Some have argued that the field of kinesiology is losing its vitality because of overspecialization and fragmentation; exercise science scholars are no longer able to find points of convergence with those in kinesiology subdisciplines other than their own. I contend, however, that this is not an accurate portrayal of every subdiscipline. Qualitative research in the sociology of physical activity lends itself to an interdisciplinary and broadly based understanding of human movement. To illustrate my claim, I present and explain six dimensions of the body: the imagined body, the consumer body, the disciplined body, the practiced body, the discursive body, and the transgressive body. Each of these dimensions (“bodies” of knowledge) may be thought of as a social movement, both in the literal sense of moving one’s body in socially constructed ways, but also in the figurative sense of scholarly movement that crosses and blurs disciplinary boundaries.

In her recent Quest (2006) article, Roberta Rikli argues that the field of kinesiology has sounded its own death knell through the overspecialization of the subdisciplines. Exercise science scholars can no longer, it seems, find points of convergence with those in kinesiology subdisciplines other than their own. Kinesiologists have lost sight of their common concerns and mission, and find it difficult if not impossible to cross disciplinary boundaries. Because they work in a kind of self-imposed isolation, their efforts to understand important topics that cut across subdisciplines, such as the “epidemic of inactivity,” are largely futile. The field has become fragmented, and no one is waiting to pick up the pieces. It is no wonder that kinesiology lacks a political voice.

Against this gloomy prognostication, I wish to suggest that this is not an accurate portrayal of every kinesiology subdiscipline, that in fact, this argument does not extend to some of the qualitative work that is currently being done in the sociology of physical activity. When I say “qualitative,” I am not just referring to method. I am referring to a whole host of assumptions about the world and the nature of reality, in contradistinction to quantitative positivist research. (For a good discussion of the differences between qualitative and quantitative research, see Locke, Silverman, & Spirduso, 2004 or Creswell, 2003). Qualitative sociology is research with which I am very familiar, as it represents my own subdisciplinary home.

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In this paper, I hope to show the features of qualitative sociology that lend themselves to a more interdisciplinary and broadly based understanding of physical activity. In tandem with this goal is an examination of how sociology of physical activity contributes more generally to the academic discipline of kinesiology and to other disciplines.

I explore six bodies of knowledge that are crucial to an understanding of the social body, the focus of sociology of physical activity. I use the body as a metaphor because the body in motion defines kinesiology. The six bodies comprise the imagined body, the consumer body, the transgressive body, the disciplined body, the practiced body, and the discursive body. Each of these bodies of knowledge constitutes a social movement, not only in the literal sense of moving one’s body in socially constructed ways, but also in the figurative sense of movement that crosses and blurs disciplinary boundaries. These six categories should not be viewed as discrete; there is considerable overlap among them but I separate them in this paper for analytical convenience.

I explain and describe each category of the social body, and then offer a specific example or two, most of which are drawn from my work. I use my own research, not because of any extraordinary merit, but because I am most familiar with it, allowing me to give a more nuanced reading than I could another sociologist’s work.

**The Imagined Body**

Virtually every woman and man, girl and boy has a vision of the body they would like to be, an imagined shape conforming to their body ideal, shapely and voluptuous, lean and tall, big and muscular, or lithe, slender, and sexy, as the text in *Shape* magazine proclaims. It is almost impossible not to be aware of the social currency these bodies bring us, as we are bombarded with media images of perfection. Alternatively, it is also almost impossible not to be aware of the contempt with which fat people are regarded in our society. Research shows that our society views fat people as weak-willed, self-indulgent, lazy, unattractive, clumsy, stupid, and worthless (see, for example, Blaine & McElroy, 2002; Chambliss, Finley, & Blair, 2004, & Schwartz, Vartanian, Nosek, & Brownell, 2006).

