body differed between different spaces. In other instances, respondents decided to privilege one cultural field over another. The current literature monolithically assumes that respondents inhabit more than one cultural field.

This section also has several limitations. The main limitation was that it was difficult to study the interrelationship between income, education, and occupation and this was not explicitly measured. This was because the study's main focus was on social status as opposed to social class. This was defined by non-monetary factors, such as type of occupation status and education. In many urban areas, such as LA and San Francisco, social class is particularly hard to study because individual incomes do not necessarily correlate with levels of education or occupation. It was, then, more manageable to examine status differences than to compare financial differences. In a future study, one could examine how income levels affect the kinds of embodiments individuals choose to pursue. However, these embodiments seemed especially pronounced in occupation as opposed to income.

Another limitation that could be explored in another project is the relationship between hazardous labor practices, masculinity, and fitness. For example, previous research has described in detail how men engage in activities where injuries are likely. While the respondents did not report on occupational hazards, future research could focus on the ways in which some occupations create physically-demanding but accident-susceptible environments, such as construction work. This project has touched on how upper-status men define occupational fitness in terms of health; it would be interesting to explore such themes in more working-class environments. This project could focus on both practices and representations of masculinity.

Furthermore, it is important to note that race and class were interwoven in terms of how the respondents accessed their social worlds. For example, with a few exceptions, those in service and labor positions were mostly Latino and Black. The data could be nuanced further by comparing and contrasting constructions of working class masculinities and their racialized constructions. While Asians inhabited white-collar work spheres (especially technology-based occupations), they still function in the context of a white-dominated cultural arena (Shan, 2013).

This branch of data did not explicitly focus on the racialized nature of these cultural fields (as the data will explore in chapter five). Further research can examine the intermingling nature of race as it defines certain occupations, occupational labor, and how agents deploy cultural capital in these spaces.

In keeping with considerations of potential limitations and future directions, the data presented focused heavily on self-management and self-care of white-collar workers. This notion of the bioemedicalization of health is well researched, especially in league with notions of gender (Guthrie & Castelnuovo, 2006). However, the data did not focus on this kind of care with lower-status workers. This was this data found labor-oriented respondents focused on the pragmatic uses of their bodies. However, future research could focus on biomedicalization and how those processes affect lower-status individuals. The theme presented itself when studying upper-status workers; however, it would be worthwhile to explore these processes with lower-status individuals as well.

In this chapter, I explored how occupation intersects with how men deploy cultural capital. In the next chapter, I closely examine how the governing logic within the cultural fields themselves create differing demands on respondents.

Chapter 5 Race, Sexuality, and the Cultural Field

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters, I explored the relationship between fitness, cultural capital, and the cultural field. In Chapter Three, I explored how men acquire cultural capital through various agents and institutions. I also explored how individuals interact within a cultural field, and how sometimes, they have to reconcile conflicting demands within a field. In Chapter four, I examined how individuals negotiate their occupations, cultural capital, and their bodies. While these previous chapters explored how agents deploy cultural capital within a cultural field, the data has not yet explored how the governing logic (the doxa) within a cultural field provides conflicting "rules of the game" to its agents. In line with the question, "How do fitness practices (as cultural capital) reproduce masculinity, the social structure, and the cultural field . . ..?", most literature on masculinity argues that individuals deploy one cultural capital set per cultural field. In this chapter, I will explore the sub question, "How do definitions of masculinity vary among different social groups? How does that affect how they deploy language as cultural capital?" to argue that definitions of masculinity are not only racialized, but also masculinity affects how individuals deploy cultural capital based on race. the data presented in this chapter will demonstrate that the cultural fields requirements differ based on social position. In order to explore how this functions, this chapter will examine how racial constructions affect how men deploy cultural capital (fitness language, sexualized representations and food) within particular cultural fields.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To understand how race and sexuality are deployed as cultural capital in fitness, I examine three conceptual strands of work. These include: intersectionality and sport, erotic capital, and gym vernacular. The first thread of literature focuses on how bodies develop meanings within sexual spaces, especially in the context of race.

Intersectionality and Sport

Patricia Hill-Collins (2002) proposes the notion of intersectionality. This concept refers to the notion that realities are shaped by a “matrix of oppression.” In other words, one’s experiences are not simply shaped by one’s status position (e.g. being a man) but rather by an interplay of status positions (a white man or a Latino woman). As a result, different groups experience reality differently depending on their status positions. This then lends itself to understanding how different groups have different experiences in the social arena of sport.

Class and Race in Sport

Literature surrounding class and race focuses on two arenas: issues of access to sport and symbolic dominance. In terms of access to sport, sport institutions reproduce racist and classist patterns through issues of social and cultural capital, where professional players acquire social capital by virtue of their social class (Bourke, 2013; DeLuca, 2013) or their race (Vamplew, 2010). Given these forms of capital, privileged sporting institutions inevitably then begin to establish boundaries that maintain their positions, and then begin to overtly discriminate against individuals of lower social status (Foley, 1990). Other literature focuses on the symbolic dimensions of race in class. Rhodes (2011) finds that White masculinities were used to help working-class, White men gain status at the expense of their Black counterparts. Additionally, Cooky et. al (2010) find that women’s basketball was marked with the sheen of “class” compared to men’s basketball, which suffers from a “lack of class” because of heavy representation from Black athletes (Banet-Weiser, 1990; Boyd, 1997). When athletes do come from working-status backgrounds, they get socially marginalized, especially if they bear the burden of being a Black woman (Foote, 2003).

Additionally, the literature on race in sport against the backdrop of racism. Black men negotiate through stereotypes of masculinity historically grounded in racism (Majors, 1998; Birrell, 1989; Carrington, 1998; hooks, 2004). Part of this stereotype includes the hypersexualization and hypermasculinization of Black male bodies (hooks, 2004). This means that Black men are perceived as both hypersexual and aggressive (hooks, 2004). Thus, initially, in the mid-nineteenth century, sports were engulfed in cultural and racial politics. Sports were used to systematically exclude people of color from civic life (Delaney and Madigan, 2009). As time progressed, even with the establishment of "Negro Leagues," Blacks were not only segregated from mainstream sports but given a "lesser" status in society (Delaney and Madigan, 2009). Frey & Eitzen (1991) discuss how Blacks can be segregated in sport and argue that Blacks are overrepresented in some sports (basketball/football) but underrepresented in other sports (tennis/soccer).

Based on this history, Birrell (1989) suggests there are two main research domains in the sociology of sport: issues of institutional integration and representation. Issues of integration examine how racial and ethnic minorities are not represented in certain positions, such as play-by-play announcers (Coventry, 2004) and higher-level managers (Hughes, 2004) within the sport industry. In this same research vein, scholars have also examined unequal outcomes in sport by race, including how minorities are tracked into certain sports (Goldsmith, 2003; Paraschak, 1997), placed in particular sporting positions (Buffington, 2005; Grusky, 1963; Margolis & Piliavin, 1999), and are paid unequal salaries (Christiano, 1988; Leonard 1988). In addition to issues of integration within sport, racial and ethnic minorities are caricatured in media through racist discourse (Berry & Smith, 2000; Dworkin & Wachs, 1998; Klien, 1995; Markovitz, 2006;

McDonald, 1996). Likewise, Rojek et al. (2014) find that, when in college athletics, Black men are perceived as former "gang members" by campus police and their athletic directors. Consequently, Carrington (2010) documents how the Black body became an athletic object to be scrutinized and objectified. In addition to Birrell's categories, other scholars have examined the role of "whiteness" and how Whites define their identities through marginalizing athletes of color. For example, Whites assume inherent, natural differences in Black players, which in turn are used to justify placing Black players in certain positions in sports (Harrison, Lawrence, & Bukstein, 2011). Additionally, Whites valorize certain forms of violent masculinity in the boxing ring that help glorify their racial status (Cooley, 2010). In contrast, when black men inhabit particular athletic spaces, Atencio & Wright (2008) find that black men emphasize codes of good citizenship, heroism, and other forms of social hierarchies.

Gender/Sexuality in Sport

Existing sports literature describes how heterosexism frames sport as a cultural field. As with gender and sport literature mentioned in chapter three, when gender is discussed in sport, it assumes a heterosexual lens. In particular, heterosexuality is the organizing mechanism for gendered relations in sport. For men, participation is coded as both a masculine and heteronormative project (Mesnner & Sabo, 1994; Griffin, 1998; Aitchison, 1999). Men that do not participate in sport, or are physically weaker, are stigmatized as both feminine and "gay." Some argue that, in particular sports, gay men are accepted (Dashper, 2012) and that the influence of hegemonic masculinity wanes in sport (Anderson, 2005/2010). Conversely, multiple researchers (Dworkin, 2001; Krane, 1996; Fusco, 1998; Griffin, 1992/1998; Norman, 2012) find that women are heavily stigmatized for their entry into sport/fitness. As they enter sports, they are perceived as violating feminine gender performances and deemed as "lesbians" through homophobia. This is further complicated by race, where Johnson (2015) finds that black women must negotiate gendered norms of respectability with racialized, athletic performances. Likewise, compared to their White, Asian, and Latino counterparts, Black respondents had the highest level of prejudice against sexual minority coaches (Cunningham & Melton, 2012). However, while blacks negotiate sexual norms within their communities, they are often hypersexualized, as with Kobe Bryant (Markovitz, 2006) and Don Imus (Cooky, Wachs, & Messner, 2010) by white institutions.

Cultural Capital, Sexuality, and the Gym

In order to understand how race and fitness intersect, I examine two forms of capital elucidate how men of color construct their fitness masculinities. These two forms of cultural capital are erotic capital and gym vernacular. Erotic capital explains how certain physical features, such as skin color, have varied meanings in particular cultural fields. Additionally, gym vernacular is a form of cultural capital at the gym; this is because this form of language has particular meanings and enactments at the gym. In the conclusion, I will explore how this form of cultural capital intersects with how the cultural field creates a variation within its own field or reproduces itself in another cultural field (transferability).

Erotic Capital

In Chapter Three, I described how individuals navigate cultural institutions (cultural fields) by deploying cultural resources (cultural capital). In Chapter Four, I described how other researchers apply cultural capital to examine how bodies are deployed as cultural resources in cultural fields (bodily capital). As a result, individuals accrue status in cultural fields because of how their bodies are read and interpreted in cultural spaces. Other researchers have applied this notion of bodily capital to examine the intersection of race and sexuality. Sociologist Adam

Green (2008) examines how cultural capital is deployed in spaces that cater to the access of sexual partners (termed “sexual fields”). He calls this form of cultural capital “erotic capital.” Erotic capital is the physical embodiment of sexual desirability in a particular sexual field. Through an erotic habitus, individuals interpret these physical embodiments of a sexual field. In his analysis, Green identifies race as a form of erotic capital, especially the notion of “skin color” and how varying degrees of blackness are interpreted in sexual fields. For example, Green finds that Black men’s bodies are generally less valued in gay spaces, although there are specific spaces in the gay community in which Black men’s bodies are fetishized and objectified.

Other research has examined the role erotic capital plays in how other minorities are fetishized. For example, Weinburg & Williams (2013) describe how men fetishize transwomen’s bodies through establishing a sexual field that requires transwomen to embody hyper-feminine gender performances. Likewise, when living in China, Western men eroticize Asian women. However, when white women immigrate to China, their erotic capital decreases as their economic mobility increases (Farrer & Dale, 2013).

Adjacent literature on race argues that this fetishization is not a positive effect, but rather, it is oppressive (Daroya, 2017). For example, Hooks (1992) and West (1993) describe how slavery produced stereotypes of black men. In an effort to prevent miscegenation and to control black men’s bodies, these stereotypes exaggerated and hypersexualized black men’s sexuality. These stereotypes involved how black men were seen as primitive, animalistic, and uncivilized (Hooks, 1992; Best, 1993). This then reproduced racial inequalities through marginalization (Mercer, 1994). These stereotypes affect how skin color is deployed as erotic capital in sexual fields, especially in places like hook-up, mobile applications (Daroya, 2017). Whereas, literature on gender focuses on the productive aspect of erotic capital, where women deploy erotic capital to get ahead in their respective cultural fields (Hakim, 2010, Parry, 2016).

