Running and swimming: A materialized account of careers and practices

Joe Gillett
B.A. (Hons.), MSc

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
Department of Sociology, Lancaster University

January 2018

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work, and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere. I confirm that the word length conforms to the permitted maximum.

Contents

List of Charts, Figures and Tables ..... **v**

Abstract ..... **vi**

Acknowledgements ..... **vii**

Chapter one: Introduction **1**

Explaining participation 2
A critique of dominant approaches 9
Why running and swimming? 10
Practices, careers and materials: conceptual resources 17
Aims and research questions 28
Outline of the thesis 29

Chapter two: Studying running and swimming **31**

Research design 31
Selecting study sites 33
Selecting respondents 36
Go-along interviews 40
Biography interviews 44
Career timelines 47
Memory and reflexivity 52
Secondary sources 54
Zooming in and out 56

Chapter three: Provisioning and participation **58**

Outdoor running 58
Indoor running 64
Outdoor swimming 67
Indoor swimming 72
Running and swimming in Bristol 77
Running and swimming in Lancaster 81

Chapter four: Materials in practice: from static to dynamic processes **85**

Making sense of materials in practice 86
Affordance 86
Ingold's 'world of materials' 87
Comparing and combining concepts 89
Materials on the move 92
Dynamic bodies and materials 97

Discussion 103

Chapter five: How participation ebbs and flows 106
Participation over the long term: some conceptual resources 108
The Serious Leisure Perspective 109
Careers in practice 111
Understanding ebb and flow 112
Changing conditions of the body 113
Intersecting daily life practices 116
Events 120
Ebb and flow as woven into careers 123
Discussion 132

Chapter six: Conclusion 134
Starting points and propositions 134
Findings and insights 135
Contributions and conclusions 144

Appendices 151
Appendix 1: Project information sheet 152
Appendix 2: Go-along interview guides 156
Appendix 3: Biography interview guide – running 158
Appendix 4: Biography interview guide – swimming 161

References 164

List of Charts, Figures and Tables

Charts

Chart 1.1: Adult participation in selected sports in England (at least once a week)....13

Figures

Figure 2.1: Criteria for selecting study sites and recruiting 30 interviewees 36
Figure 2.2: George's career timeline (swimmer, 50, Lancaster) 50
Figure 5.1: Luke's career timeline (swimmer, 31, Bristol).....107
Figure 5.2: Grace's career timeline (swimmer 24, Lancaster).....118
Figure 5.3: Julia's career timeline (runner, 57, Bristol) 125
Figure 5.4: Zoe's outdoor running timeline (40, Bristol) 128
Figure 5.5: Zoe's indoor running timeline (40, Bristol).....130

Tables

Table 1.1: Materials implicated in running and swimming 25
Table 2.1: Overview of interviewees by age, gender, occupation and place recruited 39
Table 3.1: Public lidos and open-air pools in Britain in 2005 70
Table 3.2: Public indoor swimming sites 73
Table 3.3: Public indoor swimming sites in Britain by sector in 2008 76

Abstract

While regular exercise can bring a range of benefits, the social processes underpinning how participation in various exercise activities starts and, in particular, is sustained and changes continues to be contested. This thesis explores the relevance of an approach that takes practice – and the associated proposition that 'materials' are part of practice – as the central unit of conceptualization and analysis when examining changing patterns of participation in running and swimming.

Drawing on interviews with 30 runners and swimmers in two English cities, Bristol and Lancaster, as well as desk-based historical research, I focus on what is involved in the 'doing' of runs and swims, how this has changed in recent decades, and how this links to patterns of participation in interviewees' lives.

My research sheds insight into the processes through which different forms of running and swimming (various indoor and outdoor forms, including mass participation events) come to intersect with people's 'careers' in these practices, and the cumulative effects of the 'materialized doing' of runs and swims in shaping where, when, and how these practices are conducted. I argue that these dynamics are important for understanding how participation is sustained and changes, and that the premises which inform current sports policy, and the interpretations of participation on which these ideas depend, do not capture the ways in which 'materialized careers' in running and swimming unfold. In response, I discuss ways of conceptualizing participation that better capture the processes through which running and swimming evolve.

Acknowledgements

I'm very fortunate to have had two fantastic supervisors, Professor Elizabeth Shove and Dr Nicola Spurling, who have been unwavering in their support. In addition to always looking to push my thinking on, they've been generous with their time and encouraging, making the process enjoyable as well as challenging.

I'd like to thank the DEMAND Research Centre for funding my PhD and participation at conferences, and interviewees for being engaging and generous with their time.

I'd also like to thank Dr Martin Brigham and Dr Stanley Blue for their critical insights and advice during annual reviews and panels, and my examiners, Dr Ian Wellard and Dr Allison Hui, for an intellectually stimulating viva.

I'm also grateful for helpful discussions in the past four years with my office mate, Mike; DEMAND PhD students and researchers; Josep, Emily, Shona, and Hazel; and researchers at RGS exercise and environment sessions.

This thesis is dedicated to my Mum, Dad, and brother Will.