Many of us (in particular, women and girls) frequently imagine how our own bodies look to others. As John Berger argues, “. . . men act and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at” (1972, p. 41). Unlike men and boys who are judged by their accomplishments, women and girls are evaluated according to their appearance (Beauvoir, 1952; Berger, 1972; Brownmiller, 1984; Duncan, 1994; Spitzack, 1990; Wolf, 1991; and others). Many of them have internalized what I call the “panoptic gaze,” à la Foucault's panopticon (1979). Here I refer to my research on women’s figure magazines such as *Shape* and *Self* (Duncan, 1994; Eskes, Duncan, & Miller, 1998). The panopticon is a prison configuration that places a guard at the center, and the prisoners in cells that radiate out from the center like spokes in a wheel. What is most significant about this arrangement is that the guard can see the prisoners at any given time, but the prisoners can never be sure when they are being observed by the guard. Because of this uncertainty, the prisoners become their own guards, knowing that at any moment they might be caught in a transgressive act. Therefore, they learn to become self-monitoring, to put on a display of good behavior, just in case someone may be watching.
The panoptic gaze, then, is an inward gaze, a kind of self-surveillance, in which a woman or girl regards her body through the eyes of others (often masculine others, as Berger [1972] points out). As she trains an evaluative eye on her own body, she becomes at once both spectacle and spectator (Duncan, 1994). Are her clothes too tight? Do they make her thighs look big? How would she appear to a man? If she orders a hot fudge sundae, will she be seen as greedy and self-indulgent?

What is perhaps most interesting is that the panoptic gaze is profoundly social in the sense that it derives from social norms and values; and social institutions like the gender order, the media, and the family (Duncan, 1994; Spitzack, 1990; Wolf, 1991). Yet despite this, the panoptic gaze feels like a personal and private experience. Women say, “I don’t care what others think; I want to be thin to look good for myself,” never realizing that the ideal is social through and through. The body is a useful instrument for concealing and reinterpreting social motives as private ones because the body seems irreducibly personal and individuated (Duncan, 1994). My body is experienced as separate from other bodies.

How does this understanding of the imagined body cut across disciplines? Certainly, it suggests a connection with history. Has the current ideal always been the standard against which women compare themselves? What historical forces have shaped the body ideal for women today?

In addition, the imagined body has gender implications. A fat woman is an object of derision, an embarrassing spectacle. Clearly, women are expected to rein in their appetites, to use dietary restraint (Klesges, Bartsch, Norwood, Kautzman, & Haugrud, 1984; Mooney, DeTore, & Malloy, 1994; Mort, Chaiken, & Pliner, 1987). But for men, seeking to satisfy their desires is expected (Chaiken & Pliner, 1987). In some ways, that is the definition of a man: one who is driven by his appetites (sexual, competitive, epicurean) and fulfills them regardless of the circumstances. Why does this double standard exist?

The imagined body has implications for public health. Although anorexia nervosa, bulimia, and other eating disorders are very complex in etiology, it is clear that the white female body ideal is implicated. We see hundreds of images daily, many of which show thin, gorgeous, sexually alluring bodies of female models. What is not evident are the lengths to which girls and women will go in order to achieve this body ideal. In addition to starving or binging and purging, individuals may exercise to excess, sometimes injuring themselves in the process, abuse diuretics and laxatives, consume dangerous weight-loss preparations such as Phen-fen, deprive themselves nutritionally, abuse amphetamines and illicit drugs, smoke cigarettes as a weight control strategy, and engage in any number of other health-threatening practices.

The imagined body has economic implications. Diet industry sales are projected to surpass $54 billion annually by 2009 (“U.S. leads in obesity,” 2006). It is one of the most lucrative markets ever, so it is in the interests of big business to create bodily insecurity through the marketing of thin, toned bodies. A multitude of diet and quick-fix exercise programs offer expensive short-term weight-loss solutions to women who fail to measure up to these artificial standards (Campos, 2004; Fraser, 1998; Gaesser, 2002; Gard & Wright, 2005). Yet rarely do these solutions work in the long term. This is the beauty (or more aptly, the ugliness) of the diet scam. New products come out every day and promise fast, effective results (Campos, 2004; Fraser, 1998; Gaesser, 2002; Gard & Wright, 2005). Some women, having
Duncan internalized the message that fat is ugly and they are therefore undesirable, will try anything to lose weight, ceaselessly buying products that guarantee the slender Kate Moss body and failing repeatedly to keep the weight off. Fear of ridicule is a powerful motivator. Fat people are one of the most stigmatized groups in our culture (Wang, Brownell, & Wadden, 2004; Friedman, 2004).

This discussion of the economic implications of the imagined body provides a graceful segue into the next category, which is the consumer body.