Other literature examines similar concepts related to erotic capital. For example, most literature on erotic fields tend to focus on mostly gendered aspects of sex work (Wahab et al., 2011), researchers find racialized agents are discriminated against in strip clubs both in heterosexual (Brooks, 2010; Bouclin, 2006) and non-heterosexual (DeMarco, 2007) spaces.

Gym Vernacular

Another form of cultural capital I will examine in the current section is “gym vernacular.” Men engage in specific behaviors in the pursuit of fit bodies but can do so at the price of their health. Atkinson (2007) documents how middle-class, White men rely on supplements, such as steroids and protein shakes, to build their bodies. While doing so, the respondents conflate “masculine” large bodies with both identity and health. This is important because steroids have deleterious effects, including, aggression, mood disturbances, endocrine imbalances, gynecomastia, and gonad atrophy (Hartgens & Kuipers, 2004). Similarly, Monaghan (2001) examines bodybuilders and steroid use and finds that “masculine bodies,” or hypertrophied bodies, were chosen over having a “healthy body.” To identify their body types, bodybuilders develop their own lexicon in describing their bodies (2002). For example, bodybuilders use “big,” “small,” and “leaning out” to describe their practices. This lexicon creates a verbal means through which they communicate the relationship between their masculinity and the alteration of their bodies. In the pursuit of masculinity, Monaghan’s respondents rationalized taking harmful substances over having health. This is especially true when these bodybuilders ignored doctors’ authority when they are told that their fitness regimens cause deleterious health effects (Monaghan, 1999). Instead, the bodybuilders focused on anecdotal evidence of health problems and made decisions based on their peers’ input.

Limitations

Intersectionality and Sport Literature

The current literature argues that people of color, especially men of color, occupy physically demanding roles in sport that contributes to bodily wear and tear. Implicitly, this occurs because men of color's, especially black men, athletic participation is influenced by the legacy of slavery (Martin, 2014; Best, 1987). This legacy has produced stereotypes of black men as physically/athletically adept but also relegated to positions that involve heavy bodily wear and tear (Best, 1987). The main limitation within this literature is that the literature assumes both heterosexual subjects and that all men of color are subject to the same processes of inequality, regardless of ethnic identity. Additionally, the literature does not focus on how men of color are agents in shaping their status positions within sport, and the literature on sexuality and sport tends to focus on White athletes in predominately heterosexual spaces. This is then problematic for understanding how race and marginalized sexual identities overlap, especially within "gay-friendly" spaces.

Erotic Capital Literature

Erotic capital adequately describes how racialized bodies are used as resources in particular sexual spaces. However, this framework assumes that sexual spaces provide similar guidelines, or doxa, across those spaces. Thus, people of color that navigate various cultural fields are assumed to be sexualized in certain contexts while ignored in others. Green (and other researchers) essentially argue that these processes will function across differing cultural fields. However, this does not turn out to be the case because cultural fields (or erotic fields) call for different forms of masculinity, even within gay subcultures.

Gym Vernacular Literature

Gym vernacular is discursively tied to masculinity. However, this masculinity varies depending on context, the cultural field, and the individual's social position.

Racialized Habitus and Racial Awareness

The literature demonstrates how race and skin color are used as specific forms of capital in sexual spaces. However, the literature does not question the extent to which the sexual field influences the individual's habitus and how they create bodies within this field. Additionally, when men create bodies within sexual fields, they reinterpret gym vernacular to reinforce their own subcultural ideas of masculinity. Thus, as the results will show, there are two main ways that the sexual field influenced an individual's habitus: through internalizing dominant bodily ideals or making identity salient. The salience of their racial identity impacted the way the respondents transformed their usage and understanding of gym vernacular. As a result, this changed the way they constructed masculinities within their particular sexual fields.

Internalizing Dominant Bodily Ideals

It was common for respondents to describe how they subordinated their racial identity to the demands of an implicitly white-dominated cultural field. For these respondents, the sexual field dominated their understanding of their bodies and their racial identities. This pattern predominantly happened to gay racial minorities that inhabited the sexual field of the gay bear community.

Bears and Whiteness in the Sexual Field

To explain how racial identities internalize dominant bodily ideals when developing bodies, I focus on the gay bear community. The characteristics of a gay bear is a point of contention for many in the bear community; however, these men in general value *bigness* as criteria for membership within the community. This is idea of *bigness* not only includes having higher percentages of body fat compared to their non-bear counterparts but also being physically large and muscular (Hennen, 2005). Additionally, they tend to be more hirsute than their non-bear counterparts. According to Hennnen (2005), gay bears present a "paradox" to typical gender norms in that they perform hypermasculine gender behaviors while being sexual minorities. Bears then embody a resistance to conventional patriarchal norms because they reinterpret these norms (Hennan, 2005). According to Hennen, the bear community overwhelmingly defines itself on its physical ideals. Members of the bear community single themselves out from mainstream gay culture by defining themselves based on their physical attributes: being physically heavy and hairy. Rodrigo, a 31-year old Latino "bear," characterizes gay bears as "bigger" and "hairier" than the average gay man. Similar to Hennen and Monaghan's work, Rodrigo echoes the notion that the bear community defines itself based on the idea of being "bigger" and having body hair. Thus, the sexual field of the gay bear community values "bigness" and "hairiness."

Even though size and hirsute features dictate membership into this specific sexual field, certain men do not identify themselves as bears because of their race. Rodrigo says that he is sometimes called a "teddy bear" because of his size and takes it as a compliment. However, this affirmation is limited to certain segments of the bear community. Contrary to Hennan (2005) and Monaghan's (2005) argument that bears provide the space for racial minorities, Asian men are not necessarily given entry into this community. As echoed by the other Asian respondents, Hal, a gay Chinese-American software programmer who characterizes himself as an "endomorph," mentions that he does not think "there are any Asian bears." When describing what a bear is, Hal mentions that bears are "bigger" and "hairier" men, but,

> *"They [Bears] would be muscular, but not necessarily muscular. [They would be] not slender, basically not slender. That includes bigger muscular, and also, it means a bit*

> *over weight and chubby. It is not they wouldn't be bears, the slender people, but slender bears or something. It is slightly difference of genre because Asians tend not be hairy. Their lingo in the San Francisco bear community tends to be hairy so the Asian bear wouldn't be just a bear. It would be a panda bear." (39, Asian, Mission Gym).*

In this discussion of the bear community, the gay Asian respondents mention how bears have a range of body types that center around bigness. However, the respondents claim that the lack of being hirsute affects a man's ability to gain entry into the bear community. Hal additionally mentioned that an Asian man would not be a bear, but they would be a "panda bear," a separate idea from the idea of the bear. Likewise, Hiro, a gay Japanese software programmer, echoed this idea. As a physically large Japanese man, he did not identify as a bear. Physically, Hiro may meet the criteria; however, he believed that his lack of body hair did not allow him into the bear community. As a result, the sexual field of the bear community defined gay bears as "White." Despite the community's acceptance of multiple kinds of male body types, Hal and Hiro did not identify as bears. This was because being hairy, for Hal and Hiro, marked entry into the bear community. Since they did not have body hair, they do not see themselves as "bears."

Thus, the sexual field of the bear community established parameters of what it defines as sexually attractive. This field defined body hair and body size as attractive; however, this definition is racialized to be exclusive to Whites. As a result, gay Asian men de-identified with the "bear label" as a result of their exclusion. They then negotiated their communities and understandings of masculinity separate from the sexual field of the bear community. This not only affected their institutional location, but also how they perceived their bodies and the language they use to understand their bodies.

When the sexual field eclipsed respondents' identities, the respondents became institutionally isolated from peer groups and dominant sexual fields. This in turn isolated gay Asian bears. Through this isolation, they then developed their own understandings of masculinity through the dominant sexual field of the bear community. By definition, gay bears presented a hypermasculine interpretation of gender. However, this kind of masculinity rests upon a “white” definition of masculinity. According to blogger Ryan Shea (2013), gay bear communities tend to largely be White-dominated and define standards of masculinity based on White norms. In the above examples, despite their body size, Hal and Hiro did not fit the typical image of gay bears because of their lack of body hair. Both men considered this lack of body hair as a characteristic of their racial/ethnic backgrounds. Media theorist Richard Fung (2005) finds that gay Asian male bodies are feminized in the context of broader social LGBT relations, especially in the context of pornography. Thus, if hypermasculinity is predicated upon the presence of body hair, both Hal and Hiro understood that they do not fit this image, and this image both forces them to develop other specific understandings of their bodies and provides the institutional context by which they shape their bodies.

Trying to Connect through Negotiating Racial Identities

When racial minorities try to connect to the bear community, they internalize dominant bodily norms. As a result, they shifted focus away from their race and onto the presentation of their bodies. Even though gay Asian respondents did not identify themselves as bears, they still attempted to integrate into the bear events. Thus, these respondents tended to occupy and associate themselves with “bears,” but, while doing so, they subordinated the relationship between themselves and their ethnic identities.

Hiro and others discussed how they mostly associate with men who deem themselves as “bears” at events called “bearacudah,” which cater to these self-identified bears. By doing so, Hiro noted the complexity of being a bear (or not). Hiro acknowledged his association with the bear community in terms of having friends that characterize themselves as bears and participating in events that surround the bear community. However, when asked to discuss his race in the context of these bear events, Hiro, like other Asian bears in the sample, mentioned that his race “does not matter” in his interactions with other bears, and that he perceived those around him to be “friendly.” At the same time, people “ignored [him]” because of his ethnicity. Hiro’s discussion evoked a paradox. On one hand, Hiro physically resembled a bear. He is also able to develop his associations within the bear community.

Given these associations, Hiro then internalized the bodily culture of the bear community and subordinates his racial identity. In other words, he perceived that his race does not matter, but also acknowledges that he can never be fully part of the bear community because he is ignored by the broader bear community. From his perspective, he even discussed how his peer group is mostly non-Asian; Hiro estimated that roughly 30% of his peer group is Asian, whereas the other 70% is non-Asian. Thus, Hiro’s own ethnic community represented a fraction of his associations. This is less because he chose to associate with non-Asian men and more due to the fact that his ethnic group is not well-represented at events. Hal mentioned this is because gay Asian men who would theoretically call themselves bears instead relegated themselves to online communities such as Facebook. Hal, however, would not “consider that a community. I [he] would consider that like casual acquaintances online, but that’s not community.” Hal expanded on this idea: “I haven’t seen that many [gay Asian bears] in San Francisco. I have two or three friends maybe that are Asian and I see them around once in a while. But I don’t think that there is in San Francisco Asian bear community that I’m aware of.”

Since Asian men are not well-represented in the bear community, Asian bears must form their own communities outside the mainstream bear community. This is because White men dominate the mainstream bear community. Hal noted, “I would think White bears don’t notice Asians in general. So no matter what, they look like they wouldn’t notice them unless they were seven-feet-tall and five hundred pounds or something like that. Unless it’s a sumo wrestler or very obvious, yeah.”

As stated by the other Asian respondents, Hal spoke to the idea that Asian men are generally ignored in the broader bear community. Thus, Asian men are not only physically separated from but also subordinated and ignored by the bear community. As a result, Asian men had to retreat from real-world bears by creating virtual communities to validate their identities. However, since the bear community bases its idea of sexual attraction on White standards, Asian men are forced to decide between their ethnic and sexual identities. While Hiro and Hal meet certain physical criteria, both separate their ethnic identity from their body type and sexual identity. Hiro acknowledged that his ethnic group is underrepresented at bear events. He also recognizes that he experiences the world differently than his White counterparts, especially based on his perception of experiencing “different treatment.” People of color, namely Asians, Latinos, and Blacks, have “dual” identities in which they are forced to negotiate their racial and sexual identities (Jackson, 2001). In Hiro’s case, he interpreted his body as separate from his racial identity, an identity which also imposes a secondary layer onto his experience. While he acknowledges institutional racism in the gay bear community, he also does not choose to use race to structure his experiences. At the same, as Hal mentions, their racial identities are made relevant outside of the real-world bear community.