Chapter one: Introduction

While regular exercise can bring a range of physical and social benefits, the social processes that are understood to underpin how participation in various exercise activities changes are contested (Sport England 2005; Sport England 2004; van Bottenburg et al. 2005: 181-182). This thesis explores the relevance of an approach that takes practice (Reckwitz 2002b) – and the associated proposition that 'materials' are constitutive of practice – as the central unit of conceptualization and analysis. It does so with reference to recreational running and swimming. Drawing on interviews with 30 runners and swimmers in two English cities, Bristol and Lancaster, as well as desk-based historical research, it focuses on what is involved in the 'doing' of runs and swims, the processes through which this has changed, and how this links to patterns of participation in interviewees' lives.

To help make sense of how people start running or swimming, and how participation varies and changes, I work with further contentions and concepts from social theories of practice, including the notion that materials of diverse kinds are implicated in exercise (Maller et al. 2016); that the relationship between practice-as-performance (an instance of doing) and practice-as-entity (a broader history of practice) is a recursive one (Shove et al. 2012; Reckwitz 2002b); and that people's engagement with the same activity changes as they move through careers in practice (Lave and Wenger 1991).

In parallel, and in tackling particular empirical and theoretical challenges that arise in the course of this investigation, I draw on a selection of concepts from across the social sciences that help formulate an understanding of the roles 'materials' play in the conduct of what people do (Ingold 2007b; Gibson 1986) and how long-term engagement in various sports and exercise

activities unfolds (Stebbins 1982; Elkington and Stebbins 2014).

Based on my research, I identify a series of intertwined processes that are important for understanding how careers in running and swimming develop. These include how different forms of running and swimming (including indoor and outdoor forms of these activities and mass participation events) come to intersect with people's careers in these practices; and the cumulative effects of the 'materialized doing' of runs and swims in shaping where, when, and how these practices are done. In contrast to established methods of conceptualizing participation, including those that treat participation as an outcome of individual commitment and will (Sport England 2016b: 6), I argue that the dynamic processes that I discuss are relevant for understanding how participation in these exercise activities persist and change.

My intention in this chapter is to first set out some of the key premises that underpin customary ways of explaining how participation in sport and exercise activities changes. Then, with reference to recreational running and swimming, I situate my interest in developing a new approach to this topic. The chapter ends with a set of aims and research questions, and an outline of what is to come in the rest of the thesis.

Explaining participation

National sports policy documents and related lines of research point to what have become established methods of understanding how participation in sport and exercise activities changes. The three approaches that I introduce in this section each work with a different unit of analysis – the individual will or 'mindset' of a given person; the socio-demographic group to which people belong; and the provision of relevant facilities. These approaches

suppose that where a requisite level of individual will is in place, or where a person belongs to a particular social group, or where a satisfactory level of provision (facilities etc.) exists, there is likely to be an increase in the number of people participating in sport and exercise. Sometimes these conceptualizations are mixed together, so that participation is taken to be an outcome of two or more of these factors.

When engaging with any public policy issue, Bacchi (2009: 48) suggests considering: how has the issue been problematized? What is represented or not represented in the account? With this in mind, I introduce examples of each of these dominant conceptualizations and point out some features of participation which are overlooked as a consequence of certain assumptions being made. I will suggest that, even when different approaches and explanations are combined, a number of potentially relevant features are still overlooked.

The first approach focuses on the individual will or mindset of individuals. As part of a new five-year strategy concerned in large part with promoting mass participation in recreational sport and exercise, Sport England, a non-departmental public body under the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, recently declared that a particular behaviour change model 'will define the interventions we make and the programmes we fund in the future' (Sport England 2016b: 6).

As depicted diagrammatically in Sport England's (2016b: 6) strategic plan for the period 2016-2021, this behaviour change model posits that, at any given moment, an individual's relation to participating in sport is at one of five stages, namely: the pre-contemplation stage ('not on my radar'); the contemplation stage ('thinking about it'); the preparation stage ('planning to

do something soon'); the action stage ('action'); or the maintenance stage ('sticking with it'). It is further explained that individuals can move back and forth through these stages.

This behaviour change model, known as the 'Transtheoretical approach' (Sport England 2016: 7) or 'Stages of Change model' (Sport England 2005: 21-22), is one which draws on classic psychological theories of motivation (Prochaska et al. 1994). Following a public consultation in early 2016, the model was 'widely welcomed' as the intellectual basis for Sport England's new strategic plan (Sport England 2016b: 6).

Although referring to a different iteration of the model, consisting of six stages of change and not five, the catch-all potential of the model has been championed elsewhere. 'People progress through the same stages of change whether they are overcoming problems with substance abuse, anxiety, depression or weight control. The result is that the principles that address one particular problem can be transferred to many other problems' (Prochaska et al. 1994: 17).

For present purposes, the strategy of focusing on the mindset of individuals alone is consistent with a broader family of approaches that focus on how participation in leisure activities changes (Dillard and Bates 2011). For this reason, as well as its prominence in policy, it has become an established approach. Two other customary approaches exist in policy and research, outlined below.