The Consumer Body

The literal meaning of consuming is eating and drinking. But another meaning is metaphorical: the body consumes every time it purchases a product. More and more, personal identity is defined by the products one buys (Falk, 1994; Lury, 1998). For the person who identifies as an athlete, the consumer body is the health club body whose proportions are rendered larger, muscular, or toned through strength training, reduced through cardiovascular workouts, tanned in a booth, cared for with designer waters and protein supplements, altered through liposuction or other forms of cosmetic surgery, relaxed by massages or herbal wraps, and garbed in Nike, Adidas, New Balance, Asics, Saucony, Brooks, Reeboks, or Mizuno.

A third meaning of consumption is largely symbolic. As a spectator, an individual consumes by viewing, taking in a spectacle. In this sense a participant consumes sports through identification with the team, the athletes, the coaches, and the owners (Brummett & Duncan, 1992; Duncan & Brummett, 1987, 1989, & 1993). An increasingly popular form of consumption is fantasy sport. By August 2003, 15.2 million American sport fans participated in fantasy sport leagues (Hu, 2003). Fantasy sport offers players the chance to go online and adopt the roles of owners, managers, and coaches of professional teams (Davis & Duncan, 2006). This symbolic assumption of sport roles allows the consumer to experience the thrill of the big leagues by drafting athletes, signing free agents, trading players, and submitting lineups (Duncan & Davis, 2006).

In a recent study, Davis and Duncan (2006) analyzed the appeals of fantasy football spectatorship, drawing upon personal observations, textual analyses, and a focus group of fantasy leaguers. In some ways, it is hard to imagine how a symbolic competition like that experienced by fantasy league players could have any relevance to real life, yet our findings proved otherwise. Previous research on sport spectatorship suggested that some forms of mediated sport, particularly televised football, provided men with the chance to reinforce their masculinity (Brummett & Duncan, 1992; Duncan & Brummett, 1993). For example, men seemed to enjoy exercising their dominance through a verbal one-upsmanship during the game, showing off their knowledge of sports trivia and players’ histories, citing statistics, emphasizing masculine ideals like competition and aggression, and extending themselves into the game as though they were actually running a play on the field (Brummett & Duncan, 1992; Duncan & Brummett, 1993). Do fantasy league participants enjoy similar pleasures?

We discovered that our all-male fantasy participants experienced many of the same benefits (Davis & Duncan, 2006). They enjoyed a sense of control and
authority since they got to pick their athletes and symbolically manipulate them. They derived satisfaction from devoting large amounts of time checking Web sites for statistics on their players. They enjoyed the competition, and more particularly, winning, which seemed to bolster their masculinity and pride. They relished trash talking and other forms of verbal aggression. And, paradoxically, they enjoyed the opportunities for bonding with other men.

What was most interesting, however, was the role of women, who were largely absent. Fantasy leaguers viewed women as inferior players who only participated when the men could not find enough guys to fill their ranks. They neither expected women to show much interest, nor did they think much of their playing abilities (Davis & Duncan, 2006).

Some of the most fascinating findings relate to the demographics of fantasy league enthusiasts. According to an online survey conducted by Levy (2005) with a sample size of 1,179, 97.9% of the fantasy leaguers were male, 93.7% were white, and 68.7% were college graduates or postgraduates. Seventy-three percent earned at least $50,000 a year. For fantasy leaguers, consuming means viewing, but viewing requires a substantial financial investment. To compete successfully, participants need computers, computer literacy skills, and high-speed cable access. In sum, the typical fantasy league player occupies the most privileged rung of the social ladder: a young, white, well-educated, and relatively affluent man.

Interestingly enough, gender plays no role in the digital divide:* this means that gender is not a factor in itself that would explain lack of access to computers or lack of use, unlike race and class. Computer use remains a proxy variable for most other status markers, including race (especially Latino), disability, age, rural or urban, education, and income. Why, then, are women largely invisible or absent altogether from fantasy leagues?

On the basis of our data, we concluded:

Although women may have as much access to computers as men as well as the requisite computer skills, the social construction of the young, white, middle class, heterosexual male domain of fantasy sport leagues creates a climate that is actively hostile to women. The fact that most male players are accustomed to a secure position at the top of the status hierarchy may account for the men’s obvious belief in their own superiority. It is that sense of superiority and the vying for masculine dominance occurring in this space that may be so off-putting to many women. (Davis & Duncan, p. 261)

This research on the consumer body provided us with some intriguing data that suggest how gender, race, class, and sexuality intersect to create the typical fantasy league player. These findings overlap and have significance for the disciplines of media, communication, film, cultural and feminist studies.