The sexual field imposed a doxa that involves how masculinity revolves around

Whiteness. Asian men who do fit this field attempted to navigate the field by forming peer groups that are mostly White. Even though they are interacting with White men, these men of color perceive that they were ignored because they are Asian. Other characteristics, such as size, are leveraged as cultural capital. As a result, these minorities deploy the dominant bodily norms of their community and minimize their racial otherness. For minorities, the bodily demands of the sexual field were magnified. The sexual field not only provides for the physical construction of bodies, it also, when the bodies cannot meet these demands, especially in terms of a racial "default," minorities deploy their bodies within the sexual field. Additionally, minorities are also forced to retreat from dominant sexual fields and instead to recreate sexual fields that are amenable to their particular aesthetic. The sexual field, then, essentially disables these men from aesthetically defining masculinity, which in turn means that these men are then subsumed within the idea of a racialized bear masculinity. They then configure their vernacular around this kind of masculinity.

Bear Masculinity, Embodiment, and Vernacular

When bears of color attempt to occupy white dominated spaces, they navigate the bear community through gym vernacular: getting bigger and leaning out. White-dominated sexual fields call for an implicit and explicit segregation of ethnic minorities. When sharing space within sexual fields, minorities are often passed over or ignored within these sexual fields, resulting in an implicit segregation. An explicit segregation takes places when racial minorities discuss how they were physically and institutionally removed from the dominant sexual field. This removal provides space for minorities to "reimagine" or "recreate" their own spaces, including recreating bear communities on online forums. This process then affects how images are reinforced and reproduced within the dominant sexual field. In the case of gay Asian men within the community, these men internalized dominant bodily ideals within the broader sexual field and subordinated their racial identity. In addition, they also learn to reinterpret and develop their bodies within this definition of masculinity. They do so through reinterpreting gym vernacular in order to conform to the dominant sexual field.

Bears and Bigness

As mentioned above, the respondents mentioned the notion of "bigness" as a defining trait of the bear community. Similar to Hiro and the other respondents, Matt, a 43-year-old gay Asian man, did place an emphasis on his race when interacting within the larger bear community. He instead saw his body as a product of physical characteristics independent of his race, and, when building his body, he focused less on race than on the construction of bear bodies. In the context of discussing his athletic goals, he noted that he "doesn't really like ripped bodies." By recognizing the bear community's masculine aesthetic, Matt used the language of variability in order to deflect attention about race, something particularly evident in his consideration of attraction to different bodies and ethnicities as "individual":

> *"Some of the muscles bears, very few of them, want a really lean look. Most would want some padding, but that they have but still significance amount of muscle. Other ones care less and they actually like the big belly so it varies. Other ones just care about chest hair that their fur, even all over, and a beard…. (41, Asian, Mission Gym).*

In articulating his preferences, although Matt said that attractions are based on randomized preferences, he was, however, able to articulate preferences that are based on the bear community's aesthetic. In essence, these gay men had to balance issues of fatness with varying degrees of muscularity. On one hand, one cannot be too muscular, which Matt deems as aesthetically unhealthy, but, on the other hand, one cannot be too skinny—they must be able to maintain a certain level of “padding.” Thus, body size plays an important feature in Matt and Hiro’s experience. Matt’s definition of masculinity is similar to that of other respondents: a community centered on a brand of masculinity focusing on “bigness” and “size.” Monaghan (1995) notes that bodybuilders define “bigness” as muscularity. These men in the bear community, however, reinterpret fitness language in terms of their subcultural community. They not only seek to become bigger, as per the generic standards of hegemonic masculinity (Monaghan, 1995; Atkinson, 2007), but given the community’s emphases on “fatness,” bigger means fat in addition to muscle. As “bigness” is appropriated, racialized identities are subordinated in lieu of how the bear community defines bigness.

“Leaning Out” as a Bear

For these respondents, “bigness” superseded race, especially since bigness was seen as way to navigate the largely White cultural field. Consequently, understandings of “leaning out” (or getting physically smaller) was positioned negatively in relation to bigness. As an Asian bear who decided to “lean out,” Matt saw preferences of particular racialized body types in the bear community as “highly individualized” and variable. At the same time, when discussing his plans to “lean out,” Matt explained that, “this is really of an expression where… there’s so many variable types of preferences. That’s [skinnier bodies are] not for me.” He continued, stating that the desire for leaner body types is “highly individualized.” In other words, wanting a smaller body type is idiosyncratic and not the norm. If Matt were to focus on leaning out, he would be engaging in fitness practices contrary to goals valued by the bear community. Yet, when asked about the placement of thinner Asian bodies in the bear community, Matt expressed some disdain for learner bodies. He mentioned that there are some in the community who prefer “really skinny” or “pubescent” Asian men, but by calling them “pubescent” and “really skinny,” he uses normative language to describe leaner bodies.

The bear community places a lower emphasis on leaning out. This stands in contrast to Monaghan's (1995) and Atkinson's (2007) work, which showed that leaning out and participating in male body projects are the norm. However, in this particular case, these respondents must navigate a world in which their ethnicity places them at a disadvantage. Literature in sexuality and race studies demonstrates how Asian men are fetishized and feminized within the broader gay male community (Han 2006; Han, 2006a; Fung 2005). Fung (2005) suggests that gay Asian men are stereotyped as demure, feminine, and "physically inept." Especially in light of this stereotype, gay Asian men within the bear community downplayed their race and focus on other parts of their physicality. While mollifying the emphasis on leaning out, Matt expanded on how physical body shape is placed on the same level as race, with characteristics ranging from "beards" to being "clean shaven" and from being "hairy" to not, in addition to body sizes. For Matt, race is another physical characteristic. Interestingly, he mentioned that there is a group of people that have a general preference for Asian men. At the same time, this preference is not entirely dominant, regardless of the men's body size. Matt's experience was not only colored by his ethnicity and his sexuality but also his body type and practices. Despite mentioning how he was "passed over" by a man because he knew Matt was leaning out, Matt minimized his experience by pointing out that it was an isolated event ("one person").

In contrast to other respondents who mentioned they were passed over and ignored because of their ethnic backgrounds, Matt de-emphasized his experience because he saw other facets of masculinity as more culturally relevant, such as his beard. As a result, Matt clung to the idea that his body is not subject to the same racial biases as other Asian men because he interacts in a community that is dominated by a specific understanding of masculinity. The beard, as a symbol of masculinity, was the focal point for Matt. Additionally, as a man that does not fit the "lean Asian male mold," Matt does not physically fit into this stereotype. Thus, this preference for Asian men arose from this particular context. Using the language of variability, in Matt's experience, this preference is deemphasized as he mentions that there are communities that do not have a specific preference for Asian men's body size. This is because his experience is situated at the crossroads of not only race and sexuality, but also a context that privileges a physically larger body size. Matt noted that "one person" rejected him because he was choosing to lean out. At the same time, Matt still emphasized an affinity for the beard. This erased the notion of the body and focuses on other, perceivably Western characteristics.

That he noted that he was passed over for leaning out illustrates how Matt's expectations of masculinity within the gay bear community takes precedence over his ethnic identity. Matt valuesd his size, and he mentions how, as he gained size, he "regains" his masculinity. Matt discusses how people began to notice his body once he gained weight. (Interestingly, these people who noticed him do not always identify as gay.) This form of validation was common with gay bears who dissociated with their ethnic communities. For example, Hal discussed how others would view him as "intimidating" if he were to put on weight. Thus, gay bears of color lose their masculinity when they lose their size and "regain" their masculinities when they regain their size. Interestingly, gay bears of color not only fulfill the demands of their sexual community when they regain their masculinity in this way, they also received affirmation from their straight peers. This then demonstrates that their larger body size is a sign of masculinity because it intertwines with heteronormative definitions of masculinity. Another way gay men of color understood the leaning out process and getting smaller is in relation to their health. Hal explained how “getting smaller” functions in relation to his health. Once Hal noticed that he had physiological problems that he attributed to his size, he then started to feel like leaning out was something he had to consider. While he said he wanted to get smaller because of health reasons, he still wanted to put on muscle. Putting on muscle still fits with the image of masculinity ascribed by the bear community because muscle connotes physical strength, and, most importantly, size.

As seen above, the bear subculture tends to diminish Asian men’s visibility within these communities. As a result, gay Asian men start to subordinate their ethnic identity and begin to view themselves as part of the greater subculture. They then interpret their bodies as a product of this subculture and engage in practices surrounding the dominant narrative of the bear body. While this particular subculture emphasizes conformity to a dominant White standard, this particular culture also demands that individuals shed their ethnic background if they do not fit the standard model. While Castro subcultures are dominated by White standards of beauty; however, in this particular community, gay Asian men’s race is not only marginalized but actively highlighted. Thus, men of color (in)actively participate in body projects within the confines of their race/ethnicity.

This then has implications for how individuals negotiate their cultural fields. The case of gay Asian men within the bear community demonstrates how variation within the cultural field affects how individuals deploy cultural capital. Gay Asian men occupied a cultural field dominated by White gay men. Gay White men dominated how men within the bear subculture defined masculinity. However, because of their race, Asian men did not have complete access to deploy cultural capital and access the full benefits of a particular cultural field. As a result, Gay Asian occupied a cultural field and had to leverage the dominant language of the cultural field in order to negotiate the demands of the field. Thus, gay Asian men existed in bear spaces, but had to leverage cultural capital (in terms of language) in this negotiation process. Thus, while Asian men inhabited the same cultural fields as Whites, they occupied these fields "differently;" thereby, leveraging language in order to engage with dominant

Highlighting Bodily Difference across Ethnicity

While some men of color attempted to deploy cultural capital within a gay cultural field, others found that they could not leverage this capital because of their race. As a result, it was also common for these men of color to develop their bodies in dominantly white sexual fields through making their racial identities salient.

Western Constructions of Muscularity, and Health

In mainstream gay sexual fields, muscularity is the dominant ideal (Olivardia, 2004). As a result, previous literature about the gay community and muscularity focuses on how gay men develop self-esteem problems (Duggan & McCreary, 2004). For example, the notion of the Adonis Complex puts forth the notion that gay men develop self-esteem-related issues because they are pressured to meet particular bodily ideals of muscularity (Olivardia, 2004). The conversation about how gay bear bears seek to embody "bigness," regardless of muscularity, demonstrates that masculine cultural ideals are not necessarily created in a vacuum but are rather culturally defined. There are also subcultures within gay communities, such as in the Castro district in San Francisco, that place a premium on muscular body types. However, both strands of literature ignore the role race plays in how individuals attain muscular body types. In other words, even if an individual attains the ideal body types emphasized by gay society, their body is not granted equal privilege because of their race.

Highlighting western norms of muscularity

Respondents typically described that, just as the mainstream gay sexual fields are White-dominated, muscularity is also interpreted based on White definitions. To begin with, Rodrigo, a Latino man, pointed out that it was a cultural norm within his ethnic community for men to not scrutinize their bodies. Instead, Rodrigo recounted, “It’s easier to be fat. I mean, my grandma would probably say ‘you’re too skinny’ and needed to eat more. I guess they would say plump is beautiful…In the Latin culture, they’re not [concerned] how the body looks.” In this exchange, Rodrigo pointed out a difference between his culture and the larger LGBT community. Similar to Icard (1986), Peterson (1992), and Malebranche et al. (2004) studies of how the Black identity conflicts with non-heteronormative sexual identities, Rodrigo notes that in Latino culture, men’s bodies are not put under surveillance. In fact, as mentioned, he was encouraged to “eat more” by his grandmother. This one perception suggests that his culture might not place a premium on a disciplined masculine body that would be shaped by a gym.