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*The phrase “digital divide” (Simon Moores) signifies the social class disparities between groups that have access to computer technology and those that do not. It also connotes differences between communities in computer literacy and technological skills. These differences are seen as socially and politically problematic, and have been an important topic for discussion by advocacy groups, policy makers, and academics.
The Transgressive Body

The next two categories will be unpacked together: one is the transgressive body, the other is the disciplined body. They represent two sides of a coin. The transgressive body deviates from the social norm and defies social expectations. Some examples include the pierced and tattooed body, the disabled body, the hypermuscular body, especially when the body in question is female, the inebriated body or the body on illicit drugs, the transgendered body, and the queer body. But perhaps the best example at this point in history is the fat body. In the wake of the so-called obesity epidemic, one can hardly read a newspaper or magazine without seeing some reference to the dire state of American waistlines. The most transgressive of all is what physicians, with typical biomedical flair, call the “morbidly obese” body, one that equals or exceeds a BMI of 40. A morbidly obese individual who is not obviously ashamed of his or her girth is a true social outlaw. Such a body inspires moral panic, a term referring to an “episode, condition, person or group of persons defined as a threat to societal values and interests” (Cohen, 1972, p. 9).

In my recent research on obesity as a moral panic, I analyzed kinesiology students’ reactions to a documentary on obesity and found student rhetorics expressing moral indignation, anxiety, and sometimes outright hostility towards the fat people interviewed in the video (Duncan, 2006).

In the rhetoric of “tough love,” students expressed their beliefs that fat people were deviant and therefore deserved their contempt. For example, one student declared, “Yes, obese people are abused by society, but by letting yourself be that big, you’re asking for it. It is not a healthy way to live. Big people can go on diets and lose weight, but they choose not to.” A second student’s response was even more extreme, “I think society has a duty to abuse if not contribute even more abusiveness towards obese people because it’s an epidemic that is growing at such a rapid rate. Our children will, instead of having to care for baby-boomers like we will, they will have to care for fat-boomers.”

“Common sense” was a second and related rhetoric. This flows from the assumption that being overweight or fat is unequivocally wrong, and its wrongness should be obvious to anyone who has some common sense. This talk was exemplified in some of the students’ responses as they declared that it was wrong for obese people to weigh so much, but did not provide an explanation for why it was wrong. They appeared to assume it was self-evident. One student said, “Yes, some people are a little overweight, but to be 100-plus pounds and not [care] is kind of not right.” Another student argued, “In a way it makes me feel bad for people that are fat. But then again I don’t feel bad because most of the fat people aren’t trying to do anything about it. But honestly, it’s hard to hear people actually say that because some people can’t help being fat, it runs in their family. They should do something about their body, stop eating so much and exercise 3 to 4 times a week.” The tone of moral indignation in both of these examples suggests that corpulence is an especially serious transgression.

The Disciplined Body

The opposite of the transgressive body is the disciplined body, the body subjected to disciplinary regimes such exercising or dieting. One particular disciplinary
A regime that is relevant to the analysis of obesity is medicalization. This is a process in which aspects of ordinary life are subjected to medical authority and practices (Ballard & Elston, 2005; Conrad & Schneider, 1992). In the context of the “obesity epidemic” a medicalized body is one that is put under a physician’s care, that follows a dietician’s prescribed food plan and an exercise physiologist’s fitness program, or that undergoes bariatric surgery. Medicalization encourages social conformity (in this case, losing weight and restricting one’s nutritional choices), while inhibiting deviant (transgressive) behaviors such as eating “bad” foods: pizza, French fries, ice cream, and candy.

The panoptic gaze plays a significant role in the medicalization of obesity as well. Fat people are never more aware of the disciplinary nature of the medical establishment than when they go to their physicians and are asked to step on the scale. Fat people report that even when they see their doctors about a specific ailment unconnected to their weight, they are often lectured about the dangers of obesity (Joanisse, 1999).

In more ordinary contexts such as eating at a restaurant, attending a party, or shopping for groceries, fat people are acutely aware of the panoptic gaze and its disciplinary function. Many are very conscious of what they eat and how much they eat because they feel the eyes of judgment on them. While waiting in line to pay for groceries, they know that others are inspecting their grocery carts for junk food or other forbidden treats (Hesse-Biber, 1996).

How do the transgressive body and the disciplined body intersect with other academic areas? In both cases, there seems to be a moral imperative either to refrain from bad behavior or to adhere to good behavior, suggesting links to philosophy (ethics), history, cultural, and religious studies.