This stands in contrast to how Western LGBT culture views the body. Echoing Almaguer (1993), Rodrigo created a juxtaposition between Latino norms of masculinity and largely White-dominated forms of masculinity in Western LGBT culture. Rodrigo highlights that masculinity in Latino culture is not necessarily tied to a manicured body as it is in the West, a sentiment echoed by other ethnic minorities. For example, some respondents of color did not have family that are directly involved in leisure activities or occupations that revolve around an intense, required use of a gym. As a result, individuals from these families chose fitness under the guise of health. Arjay, a gay Filipino man, mentioned how his family was not involved in formal fitness institutions because of their position as laborers.

> *“You know, you don’t have a gym [in the Philippines]. My father, he grew up part of his life in Philippines, and you know, they would swim a lot because they were actually on*

> *house boats. So his exercise was swimming, and he was a very good swimmer, but I would say there was a cultural difference between I would say my parents definitely, all they felt about food, and how they felt about exercise was informed by their culture . . .". (40, Asian, Sunset Gym).*

Arjay continues,

> *"And you know when you're in Philippines, unless you live in a big city you know, it's really if you're living in a rural area, most of the life is on the farm. So you're doing physical labor all day… most probably and that's your exercise."* (40, Asian, Sunset Gym).

Instead of working out at a gym, Arjay mentioned that his father never had a need to exercise, especially at an institution like a gym. This is because Arjay made the distinction between living in a rural area and a city. Instead, Arjay's family focused on other kinds of athletic activities, such as swimming, and the physicality of his father's labor took precedence over a formal fitness regimen. As a result, Arjay was born into a family that did not necessarily value the gym as a cultural institution, although they did still transmit cultural practices. When asked to explain how his family's background might have impacted him, Arjay responds,

> *"Well that it [their parent's practices] translated to me and my other sibling because that's what they taught us. Even if it was somewhat subliminal, it wasn't always directly pointed out to us clearly. Sometimes it was just like this what we eat and this is how we do it…". (40, Asian, Sunset Gym).*

Here, Arjay mentioned that this transmission happens "subliminally," where certain behaviors are not necessarily explicitly taught but instead implicitly socialized. As a result, these behaviors become naturalized because Arjay described how eating was just "how we do it." In contrast, Arjay sees the “learned” aspect of these behaviors by calling them “generational artifacts.” In other words, exercise and manual labor were not mutually exclusive. He highlights how his parents grew up in a time and place where developing their bodies were not essential components of labor or markers of health. In this case, Arjay’s parents come from a non-Western context with differing ideologies of fitness and work. Arjay describes how his family never focused on fitness or their bodies. Instead, because of their religiosity, they focused on developing their “spiritual beings” instead of their physicality. Given their focus on their spirituality, for Arjay’s family, culture/religion took precedence over maintaining a body, and therefore, eating healthy. Arguably, this might be because, in some cases, religion focuses on maintaining a spiritual self that repudiates the physicality of the body.

However, Arjay was born in the United States and appears less religious than his family. His “choices,” including those related to food, resulted in being sanctioned by his family. This is because he uses the ideology of health to justify his choice. This ideology is unique to Western cultures (Wiest et al., 2015; Bailey & Gillett, 2013); thus, Arjay uses a Western belief system to break established patterns set by the culture of his family and move onto a different trajectory that justifies physical fitness. In essence, Arjay deployed this ideology as a form of capital in order to develop his body and physical fitness, particularly in the context of a gym

Greg followed a similar path to other respondents whose family members were not directly involved in occupations that required fitness or took up physical leisure activities. Instead, he, like other respondents, mentions how his family shaped his fitness routine in other ways, and this routine would eventually find its way into Greg’s gym’s regimen.

Greg, a human resources manager, discussed his experiences growing up. He described his Vietnamese heritage in a family that was “health conscious” because his parents were pharmacists that work for a university. Specifically, his family ate “a lot of sea food, fresh vegetables, and fruit,” so for him, it was “easy” to eat foods “considered to be healthy.” In addition to his ethnic background, both his parents came from a biomedical background, which helped shape Greg’s understanding of health and how to attain it (specifically through nutrition). Greg continued to recall specific food items that were based on his parents’ medical background. He notes,

> *“Just to diversify what was probably the biggest thing because, you know, I would really like, chicken breast, certain fruits and certain vegetables. I would eat that over and over again, and they would recommend that I would know eat a lot of different types of fruits and vegetables. So I don’t eat the same thing over and over again, and diversify the different type of things that I would was eating.” (27, Asian, Sunset Gym).*

Greg learned how to diversify the kinds of foods he ate. Greg then applied his family’s advice by noting,

> *“So growing up I would love apples and I would always buy apples whenever I went to the grocery store. My mom would say, ‘you need to eat other types of fruits because apples are good for you, but other types of vegetables are good for you. Oher fruits are good in a different ways’ So she would encourage me to also eat bananas and berries and other things.” (27, Asian, Sunset Gym).*

Thus, given Greg’s parents’ background in biomedicine, Greg learned to diversify his food choices. This practice then lent itself to developing a biomedical rationalization for his choices. When asked to justify his food choices, Greg discussed how,

> *“Different fruits had different nutrients. Even though one fruit might be considered being healthy/good for you, it’s not enough to provide you know everything your body needs to*

> *really make sure that you are a getting a wide variety of different vitamins and minerals [you would get] by eating a lot of different types of fruit." (27, Asian, Sunset Gym).*

Similar to the respondents in chapter three demonstrates how this kind of cultural capital is learned, and deployed, within the cultural field, Greg's diverse food choices, then, were not just a product of socialization but rather a product of the context of his parents' occupation. Greg noted that fruit alone does not meet "bodily health needs," evoking a biomedical call to "health." Greg even used biomedical language, such as "minerals," "vitamins," and "nutrients." Thus, Greg learned to explain fitness practices in terms of health because of his family's background. This meant that he ". . . grew up with there always being a vegetable on the plate and I was always taught you know-eat the vegetable that they were what made you healthier in the long term…"

In both accounts, Arjay and Greg did not have families that were involved in fitness. However, in both accounts, Western ideologies of health and biomedicine, respectively, played a role in their entry into fitness. Both respondents used the idea of health in order to explain that entry. While, Arjay and Greg might have used the idea of health to get them into fitness, they both entered fitness with different resources. Arjay was exposed to the Western ideology of health because he grew up in the United States. On the other hand, Greg developed his idea of health from his family members, who were medical professionals. While both men used health as reasons why they went into fitness, these respondents had access to Western definitions of health, fitness, and the body. Thus, to several of the participants in this sample a gym-manicured body represents a Western notion of health which is culturally dissonant from ethnic understandings of the body

Western Standards of Health, Gym Bodies, and the LGBT Community

While racial minorities in this sample had a particular relationship with muscularity, it is important to note that this image of masculinity is very much homogenized. However, racial minorities have learned how to internalize Western definitions of "healthy bodies," these gym-toned bodies then translate into typical definitions of masculinity and muscularity. However, muscularity, especially in the gay community, is defined by Whiteness. For example, this occurred in the formation of LGBT communities where bodies are not only coded as "muscular," but also as White. When asked about how he saw his position within the LGBT community, Markus, a Black communications professional, noted that,

> *"I would just think that there is different communities that LGBT communities split up, and we all know which one is more favored. That's pretty much White men of course, and those are the main stream images that you see on all types of television shows. All types things all over like the whole LGBT community. The LGBT community is pretty much seen as Whitish. That's why a lot of times people actually come in conflict is when we have to make choices sometimes about being hold on to our blackness, or our gayness, or lesbians, whatever because still those things exists for us." (34, Black, Sunset Gym).*

Echoing Icard (1986), Peterson (1992), and the other respondents, racial minorities have been found to feel conflicts between their ethnic identity and their sexual identity. This is echoed by researchers, especially studying Black sexuality, that suggest that Black LGBTQ members must constantly address homophobia within their own communities but defer to remain there because of their racial ties (Moore, 2010). For example, Mignon Moore (2010) cites David and Knight (2008), Jones and Hill (1996), Moore (2008), and Stoke and Peterson (1998) arguing "Relative to Whites, Black homosexuals perceive themselves as facing more disapproval from their families and from heterosexual Blacks, and have greater difficulty finding alternative sources of acceptance and support through predominantly White LGBT-oriented social groups “(p. 3). There is a conflict between racial identity and sexual identity. On the same line of questioning, Markus continued,

> *“Clearly, the white, close-to-hetero-normative, homosexual male body is the one that is favored. particularly granted economical privilege, in some instances. But there are some black gay people that are able to you know infiltrate that type of arena usually if they’re mixed or they’re light skinned.” (34, Black, Sunset Gym).*

Keeping with Green’s (2008) work, Markus’ perception highlighted how some men with lighter skin tone are able to leverage their skin tone to negotiate the cultural field more effectively than their darker skinned counterparts. Furthermore, Rodrigo’s, Arjay’s, Greg’s, and Markus’s experiences highlight an important theoretical implication. In Rodrigo’s case, he evokes the LGBT community as the example that highlights a distinction between his ethnic community and a White community. Arjay, Greg, and Markus all note that people of color are rooted in “other” cultures that have different notions of health, fitness, and muscularity than do Whites. These particular examples are significant because these respondents are non-White individuals calling attention to how expectations are constructed differently among different communities. Additionally, these expectations were racialized. As a result, they lead to different practices that lead to both the development and the perception of different bodies. Therefore, gay men of color face a double bind when they develop their bodies in accordance with their ethnic identity. In addition, to negotiate their agency in the production of bodies while they also negotiate their ethnic identity, ethnic bodies are read in particular ways that reproduce normative judgments about the body. These judgements involve having a body that does not meet the cultural ideal of masculinity of being muscular. This is just one way by which ethnic backgrounds are at odds with the sexual communities. When discussing how his body does not fit the Castro mold, Rodrigo mentioned that he is outside the gay community when he is called “a bear.”

Rodrigo was categorized as a bear because of his physical appearance. As a result, physically, he does not fit the stereotypical image of someone that is successful in the Castro social arena and, as a result, cannot leverage any erotic capital in this specific arena. However, it is important to note that the norms that govern the kinds of food that Rodrigo put into his body also differ from the norms sanctioned by the Castro community. Thus, while Rodrigo posits a perception of his body from the Castro standpoint, his cultural practices were also at odds with the goals of the dominant culture. “Eating more” would lend itself to a thicker body type. Similar to Green’s (2008) findings, this body type cannot be leveraged as cultural capital in this particular field. There was then a separation between the embodiment of the Castro subculture and how Rodrigo represented his body. As a result, Rodrigo must navigate the bind between the demands of his ethnic community and those of his sexual community.

This negotiation manifests itself institutionally. Men of color not only are separated from mainstream gay institutions, but they must also navigate racialized bodily demands in order to embody this separation. For example, gay bars are structured so that ethnic nights implicitly separate racial ethnic minorities from their White counterparts. Rodrigo mentions how different club nights cater to different ethnic minorities through ethnic-specific nights. For example, Rodrigo mentioned, “your Asian clubs, where you’ll run into mostly Asians and then you’ll have your um, other clubs that would host a Latin night.” One way in which bars highlight different ethnic groups was by playing music that would cater to specific communities. For example, “the type of music one likes, they’ll be more into the urban type of music then you’ll probably end up at Magnum on Thursdays…” He also gives the example of “Magnum,” one bar’s theme night that served a predominantly Black clientele. Green's (2008) respondents highlight this as they discuss how these theme nights create a space where Black skin is leveraged as erotic capital.

Hypersexuality, Muscularity, and Leaning Out

Ethnic theme nights embodied a particular cultural field that caters to the needs of their specific clientele. Implicitly, this creates a distinction between White and ethnic nights. As a result, minorities constructed their bodies within racially-charged stereotypes in order to fit the theme of the bar. Thus, the respondents reported how they viewed leaning out and getting bigger in relation to stereotypes of Black men. For example, Nick discussed, as a Black go-go dancer, the sets of expectations thrust upon him. He explained,

> *"There are definite stereotypes of Black men that people have. If you [a Black man] don't [look like] them, people look at you weird, like a big butt or if you weren't showing enough in the front. It was as if you weren't Black. Almost like, they have this thing for Black guys . . .People have this preconceived notion that if you don't have it, they're like, 'What? You must be mixed.' Then, I was like 'No, I'm Black.' I don't have the hugest butt in the world . I don't have the biggest [genitalia]. It's not down to my knee. So it's very sad, but it's true. It's the world that we live in. When I started dancing, it was hard. It's like a wakeup call. People are like, 'is that all you have,' . . .but I am happy with it. I was gogo dancing early on when I was 21/22, and I thought I was big, and so I kind of went almost anorexic, where I didn't eat a lot. I workout heavy and I went back to the gut who said I couldn't work for him until I look good. I said 'look at me now' and he goes 'finally." I thought I was ok, but it's not healthy, but people have these images to let you know what you are supposed to look like." (32, Black, Mission Gym).*

Similar to Green's (2008) respondents, Nick discussed how men of color are stereotyped. He noted that Asian, Latino, and Black men are stereotyped in the gay community and specifically mentions that if Black men do not have a "big butt" or "weren't showing enough in the front," they essentially violate racialized expectations of how the broader gay community perceives their bodies (Icard, 1986). These expectations are rooted in stereotypes that have hypersexualized Black male bodies and larger stereotypes of Black sexuality (Icard, 1986, hooks 1992, West 1993, Best, 1993, Mercer,1994). Black men and women have always been stereotyped as being hypersexual (hooks, 2006; Icard, 1986). One such stereotype, the "buck," dates back to slavery. The buck was characterized as a hypersexual Black man. Part of the buck's hypersexuality would be characterized not only by a desire to rape White women, but also having exaggerated forms of genitalia (hooks, 2006). Thus, in this particular context, Nick notes that this stereotype has an iteration in the gay community—in this case, having a "big butt" or large penis. Thus, Nick was aware of the expectations, and he noted that when he did not fit this stereotype, he was excluded from working as a go-go dancer until he embodied the appropriate features. These stereotypes, then, are codified institutionally. Another go-go dancer, John, elaborated on the success of his body when it matched the "thicker" ideal of the stereotype:

> *"There are times, when I was thicker, not leaned out, when I had the bigger butt and everything else looks good in and people were just throwing money at me. When I got skinny, they're kind of like 'oh here's a dollar.' There is no way of predicting what people are expecting. I got out of it [gogoing] because it was just too demanding on my body that people weren't happy with. I was like 'it's my body and I'm happy with it. If you're not, then tough . . . One of my best friends is an Asian guy, and he has a huge butt, and people go 'he must be half this. He must be half that.' It's like he can't just be an Asian man with a bug butt. People are just stuck within the ways of thinking. It's the*

> *world we live in." (37, Black, Mission Gym).*

John noted that, before he "leaned out," his body received praise because he matched the stereotype for a Black man. In fact, John noticed people were paying him more because he was physically "thicker." However, when he was leaned out, people did not give him the same reinforcement. Based on Monaghan's (1996) notion of gym vernacular, the respondents interpret their bodies and images of masculinity through the language they acquire at the gym. However, this language is contextualized within racialized discourses of masculinity about how Black men must adjust their presentation of themselves in order to navigate and survive White-dominated sexual fields (Green, 2008; Best, 2003; Jackson, 2001). John even described how others are read, especially Asian men. If they do not fit the stereotype of having smaller bodies (Choi et al. 2011; Han 2007; Fung, 2005), Asian men are presumed as "mixed." In addition, John noted that this process of fitting in is "demanding on my [his] body." In other words, as these men are exoticized, they are not only subordinated in the gay community, but they also pay a physical and psychological price. John discussed the psychological implications of having to lean out. He mentions how,

> *'We all workout in the gogo world, and we try to be fit. Sometimes, though, we over do it It's demanding. If you don't have what they're going for, they're going to go to someone else. You're constantly getting new stuff. You are constantly on the go. You're constantly trying to find new tricks to do because if there is someone better than you, they're going to be like, 'next!' It's very demanding, emotional, physically and psychologically and it does some damage. We are constantly comparing ourselves." (37, Black, Mission Gym).*

Nick then described how dancers alter their physique in order to match a standard of masculinity:

> *"When I'm dancing with someone, and they're getting tipped, the first thing in my head*

> *is 'what is wrong with my body? I don't have that. My body is not as hard as that. My legs aren't in bad shape. My chest is not big.' We constantly compare ourselves to the next person, especially when we think we have an off night. 'Was it because that I ate that thing last night?' There are so many superstitions out there are people don't eat before going on stage because they are going to get a gut. They'll clean out before had because that'll keep them thin and flat." (37, Black, Mission Gym).*

Nick described the demands that go-go dancing imposes on practitioners. Dancers not only learn new repertoire; they also learn to compete with one another. Likewise, as a Black go-go dancer, there were also physical demands of trying to meet the stereotype. He mentioned the has to be conscious about the size of his legs and having to make sure his body is "hard enough" to compete with his coworkers. Again, by emphasizing his "legs," Nick consciously recognized the stereotype of Black men within the gay community and competes with others in order to match that stereotype. He even mentioned how he adjusted his eating practices to suit the occupation. In the gay community, men of color not only navigate stereotypes but must reconcile the creation of their bodies with(in) the purview of racialized stereotypes.

Toward the end of his discussion, Nick mentioned that if one does not conform to the stereotypes, one is labeled "not tough." In addition to reinterpreting the notion of leaned out (Monaghan, 1995), they are also reinterpreting the notion of being "hard" (Alexzander, 2004) and "tough." The language of "being tough" is also centered around masculinity.

Black Masculinity, Being Tough, and Getting Bigger

Learning out was part of how men of color learned to navigate gay cultural fields. However, getting bigger was a body project for others as well. Black respondents reported that getting "bigger" was centered around constructions of racialized masculinities. Markus elaborated,

> *"I think the idealized masculinity for a Black man, in particular, is to be very brutish, strong, very assertive and dominant. When it comes to working out, building muscle and stuff becomes a necessity to hold [one's self] to that image of masculinity. To physically look muscular adds a level of attraction that people are able to over feminine qualities. A major part is that typical images applies to Black men's bodies when it comes to working out and stuff. It gets your foot in the door when it comes to relational partners" (34, Black, Sunset Gym).*

Markus also described these stereotypical images of Black masculinity,

> *"Being very muscular and strong is like very over powering and dominating and stuff, but you know, if you're able to at least physically look that way even if your personality or mannerisms aren't like that, it still gives you some credit. It's not universal or across the board but it's really permanent." (34, Black, Sunset Gym).*

Similar to Nick's discussion of being sanctioned for not being "tough," Markus described how Black men's bodies are situated in the context of a particular construction of a "dominant" masculinity. He noted that Black men are supposed to seem "strong," "dominant," and "assertive." These traits helped "overlook" one's gender performance. Markus associated these qualities with a muscular body type; for him, these are "attractive" and socially desirable qualities. However, just as Markus noted that the muscular body type gets his "foot in the door," he also notes that his skin color and muscularity become at odds with one another. Markus explaind,

> *"Nor Cal, particularly, is very anti-black. There is a system of racism set upon not favoring or degrading black bodies. So you're kind of at a disadvantage on social*

> *[media] apps. However, being muscular, there are a lot of guys that will make it through [the anti-Blackness]. Even though they don't like Black people, but if you have muscle, they would find you attractive. Some people even list on their profiles, 'only into Whites or Latinos.' Then I would say, 'why are you hitting me up?' They would say 'oh you look pretty good.' So it's clearly based off of something other than your face." (34, Black, Sunset Gym).*

Markus acknowledged that he lived in a context of "anti-Blackness." As he described the racism he endures on social media, he mentions that his body type gets him social validation. While the stereotype of Black men created certain expectations of body type, Black men must also rely on their bodies in order to market themselves to the broader community. This then complicates the bind that men of color face when having to navigate the development of their bodies. Men of color not only have to meet stereotypes about their bodies but also must navigate their skin color. This then created a complex understanding of their body in relation to their racial identity. Just like the other Black respondents, Markus discussed how he feels pressured to fit a particular body type:

> *"I want to try to look like the people at the club at Castro. I sense the idea of being muscular was getting the most attention. You want to replicate sometimes kind of like the Adonis complex things. That's what you want to replicate: the bigger you get, the better. I don't try to get monstrous but it makes you more appealing." (34, Black, Sunset Gym).*

Like the other Black respondents, Markus acknowledges that he engages in behaviors to meet the stereotypical image of Black men, but again, the community's standards of masculinity (as seen in the reference to the Adonis complex) provides parameters through which Markus survives. Reich (2010) argued that people of color survive in White-dominated environments by using their bodies as a mechanism to attain some kind of social status. Similarly, Markus could work to attain a body in keeping with the particular standards of masculinity set forth by his community. He also used "bigness" to refer to being muscular because it conforms to Western and White standards of masculinity. This is similar to Monaghan's (1995) conception of bigness. Becoming big, or muscular, allows Markus to conform to dominant beauty ideals. He explained how individuals overlook his race because of his racial identity:

> *"I think that it does [provide a situational release from anti-Blackness]. We live in an anti-Black world and there is gratuitous violence that occurs to Black people regardless if it is physical or mental or emotional. When there are certain temporal events that allow it to be overlooked, that conflict is suspended for a little bit. You get that temporary release regardless of how temporary that release maybe." (34, Black, Sunset Gym).*

Markus further explained,

> *"You get guys that say, 'I'm only attracted to Latino guys, but you know, you're really attractive.' You know, that type of tone, even putting in there is like they're not really attracted to Black people except for this occasion or this event. That's really* ignorant *and fucked up in the sense, but that's just one. That's one way that you're temporarily kind of leave from Blackness, but it's not a lot of occasion where it happens." (34, Black, Sunset Gym).*

Markus attempted to separate his body from his Blackness using his muscularity. To have a muscular body in the gay community, one must subscribe to dominant ideas of muscularity. However, it also meant subscribing to values established by the dominant White culture. Markus noted that, since he was able to meet certain definitions of masculinity, he is able to temporarily leave the stigma of his skin color. Thus, there is a separation between his skin color and his body. The muscular body is placed within the purview of Whiteness. To “big” becomes a form of erotic capital. This stands in sharp contrast to Green’s (2008) work in which he assumes skin color is the only means through which capital is deployed. Rather, it is the interpreted notion of “bigness” that provides access to sexual partners.

CONCLUSION

There are three main bodies of literature: intersectionality and sport, sexual fields, and body building vernacular. The data presented extends these three bodies of literature. In terms of intersectionality and sport, the literature focuses on inequalities within sports themselves. Researchers (Berry & Smith, 2000; Birrell, 1989; Dworkin & Wachs, 1998; Klien, 1995; Markovitz, 2006; McDonald, 1996) argue that race/ethnicity partially determine access to sport, but, more importantly, they also perpetuate racial stereotypes in placing people of color within certain positions in sports. However, they do not focus on how men of color begin to embody these positions, nor do they focus on the means (capital) through which these men embody these practices. The current data addresses this gap and focuses on how men of color deploy cultural capital in order to situate themselves within masculinity and its representations.