The Practiced Body

An example of the practiced body is one that most of us know well: the athlete, especially, the elite athlete. To become skilled at a sport, he or she rehearses movement sequences over and over until they become nearly automatic. Over and against the context of motor behavior, however, all bodies take part in a web of social practices. A good example of the role social practices play in producing bodies comes from the martial arts. Here I draw on my own participant observation in Tae Kwon Do. My daughters and I spent 5 years at J.K. Lee’s do jang (martial arts center) in Milwaukee.

A critical part of becoming adept at Tae Kwon Do is learning the proper social practices. This is especially true for children, who are often sent to martial arts academies because their parents believe it will bolster their self-esteem, teach them discipline, help them acquire self-confidence and other intangibles (Duncan, 1996). For example, if one flips to the martial arts section in the Yellow Pages and glances at a few display ads, one sees encomia galore:

If you could chart their course in life, what would it be? Give them a proven roadmap to success! Will your child embrace life’s countless opportunities with open arms? A secure and positive self-image is a vital first step . . . We know they’ll face tough challenges and life-altering decisions on their journey. So, help your child develop the strength, confidence, and self-mastery skills that
will allow them to choose the very best course that’s right for them! (2006, AT&T Yellow Pages, p. 764).

The point here is that mastery of the body is second to the social benefits of the martial arts, and savvy business people know this is their selling proposition. During the years I spent at J. K. Lee’s, parents have told me that Tae Kwon Do taught their children self-discipline, self-respect, a positive self-image, a work ethic, or some combination of the above. Foucault (1979), however, would describe this rather differently: he would argue that the martial arts are an excellent training ground for the production of “docile bodies.” Foucault believed that exercise was a technology that one could use to teach bodies self-discipline, primarily for the sake of good behavior (1979). In short, he characterized exercise as a social and political practice that transforms and controls citizens, that bends them to the will of authority.

Tae Kwon Do is nothing if not hierarchical, and children learn this immediately. During their very first lesson, they are taught to bow and shout “Pilsun” (certain victory!) whenever they see a black belt or Master Lee. They learn to recite the tenets (or values) at the beginning of every Tae Kwon Do class: “Courtesy, integrity, perseverance, self-control, indomitable spirit.” Stuck to the front wall of the do jang are words that say, “House of Discipline.” Children learn never to talk back to the instructors and always to obey them. Once members achieve the rank of black belt, they are told that they must be role models for others, no slacking off. During every testing—about once every 3 months—the black belts who are not seeking advancement to the next level must attend and must stand at attention around the perimeter of the room. Thus, the practiced Tae Kwon Do body is one that learns the rules, obeys authority, and demonstrates an understanding of how to comport oneself socially at the do jang.

The Discursive Body

In many of my illustrations so far, I have included examples in which the body is represented by discourses, popular or scholarly. When a body is evoked in language, it becomes a discursive body. My students’ responses to obesity are discursive and in some ways typical of popular discourses about fat and fat bodies. Experts in medicine and public health constitute the body through a kind of professional discourse that describes the body clinically. In fact, the very terms “obese” and “obesity” are examples of biomedical discourse, and their overtones of pathology bring to mind a body that is in an abnormal disease state. Perhaps that is why fat activists like Marilyn Wann (1998, p. 18) prefer the homey, colloquial term “fat,” which is less likely to conjure up visions of aberrant cells multiplying out of control.

As a social constructivist, I believe that all knowledge is socially constructed. In particular, I would argue that knowledge is based on the language that we use to describe our world. Without discourse, there is no athlete, there is no sport, there is no physical activity. Our understandings of these things are embedded in our words, not separate from them. In a real sense, language is constitutive; there is no reality that stands apart from it, nor is language merely a reflection of the actual thing. This understanding of the relationship of discourse to the real is called
variously, the cultural turn, the rhetorical turn, the narrative turn, or the linguistic shift (Eagleton, 1983; Rorty, 1989).

For this reason, words have extraordinary power. The old adage about sticks and stones and names is untrue. Words can hurt, and they often do. Perhaps it was this notion that led me in the early part of my research program to focus on media portrayals of female athletes and women’s sports. In an article called, “Representation and the gun that points backwards,” I explored the power of mediated discourse to undermine female athletes (Duncan, 1993). “The gun that points backwards,” a phrase coined by Nancy Henley (1977), is a metaphor for discourse used in ways that backfire on their users. As Henley argues,

Much conversation between the sexes takes place in the context of an underlying power struggle. But for women in that struggle, the language of the dueler is itself ammunition for the adversary. They are in the position of a dueler who faces an opponent with a gun which points backwards—the English language, like other languages, is loaded against women. (p. 80).

A good example would be the use of the generic male. Employing the pronoun “he” to mean a man or woman renders women invisible (and unimportant). Although the generic male is supposed to include females, it conjures up a world ruled by men, “best man for the job,” “chairman,” “the man in the street.” It therefore results in what Gaye Tuchman (1978) calls the “symbolic annihilation” of women.

In the mediated world of sport, female athletes are erased by the lack of coverage, which in turn equates to an absence of discourse about women’s sports. For the last 20 years, Michael Messner and I have conducted research on televised sport at 5-year intervals for the Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles. Our early research (Duncan, Messner, Williams, & Jensen, 1990) on nightly news sportscasts and televised sporting events showed that men’s sports were given 92% of the coverage, women’s sports, 5%, and neutral (horseracing, for example), the remaining 3%. Our most recent study in 2005 (Duncan, Messner, Willms, & Wilson) found that these percentages had only changed marginally with men receiving 91.4% of the coverage, women receiving 6.3%, and neutral/both, 2.4%. For sports highlight shows like ESPN’s SportsCenter and Fox’s Southern California Sports Report, the numbers were even more skewed. Women’s sports comprised 3% of the total airtime on the Southern California Sports Report, and only 2.1% of the total airtime on SportsCenter.

The naming of women’s sport teams provides another example of discourse that backfires against female athletes (Eitzen & Baca Zinn, 1993). Labels such as the “Teddy Bears,” “Wildkittens,” “Tigerettes,” “Lady Jags,” and “Belles” evoke images of gentle, peaceful baby animals, not powerful athletic competitors.

A third example of “rigged discourse” is gender-marking. This takes place when commentators call the men’s competitions, for instance, the “NCAA Final Four,” but the women’s competitions, the “Women’s NCAA Final Four” (Duncan, 1993). A similar example occurred when a sports announcer observed that Coach K was “a legend in basketball,” while Pat Summit was deemed a legend in women’s basketball (Duncan, 1993). Such discourse suggests that men, and men’s sports, represent the standard, and women, and women’s sports, are in some way inferior or derivative. This “man-is-the-measure-of-all things” norm pervades our social
institutions as Tavris (1992) so extensively demonstrates, and is built into our lan-
guage. Discourse about women is indeed the gun that points backwards.

Discursive analyses like these blur the line between sociology and literary
studies, gender studies, media studies, communication studies, and linguistics.

Conclusion

Sociology of physical activity seems by its very nature to overlap and intersect with
other disciplines, particularly liberal arts disciplines that are themselves interdis-
ciplinary and humanistic: media studies, communication studies, gender studies,
cultural studies, modern studies, literary studies, queer studies, and others. Because
sociology is always about embeddedness in social relations—norms, practices,
and discourses—, it bridges many disciplines, at least when it is examined qualita-
tively. Unlike lab sciences where a phenomenon is isolated from all other possible
influences to prevent contamination, sociology recognizes that context is critical
to understanding our social world. Sociologists of physical activity examine the
physicality of the body, and because the body is by its very nature social, it extends
beyond academic boundaries, which are, after all, largely artificial.

Roberta Rikli (2006) points out that to retain its vitality, kinesiology needs
to demonstrate its social relevance. I agree. In particular, kinesiologists need to
become advocates and activists for fit and healthy living. There is no better example
of an organization that combines interdisciplinary sport research with community
outreach, civic engagement, teaching, and mentoring than the Tucker Center for
Research on Girls and Women in Sport directed by sport sociologist Mary Jo Kane
at the University of Minnesota, http://www.education.umn.edu/tuckercenter/. I pro-
pose that this organization be a model of how to make sport and physical activity
relevant in the 21st century.

I have come full circle in this paper by describing six types of social bodies
in motion. The metaphor of movement is appropriate as well to interdisciplinary
social movements such as disability rights, women’s studies, media studies, queer
studies, African American studies, and others that grew out of a perceived need
for invigorating the academy. Finally, it seems only fitting that the metaphor of
movement be applied to the future of kinesiology. We are on the cusp of a deci-
sion: We can choose to move forward, or we can choose to go backwards, but we
cannot stand still.

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