In terms of the data on cultural capital, from the erotic capital perspective, Green (2008) posits that individuals deploy race as erotic capital within sexual institutions. However, it is not simply that bodies are read and racialized within these spaces; the individuals themselves negotiate this reading differently depending on the sexual field itself. For example, the gay Asian men within the sexual field of the bear community understand that their racial identity is not necessarily valued within that community’s sexual field. Thus, they then compensate by focusing on their size and on recreating sexual institutions that befit their image. In contrast, in more mainstream sexual fields, sexual identities are somehow positioned against racial/ethnic identities. These mainstream gay sexual fields provide definitions of masculinity based on White-dominated values and practices. As a result, when racial minorities enter these sexual fields, they do so through stereotypes and separated institutions. Thus, gay men of color negotiate gay sexual fields differently depending on the kind of sexual field. This then affects how they view masculinity and then interpret gym vernacular to describe their bodies.

Further, gym vernacular theorists, such as Monaghan (1995) and Atkinson (2007), posit that gym vernacular is not just language used to describe a hegemonic form of masculinity. In contrast, in the bear sexual field, masculinity is dependent upon body size and Whiteness. However, these particular respondents did not have full access to this image of masculinity because they are not White. As a result, they then chose to focus on their size. For these men, being heavy was paramount. This focus then forced them out of conventional male body projects and interpreted “leaning out” as a negative behavior. The respondents even discussed how other members in the bear community did not “find them attractive” when they were “smaller.” However, in more mainstream sexual fields, the respondents also faced a similar pressure to over-conform to the dominant values of the sexual field itself. In this particular field, the respondents conformed to racial stereotypes about their bodies. This then affected what the respondents valued in terms of their bodily language and practices. In the mainstream gay community, when a Black man is physically big, he plays to a sexual stereotype; conversely, if he does not follow the stereotype, he cannot capitalize on his body. Thus, this language not only conveys particular meanings within the realm of the gym, its use had varied meanings between different sexual fields. This then illuminates how words/practices that are meant to recreate masculinity within a particular space can have multiple meanings outside of the gym. Additionally, the meanings of these words lend themselves to specific interpretations within specific contexts. The interpretations themselves are forms of cultural capital used to produce body types in different sexual fields.

There were several limitations with this particular theme:

First, people of color exist in all cultural fields within the gay community. At present, the current data presents Asian-Americans as mainly in the bear community, while Black and Latino inhabit the mainstream gay community. While individuals of different ethnicities exist in all subcultures, the representation of these particular ethnic groups also showcases emerging processes as the related to the question. For future research, one could study how each particular racial/ethnic group builds their bodies in these particular subcultures and could include other sub-cultures not listed (alternative, leather, etc.).

Race/ethnicity is a social construction. The study at hand assumes that individuals self-identify in one racial category over another. However, this data does not take into account skin color or individuals that occupy multiple ethnic groups. Green (2008) suggests that men of color with different skin color access erotic capital differently. Thus, for future research, it would be relevant to see if constructions of skin color affect how men deploy cultural capital.

Further, the data at hand focuses on representation of gender and masculinity and not on concrete practices. That was because this portion of the project intended to demonstrate the logic of discourse and other forms of cultural capital as they relate to constructions of masculinity. This was intended to show how the logic governing masculinity varies within an individual cultural field. However, for future research, one could take a comparative approach that examines how people of color compare to their White counterparts in terms of exercises and non-linguistic forms of cultural capital. Later research can also focus on other kinds of practices, such as exercises and supplements, that create varied racial masculinities.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The main question the dissertation sought to answer was: “How do fitness practices (as cultural capital) reproduce masculinity, the social structure, and the cultural field?”

To answer this question, the dissertation borrowed Pierre’s Bourdieu’s framework on cultural capital. Bourdieu’s approach, applied to this field, suggests that individual, gendered subjects interpolate gender at gyms. Their individual perspectives (habitus) are shaped by cultural capital (cultural resources and practices) within a cultural field (a cultural institution). This then reproduces social inequality. Brown (1996) suggests that this process works with gender and sports. Later scholars argue that cultural capital takes the form of fitness practices, such as working out, eating, and other practices that shape fitness. Wacquant (2009), in his study of a boxing gym, directly applied this framework to suggest that practices naturalize and create gendered bodies. Andreasson & Johansson (2016) examined cultural capital in gym spaces directly, pointing specifically to how gendered bodies are naturalized as men deploy cultural capital (Andreasson, 2016).

However, these perspectives have had their limitations. According to Bourdieu, bodies are not simply naturalized; rather, this process occurs over a lengthy period of time that usually starts in youth. Additionally, cultural capital is supposed to be transferable across different cultural contexts. Finally, cultural capital is also supposed to reproduce social status and other inequalities. From these limitations, I asked the question, “how does cultural capital reproduce masculinity, fitness, and social inequality?” a question asked in respect to the three limitations expressed in the literature: time, transferability of cultural capital, and cultural capital’s capability in social status reproduction. I argued that by addressing these limitations, this would expand the explanatory power of cultural capital in relation to fitness, terming it “fitness capital.”

To answer these questions, I conducted a qualitative study, interviewing 35 men at two different gyms. The study initially began as an exploratory comparison between gyms but then began to focus on the question of process and status. After the data was collected, analyzed, and coded, I then created the write-up of results. I will describe the limitations in more detail in a subsequent section.

Findings

The findings addressed the major limitations in cultural capital literature as applied to fitness, sport, and especially the gym.

In Chapter Three, I addressed the following sub questions:

- When men deploy cultural capital, to what extent does cultural capital affect constructions of “natural” masculinities?
- To what extent is cultural capital transferrable across different cultural fields?
- To what extent do- fitness practices, as cultural capital, reproduce social inequality?

In essence, current literature focuses on two main threads: the social construction of gender as it applies to masculinity and sport, and the application of cultural capital to gender and sport. When examining how masculinity was applied to sport, I initially contrasted essentialist and constructivist literature on gender and sport. I examined how socialization, practices, representation and various institutions affect how masculinity is constructed Coakley, 1998; Sabo & Panepinto, 1990; Crosset, 1990; Messner & Sabo, 1994; Lorber, 1994 Crosset, 2000; West & Zimmerman, 1989; Messner, 1997). I also explored the effects of how these constructions contribute to deleterious behaviors (Pringle & Markula 2005).

This literature has two main limitations. The first main limitation is that the literature focuses on dominant constructions of masculinity rather than marginalized and subordinated forms of masculinity. Furthermore, when cultural capital is deployed as a theoretical lens, the literature often negates the role of the intersection of race, class, sexuality, and other social positions as they intersect with masculinity. This literature also assumes a singular/monolithic understanding of the cultural field. In other words, current literature assumes that individuals deploy cultural capital within a singular cultural field. In current literature, individual positions within said cultural field does not vary within the cultural field, nor does it cut across cultural fields.

In this chapter, the data demonstrated that men acquire capital early on in their developmental process. Usually, they acquire this form of cultural capital from a male relative. However, as they acquire this form of cultural capital, they reproduce social status as well as masculinity. Also, when individuals work out with others, they work out differently based on their access to individuals with gym-specific knowledge (e.g. a trainer). Men also acquire cultural capital from educational institutions. For men, the introduction of sport provides an early cultural field in which to navigate masculinity.

Furthermore, cultural fields are usually seen as monolithic spaces with blanket notions of masculinity. Sometimes there is nuance in the demands of masculinity (and masculine bodies) within a cultural field. Other times, the doxa (or guidelines) in one cultural field might overlap or contradict other doxa in other fields. Thus, cultural capital and other forms of masculine embodiment vary within and between cultural fields.

These findings address the gaps in the literature in the following ways: the findings provide an insight into how men acquire, and deploy, cultural capital. It is not simply that the respondents frequent a gym and develop a naturalized masculinity. However, one’s social position affects how they initially began to work out and establish fitness practices. For example, some respondents described how their blue-collar relatives taught them how to work out. Often, the respondents did so to get stronger and bulkier without regard for their health. However, their higher status peers learned to work out with a specialized, workout vocabulary and a greater emphasis on safety. There were also findings that suggested that there might be a probable relationship between social status, having a personal trainer, and the types of peers one has the gym.

Furthermore, the findings addressed the limitation of monolithic cultural fields. That is, the literature argues that men deploy cultural capital within a cultural field. This cultural field, according to researchers, such as Wacquant (1995), Monaghan (1995), and Andreasson & Johansson (2014), has one dominant set of cultural guidelines. However, the current findings demonstrate that there can be variations within a cultural field that call for different bodily demands. Furthermore, cultural capital can sometimes be transposed across cultural fields.

There are two main additions to the literature. The first main addition to the literature is that cultural capital intersects with social position. In other words, race, class, sexuality and other statuses overlap with how men acquire, and deploy cultural capital. This contrasts to previous researchers, such as Wacquant (1995), who argue that individuals deploy masculinity and cultural capital within a homogenous context. This context often excludes various aspects of the social structure, such as race, class, sexuality, etc. Another main addition to the literature is that cultural fields offer multiple means through which individuals construct and reproduce their bodies. They occupy multiple positions within a cultural field, and at times, deploy similar cultural capital sets within a cultural field.

In essence, Chapter Three demonstrated that men deploy cultural capital and reproduce various patterns of inequality. Furthermore, the cultural fields in which these respondents inhabit are nuanced. Chapters Four and Five elaborate on these nuances.

Chapter Four continued to elaborate on the relationship between individual, cultural capital (as fitness practices), and cultural field. To further address this relationship, chapter four focused on the following questions:

- To what extent is cultural capital transferrable across different cultural fields?
- To what extent do- fitness practices, as cultural capital, reproduce social inequality?

Given that occupations are a cultural field that reproduce inequality, I focused on occupations as a stratifying mechanism. Furthermore, this section focused on body capital, an application of cultural capital, where actors deploy cultural capital within a field to create their bodies.

Theoretical literature on body capital focuses on how individuals leverage cultural capital within a cultural field. As they leverage this capital, they develop practices that transform their bodies. These bodies are then deployed as cultural capital within a given field. When examining the literature on cultural capital and occupation, researchers find how cultural capital is leveraged in order to access particular occupations and occupational rewards. This capital can be embodied and intertwine with gender. However, the literature has two main limitations. The first limitations is that body capital focuses on the symbolic value of the body within a particular cultural field, and not alongside other forms of social status, such as class, occupation., or race. Similarly, while occupational literature focuses on outcome as opposed to the processes that constitute gendered embodiment.

One way that cultural fields reproduced social status and masculinity was through cultural capital. From this perspective, the cultural field dominated the cultural guidelines of masculinity and, as a result, men then deployed cultural capital to access this form of masculinity. To understand this process, I examined the overlap of occupations, gender, and cultural capital. I found that men deployed cultural capital in three main types of occupations: labor-intensive occupations, aesthetic-oriented occupations, and white-collar occupations.

Men with labor-intensive occupations used fitness as a means to better perform their work. This clearly replicated patterns of working-class masculinity. The respondents described how parts of their bodies had a functional use at their occupation. In order to develop these body parts, they deployed fitness practices in order to maximize the use of their bodies. However, men with aesthetic-oriented jobs used the image of their bodies to get paid. These respondents described how they engaged in fitness practices in order to embody a “look.” Sometimes, these practices were deleterious to individual health. Often however, given that these men occupied adjacent cultural fields, these practices transferred over from one cultural field to another cultural field. Finally, men with white-collar jobs tended to be upper-middle class and focused on applying fitness practices toward the goal of health. In all of these situations, men tended to apply cultural capital within the purview of their occupations. From their interviews, it was clear that men policed one another or themselves for embodying masculinities outside their given cultural field.

The data addressed the gaps in the literature in the following ways. There were three main ways that respondents organized fitness practices around their occupations: through manual labor, matching cultural representations, and through white-collar bodily management. This contrasts to literature on body capital because body capital neglects the notion that bodies overlap within different aspects of the social structure, namely occupation. Likewise, body capital assumes that agents deploy cultural capital within one cultural field, whereas, the data presented demonstrates that some respondents deploy cultural capital across multiple fields, especially with those that performed aesthetic labor. Finally, the data presented provides an insight into how masculinity is not only constructed different across social strata, but also, the provides an insight into how practices are leveraged differently within occupational fields.

These findings then add nuances about how cultural capital is leveraged within a cultural field. As individuals deploy cultural capital, they reproduce other forms of social stratification. This contrasts to other literature that focuses on how cultural capital is deployed for one cultural field and has no meaning outside that field.

In the next chapter, I examined how the doxa, or cultural guidelines within a cultural field, provides conflicting demands per individuals. As a result, cultural capital cannot always be leveraged in a particular field.

In Chapter Five, I examine how the cultural fields provide cultural guidelines that intersect with hegemonic notions of masculinity. Thus, I ask the following questions:

- To what extent do- fitness practices, as cultural capital, reproduce social inequality?
- How do definitions of masculinity vary among different social groups? How does that affect how they deploy language as cultural capital?

In order to examine these questions, I examine how the intersection of race and sexuality affects how men leveraged cultural capital within a given cultural field. I particular, I focus on how Whiteness dominates cultural fields relating to sexuality. I examine how cultural capital, such as language and food, enables actors to access these cultural fields.

Current literature examines how racism permeates various cultural fields relating to sexuality (sexual fields). Literature demonstrates how, agents deploy skin color as cultural capital (erotic capital), gym vernacular, and food practices, as a means of negotiating these cultural fields (sexual fields).

The current literature makes several assumptions about masculinities, sexualities, and race within cultural fields. Even though the literature highlights people of color's experiences within white-dominated cultural fields, the literature does not necessarily describe how people of color navigate their bodies in spaces that require less hegemonic notions masculine bodies (muscular bodies). Furthermore, the literature does not describe how various disciplinary practices are affected by dominant, racialized doxa within a cultural field. Furthermore, the literature does not take into account linguistic and material practices that affect how racial minorities negotiate subcultural spaces. These gaps were addressed by the data.

The data finds that racialized minorities were unable to leverage their bodies within white-dominated, non-heterosexual cultural fields. In one field (the bear community) that demanded physically larger bodies., the respondents describe how they internalized the dominant bodily ideals of their cultural field. This was because they could not leverage their race as cultural capital. As a result, they deployed cultural capital (in the form of language) in order to describe how they interpolated their bodies, racial identities, and the dominant doxa of the subculture. In another branch of data, the respondents describe how the ethos of muscularity dominates the LGBT community. However, they argue that this dominant ethos is racialized for White embodiments. Furthermore, when racial minorities exist in this cultural field, they "play to" racist stereotypes to navigate a White dominated cultural field

This data addressed gaps in the literature. By demonstrating how men of color navigated White-dominated cultural fields, the data addresses how men of color internalized the logic of the dominant doxa. The respondents highlighted the role of their bodies as they negotiated their bodies with their ethnic background. This then speaks to literature on erotic capital because some respondents de-identify with their ethnic background. The data also provides a description of how men perceive their workout practices in relation to their racialized and sexualized identities.

Previous literature did not address the gaps between having a racial/sexual identity, and the perceived practices that follow suit.

Sociological Significance

The existing literature describes how cultural capital naturalizes masculinity but is unclear as to how men acquired cultural capital and how cultural capital interacted with the cultural field. This dissertation makes three contributions to this question. First, the dissertation demonstrates that acquiring cultural capital begins at an early age, both through family members and peer groups and through early educational institutions. In both cases, men acquire cultural capital in an environment that reproduces social inequality. Additionally, this dissertation demonstrates how cultural fields vary in their expectations. This dissertation demonstrates that, at times, the cultural field is clear in setting guidelines of masculinity. These guidelines exist to reproduce social status. In contrast, the dissertation also finds that the cultural field might offer competing sets of expectations and guidelines. In these sets of expectations, marginalized individuals are forced to deploy cultural capital in ways that conform to the cultural field. They do so by ignoring their identities or having to play to their identities.

Significance of Fitness Capital

The dissertation then introduces the notion that fitness practices do not simply reproduce gender, but they also reproduce social status. This is where I develop my notion of fitness capital. Fitness capital is a form of cultural capital. This form of cultural capital agrees with previous scholarship that cultural capital: 1) is embodied, 2) reproduces masculinity/gender, and 3) naturalizes gender. However, the concept of fitness capital breaks with existing scholarship with the notion that cultural capital is an ongoing process that begins through early interaction with family and social institutions. Fitness capital also accounts for the nuances that cultural fields produce: not only varying definitions of masculinity between cultural fields, but also the varying definitions of masculinity that also exist within a cultural field.

Thus, as fitness capital reproduces masculinity, it also reproduces social status, such as occupational status, race, and sexuality. Fitness capital, then, addresses some of the deficiencies existing in current literature.

Contributions to the Sociological Discipline

Fitness capital adds to contemporary gender scholarship and sociological theory. As the guiding question of the study is "how do men develop their habitus and deploy cultural capital within the context of fitness and the social structure (patterns in class, race, and sexuality)?" This dissertation makes contributions in the fields of sociology of gender and sport, cultural capital/gender/body capital, health, and social theory. In terms of the literature of gender and sport, current literature focuses on the representational aspects of gender as well as socialization practices. However, this dissertation demonstrates how gender is naturalized in the context of fitness practices. While Messner (1990) notes that masculinity is both socialized and naturalized through sport, this naturalization process demonstrates how men learn how to differentiate "good fitness" from "bad fitness" by learning the nuances of technique. As this process occurs, it happens through early interaction with family members and educational institutions. Furthermore, the social position of family members contributes to how this technique is acquired and deployed.

Wacquant (1995) notes that masculinity and its practices are naturalized through repetitive gym work. Likewise, according to Bridges (2009), masculinity is deployed as a resource within a given cultural field. However, the data presented demonstrates how various cultural fields provide differing guidelines of "masculinity" per different occupations. For example, the fact that certain forms of gender are labor-intensive forces men to develop particular fitness practices within those specific cultural fields. However, men that work out in order to match a commodified image deploy a different capital set compared to their labor-intensive counterparts.

Similarly, men that occupy white-collar positions subscribe to fitness practices to create a version of masculinity that runs counter to hegemonic ideals. While gender is deployed within a particular cultural field, gender is deployed differently depending on the man's occupational status. Finally, cultural fields are inherently defined as spaces that value particular statuses, including racialized statuses, over others. The current literature demonstrates that men monolithically create their bodies in accordance with hegemonic masculinity and deploy language/cultural capital within cultural fields. In reality, however, this is not the case because success within cultural fields requires men to occupy certain status positions. When men exist in marginalized positions, they are forced to reinterpret these dominant guidelines and deploy language that allows them to navigate these fields. Thus, while cultural fields make assumptions about the success of individuals, given a particular capital set, not everyone is able to conform to these assumptions.

Ultimately, these main contributions lend themselves to an expanded understanding of how the cultural field functions in relation to human agency. When individuals interact, they do so in a cultural field. Sometimes, the cultural field reproduces doxa, or guidelines, of masculinity. This dissertation demonstrates that these guidelines intersect and reproduce masculinity when these masculinities overlap with cultural fields. Sometimes, when masculinities are produced within a given cultural field, they exist to reproduce "field-type masculinities." "Field-type" masculinities reproduce a kind of masculinity that is relevant to that specific cultural field as it relates to a social position. In Chapter 3, the data suggest that the demands of the cultural field impose particular guidelines of expectations on its actors. Often, as Chapter 3 demonstrates, these guidelines exist within a cultural field. Chapter 4 demonstrates how occupation shapes these guidelines and creates brands of masculinity specific to the cultural field. However, as noted in Chapter 5, there can be variation within masculinities in a cultural field, or "field-type masculinities." Given the overlap in race and sexuality, positional differences affect how masculinity is constructed within a cultural field. Thus, fitness capital allows one to think within the concept of these field type masculinities.

In terms of the broader sociological project, this then means that cultural fields provide individual guidelines in terms of human agency. As individuals negotiate the cultural field, they reproduce aspects of the social structure. Cultural fields do not monolithically reproduce status, however; social-status variation exists within cultural fields. This then overlaps with other forms of social inequality. Gender, especially masculinity, is used as the means of reproducing these forms of inequality within the cultural field. Thus, agency is not just guided by the "options" of a specific field but rather by the positions within the cultural field itself. This then forces scholars to reexamine their understandings of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005). Masculinity is relational not just between differing social statuses but also within specific cultural fields. Thus, future sociological scholarship can focus on how men form specific statuses within (or between) cultural fields and, if this is the case, how the interplay of individuals shapes how these statuses are created in contrast to one another.

Furthermore, as an analytic perspective, fitness capital can possibly create new directions for understanding social stratification, labor, and bodies. For example, in chapter four, fitness capital is being deployed when agents deploy cultural capital across multiple occupations. In addition, chapter five demonstrates how individuals deploy cultural capital within variations of the same cultural field. Further research on this topic can examine the differing degrees to which fitness capital is deployed within differing statuses. For example, when one deploys fitness capital in a labor-oriented job, one can examine the extent to which this form of cultural capital creates a “valuation” system between different occupations. Furthermore, it is also possible to study the long-term effects of how cultural capital traverses (or not) different cultural fields.

Limitations

As a theoretical limitation, one of the guiding frames of the paper was intersectionality. As mentioned in Chapter 2, it was difficult to operationalize intersectionality. This was because the dissertation was an exploratory study on how cultural fields operated in the context of fitness, masculinity, and other factors. To simply the terrain of this exploration, the dissertation highlighted the uniqueness of experience as it related to particular groups and communities. However, future research can collect additional data on this research.

Furthermore, the study would have been stronger if I had sampled from gyms with greater economic disparities. On this vein, one such limitation was that a respondent might live in a particular neighborhood but might not frequent a gym in that neighborhood. For example, a respondent could potentially live in a middle-class neighborhood, but because of his occupation (for example, a principal of a school in a low-income neighborhood), he may not logistically be able to visit a “middle-class gym” because of the demands of his commute. He may instead, out of convenience, select a gym closer to the lower-income neighborhood in which he works. To remedy this sort of limitation, the purposive sampling mechanism of grounded theory ensures that saturation of various kinds of experiences could be represented in the study.

Additionally, gyms selected for the project do not represent neighborhoods with stark income differences. Instead, they represent populations that have starkly different educational, occupational, and racial/ethnic backgrounds. This selection was made due to the logistical limitations in accessing a gym that is socioeconomically disadvantaged or advantaged relative to San Francisco's economic background. The purposive sampling mechanism of grounded theory remedied this problem. This is because purposive sampling allowed reaching beyond the sample frame in order to saturate particular experiences that were relevant to developing thematic categories. However, in future research, one could address this issue by expanding the sampling frame elsewhere inside or outside of California.

On this note, the study assumed that the field site mirrors the demographics of the population. On the contrary, respondents did not mirror the demographics of their neighborhoods because of other status and locational factors. For example, a respondent could be a fitness trainer making roughly $50,000 a year but living in an expensive area because he had roommates. Additionally, one respondent could be a member of a gym in San Francisco but live in a neighboring location possibly twenty miles away, simply because the train system allowed for that commute. This because neoliberalism has disrupted patterns of social class. These previous patterns of social class assume that individuals live in areas with matching patterns of income, education, prestige, and other status related positions. However, neoliberalism has contributed to overall gentrification of cities, such as San Francisco, and have disrupted consistent patterns of stratification.

Likewise, another critique of this study is that the field sites do not reflect a true working-class neighborhood, especially given San Francisco's high median income. However, as just mentioned, individuals did not monolithically represent the demographic population. To address this, snowball sampling offsets the notion that the gyms themselves would have to completely reflect the surrounding population. For example, if a few respondents were found that were considered “working-class,” they would know others with their sample characteristics. Finally, the study uses phrases like “lower-status” rather than “working-class” because, ultimately, working class is a vague term. In other words, when one is working class, the question arises, “which socioeconomic indicators accurately describe the “working class?” In this study, individuals with Masters and doctorate degrees had lower income levels but jobs that are characteristic of upper (middle) class positions. In future research, one could examine a field site completely removed from a large city and possibly reflect a more monolithic “working-class” community with lower socioeconomic conditions, such as having low-skilled jobs, lower education levels, and lower income levels.

In addition, the data presented examines how men perceive their statuses and their practices, as opposed to merely providing a record of how men engage in fitness practices. In future research, I would couple interview techniques with an ethnography to offset this limitation. Simultaneously however, in depth interview data did provide me with the ability to nuance the responses to provide variation within patterns.

Also, the project’s data might have been subject to issues of social desirability bias (Fisher, 1993). This bias could be that the respondents might have responses that are predicated upon socially acceptable responses. This might have encouraged the respondents to highlight more “masculine” aspects of their behavior because of social norms that suggest men behave in certain ways. This note is important since they described their experience to me, a cisgendered man, which might encourage them to “do gender” and reinforce hegemonic notions of masculinity. Conversely, they might also have downplayed their discussions of certain behaviors. For example, some might see aggressive behavior as a negative masculine behavior, so a respondent may have elected to downplay this in the interview.

The data collection method represented a cross-sectional snapshot in time. I did not focus on the long-term effects of attaining certain bodies or cultural capital. A future study would take this project further by collecting data on variations in cultural capital over multiple time frames to see the long-term effects with similar populations.

Furthermore, Lofland & Lofland (2006) discuss the problem of being a cultural “insider” or “outsider.” They discuss that there are benefits and costs associated with having prior knowledge of the research (being an insider). This kind of prior knowledge not only comes from learning about the community of study ahead of the study but also from an individual researcher’s social position or race, class, gender, etc. For example, an insider might have had easier access to respondents. Additionally, the insider might have had knowledge about the field ahead of time, so they would know which themes are salient in both literature and data collection. Additionally, as a cultural insider, a researcher might have had better access to norms and might have an implicit knowledge of their respondents’ cultural understandings. Given this implicit knowledge, an insider might also have a stronger ability to build rapport with the respondents.

These benefits come at a cost, though. If a researcher is a cultural insider, an insider might have been unable to get multiple perspectives on the literature and on data collection. This in turn might bias data collection and analysis. An “outsider” researcher could potentially collect a greater spectrum of perspectives, which could, in turn, lead to a larger range of perspectives in the data itself. However, as a cultural outsider, the researcher might not have been privy to the norms of the researched community, which might lower rapport and potentially lead to misrepresentations about their community of study.

Methodologically, the problem of perceived behaviors versus observed behaviors could also affect the study. Especially pronounced in Erving Goffman's (1959) social theory, perceived meanings can potentially differ from action. This then highlights a limitation in data collection. The nature of the data in this current study is interview-based. This means that the respondents will provide a perception of their own behaviors but not the actual behaviors themselves. The decision to draw upon in-depth interviews was made in order to provide an opportunity for the actors to define their own contexts, explain their experiences, and describe how these experiences then lead to action. However, in future research, adding an ethnographic component could potentially help discuss situational factors that immediately affect the respondents' gym environment. Additionally, having the respondents log their practices in a journal could also add precision to both a theoretical and empirical explanation about these phenomena. However, this might be met by additional logistical problems: a lack of time, money, and entre. The gym managers refused to give approval for an ethnographic study because they perceived my presence inside the gyms as 'intrusive' to their business. This potentially could have been because of my race and sexual orientation as I was potentially seen as a cultural outsider. Thus, for future research, these options could be explored, especially with added temporal and economic resources.

Directions for Future Research

This study primarily examined how fitness capital were used and developed outside the gym. In future research, I would like to examine how inequality occurs within gym spaces themselves. This then could take the form of an ethnography following specific individuals as they navigate specific gyms. I would like to examine how they use, and apply meaning, to certain practices, such as changing weights and creating peer associations. Likewise, I would want to examine how these practices overlap with the broader social structure. Also, I would like to quantitatively examine the relationships between certain gyms, practices, and social positions. For example, in a multilevel analysis, I would want to “nest” specific fitness practices with particular gyms to see if those are related to certain status factors. Additionally, given the finding of how upper-status men focus on the self-maintenance of health, it would be interesting to explore how this is a status-based phenomena, especially in relation to biomedicalization and gendered frameworks. . Likewise, future directions in literature can examine men’s: involvement in team sports in the past which tend to reinforce hegemonic masculinity, involvement in individualized sports which tends to reinforce other things, inexperience in organized sport but had experience in fitness, and possibly having no experience in organized sport or fitness.

Future researchers could also examine how particular racialized groups, regardless of sexual orientation, navigate gym spaces and other cultural fields that demand muscularity. Likewise, fitness capital could be expanded to study women, trans people, and other gender-nonconforming individuals.

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Demographics Sheet

Participant #_______

We are compiling information about our participants for a group portrait of who is participating. Please answer the following questions.

Gym_______________________________

Age: ______________________________

Race/ethnicity:__________________________

Sexual Orientation ______________________

Height________ Weight (in lbs)________________

Occupation:______________________________

Highest Education Level:_____________________________

Please estimate your annual median income (check on box below):

_______Less than $15,000
_______$15,000 to $25,000
_______$25,001 to $35,000
_______$35,001 to $50,000
_______$50,001 to $75,000
_______$75,001 to $100,000
______$101,000 to 125,000
______$125,001 to $150,000
______$151,001 to $175,000
______$175,001 to $200,000

Neighborhood that you live in in San Francisco:______________________________________

Number of times per week you visit this gym __________________________

How long have you been working out **at this gym (months)**?______________________

How long have you been working out **in total (months)**?_________________________

Please list other types of physical activities that you participate in (e.g. running, football, tennis team):

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Interview Guide – Fitness

1. Tell me about when you first started to work out.
   Prompts – Fitness/Sports related activities growing up, High School, College, Post-College,

   Subprompts – how did you get started working out? Were there other people involved? How? What were the goals of that particular activity? What kinds of body types did this particular activity demand? How did you or didn't you reach this body type? How did these activities, body type, and training change over time?

   Prompts – To what extent was health a factor in deciding to work out?
   Subprompts – How have you come up with your understanding of health? How does this affect the way you work out and make choices related to working out? How do you think these choices affect you physically?

2. Tell me about your current work out goals.
   Prompts – How did you come up with these goals? To what extent do these goals have to do with your body type? Your health? How do you go about achieving these goals?

3. How do you develop your fitness routine?
   Prompts – To what extent does education play a role in developing your routine? To what extent do your peers/trainers/family/job affect how you develop your routine? Give me an example. Where do you get ideas about what it means to be "fit?"

4. Walk me through your routine.
   Prompts – What roles do weight lifting and cardio play in your routine? How do these affect your body?

5. To what extent does diet figure into your routine?
   Prompts – what role does food play in developing your body? how do you think about eating when not developing your fitness routine? For example, how do you go about thinking about food when you are eating with family/friends? How does this figure into your routine?

6. To what extent do sports supplements figure into your routine?
   Prompts – what is a sports supplement? What do they do for you? How does these supplements figure or not into your routine?

7. Tell me about your access to the gym? How did you make your decision to join GYM X?
   Prompts – To what extent does cost figure into this decision? To what extent does its location figure into this decision? To what extent do its amenities figure into this decision? To what extent has your (past) job affected your ability to go to the gym?

8. Tell me about you fit working out into your schedule.
   Prompts – To what extent do school/work/family/relationships figure into your

schedule? How do these affect your ability to go to the gym? How do these affect your ability to get the kind of body you'd like to have?

9. Tell me about the kind of body type you'd like to achieve.

Prompts – Describe your ideal body type. Can you point to examples and explain? What kind of body do you have now? To what extent does your fitness routine help you achieve this body type? What do you think you need to do to achieve this body type? What kinds of bodies you do not hope to have ? Why?

10. How do you feel about your body?

Prompts – How does this figure into your understanding of masculinity? To what extent does race figure into your experience of this idea of masculinity? To what extent does sexuality play into your experience with masculinity?

List of Tables

Table 1: Population Demographics for Mission District and Inner Sunset Based on American Community Survey Data.

	Mission District	Inner Sunset
Total Population	57,300	26,520
% Male	53%	50%
Age 18-59*	74%	69%
Income		
Per Capita Income	$ 37,667	$ 51,086
Median Income (Household)	$63,319	$88,720
Occupation		
Managerial and Professional Occupations	45%	66%
Service Occupations	21%	9%
% of families below poverty level	13%	8%
Race		
White	57%	58%
African-American	4%	2%
Asian	13%	33%
American Indian	1%	0%
Native Hawaiian	0%	0%
% Latino of Any Race	41%	6%
Education Levels		
High School or Less	35%	14%
Some College/Associates Degree	17%	16%
College Degree	31%	37%
Graduate/Professional Degree	18%	33%

*I aggregated data of ages 18-34 and 35-59 to determine percent of people ages 18-59.

Table 2: Table of Respondents

Respondent Pseudonym	Age	Race/Ethnicity	Occupation	Education	Sexual Orientation	Gym/ Additional Notes
Greg	27	Asian	Human Resources	Bachelors	Straight	Sunset
Hector	48	Latino	Bartending	Bachelors	Gay	Mission/ Capoeira
Markus	34	Black	Communications Expert	Masters	Gay	Sunset/ Gardening
Carl	49	White	Police	Bachelors	Straight	Mission/ Leather Contestant
Tyler	37	White	Executive	Masters	Straight	Mission/ Triathlete
Arjay	40	Asian	Landscaper	Bachelors	Gay	Sunset/ Capoeira
Rodrigo	31	Latino	Student/Fashion Industry	Associates	Gay	Sunset
Omar	33	Black	Researcher	PhD	Straight	Sunset/ Former High School Athlete
Parker	32	Latino	Adult Entertainer	Associates	Gay	Mission/ Gogo dancer/model
Micheal	35	White	Researcher	PhD	Straight	Sunset Gym/ Runner
Nick	32	Black	Personal Trainer/Bartender	Associates	Gay	Mission
Rodney	25	White	Personal Trainer	Associates	Straight	Mission
Robert	34	White/Middle Eastern	Data Worker	Bachelors	Gay	Mission
Hiro	37	Asian	Data worker	Bachelors	Straight	Sunset
Nico	39	Black	Grad Student	ABD PhD	Gay	Mission

Steve	45	White	Executive	Masters	Gay	Mission
Respondent Pseudonym	Age	Race/Ethnicity	Occupation	Education	Sexual Orientation	Gym/ Additional Notes
Matt	41	Asian	Data Worker	Masters	Gay	Sunset
Jorge	27	Latino	Library Worker	High School	Gay	Sunset
Eyal	29	White/Middle Eastern	Personal Trainer/ Medical Student	Bachelors	Straight	Sunset
Bob	28	White	Research Assistant	Bachelors	Straight	Sunset
Andrew	32	White	Personal Trainer	High School	Straight	Mission
Hal	39	Asian	Data Worker	Masters	Gay	Sunset/Wrestler
Alex	35	White	Manager	Bachelors	Straight	Mission/ Swimmer
Jim	27	Middle Eastern	Grad Student	Bachelors	Gay	Sunset
Max	34	White	Retail Worker	High School	Gay	Mission
John	37	Black	Retail/Student	Associates	Gay	Mission/ Gogo Dancer
Sean	29	Asian	Data worker	Masters	Gay	Sunset
Daniel	38	Latino	Retail Worker	High School	Striaght	Sunset
Jack	32	White	Food Service	Associates	Gay	Mission/Model
Jose	29	Latino	Bank Teller	Bachelors	Straight	Mission/Runner
Juan	39	Latino	Bartender	Bachelors	Gay	Sunset

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