A second established way of conceptualizing how participation in sport changes involves focusing on the various socio-demographic groups to which people who 'do' and 'do not do' sport are understood to belong, such

as categories defined by age, gender, socio-economic status, and ethnicity. Clearly, who participates or not in various sports is an important issue.

But a central issue for present purposes concerns how such categorizations are drawn upon. There is a difference, for example, in whether data from large scale surveys, which seek to capture how likely members of various socio-demographic groups do sport, is being used as a basis to describe trends in participation or explain them.

In either case, perennial challenges include working with data which may not be like-for-like for the time frame or places in which researchers are interested. To complicate matters, various definitions are contested (e.g. over ways to capture socio-economic status, over what constitutes participation and non-participation, and what counts as sport/activity). Nonetheless, researchers from different social science traditions draw on such data when looking to either describe or explain how participation in different sports changes.

For example, as part of an attempt to capture the 'rise and size' of recreational running in Europe in an edited book, Scheerder et al. (2015a) invite sport studies researchers to provide a statistical picture of the popularity of running amongst different socio-demographic groups in ten countries. In the absence of directly comparable European data on participation in sports (van Bottenburg et al. 2005: 182), including on recreational running (Scheerder et al. 2015b; Breedveld et al. 2015: 254-255), contributors to Scheerder et al.'s collection draw on national survey data, noting variation in how common categories are used (e.g. there are different ways of bracketing age groups, and of defining what 'recreational running' is). Ultimately a series of 'typical' socio-demographic profiles are produced

for runners in each country.

Breuer et al. (2011), a group of economists and sport policy researchers, go a step further in looking to explain why participation in different sports changes. Specifically, Breuer et al. (2011) are interested in establishing how well a set of 'social determinants' explain whether various social groups participate in ten different sports. Following their analysis of German sports participation survey data from 2007-2009, Breuer et al. (2011) argue that combinations of particular factors – including those to do with educational level, income level, age, and gender – can explain whether various social groups participate in particular sports or not. On this basis, Breuer et al. (2011: 283) draw conclusions and recommendations, including that 'policies should obviously aim at reaching [people with] a good education in the respective country as people with a higher educational level tend to be more active in sports'.

Although taking a quite different approach, relying on different methods and forms of data, Bourdieu (1984) focuses on the cultural activities that the French middle and upper classes engaged in during the 1960s and 1970s, including various sports. While not seeking to establish a simple causal relationship, Bourdieu (1984) argues in *Distinction* that engagement in particular leisure activities and not others is constitutive of, and essentially tied to, class.

The tendency to focus on the relationship between particular socio-demographic groups and participation in various sports means that other phenomena and other patterns are somewhat overlooked, even though these may be important for understanding how trends in participation may

be changing.

In different ways, this is recognised by Breuer et al. (2011) and Bourdieu (1984). When reflecting on what direction future lines of research might take, Breuer et al. (2011: 283) suggest 'infrastructure' and 'sports facilities' could be afforded more attention. Bourdieu (1984: 217), meanwhile, states that as the same practice may have been able to attract both 'aristocratic' and 'popular devotes' at different times, this 'should warn us against the temptation of trying to explain the class distribution of sports purely in terms of the 'nature' of the various activities' (Bourdieu 1984: 217). Yet, given Bourdieu's (1984) focus on developing concepts of cultural capital – and his interest in demonstrating that class divisions are reproduced through what people do – he does not provide a longer term, more historical account of the processes through which various activities, themselves, change.

A third customary approach takes provisioning to be a critical factor in explaining how participation in sport changes. Provisioning can mean different things depending on the sport in question (e.g. tennis courts and basketball courts), and there may be differences as to where provisioning is understood to start and end (e.g. whether equipment such as tennis racquets and basketballs are also included). Nonetheless, this approach focuses on the availability of the means to participate.

From this point of view, there is no shortage of potentially significant aspects to consider. For instance, relevant actors might include national sport policy makers, town planners, architects, local authorities, and sport equipment manufacturers. While attention is typically directed to the ways in which professional responsibilities are carved up, and the costs of provision

involved (e.g. for members of the public, for national government, or for local authorities), for present purposes I make the straightforward point that such approaches assume that there is a relationship between providing something (a facility, equipment) and it being used as part of a particular practice.

This depends on having a vision of what a particular practice involves and how many people might do the practice. For example, national sports policy makers in the 1960s declared that at least one public swimming pool should be made available for every 20,000 people in Britain (Wolfenden 1960: 36). In practice, recommended levels of provision are not always realized across the board. However, the more important point is that precisely how provision relates to 'use' is rarely examined in detail.

For example, given the 'need' to build swimming pools, planners make decisions about where a pool might be sited, and make further calculations about how many people are likely to be travelling to the facility by car and what might constitute an optimum car park size (e.g. Sports Council 1973). In following this kind of logic, planning processes tend to overlook other considerations such as how the envisioned practice is positioned relative to the trajectories of other sports, both nationally and locally, and how this might change.

Indeed, this is partly why sports policy researcher, Coalter (2004), describes how predicting trends in the number of people doing different sports to be a 'notoriously difficult task' (Coalter 2004: 79). When looking back at two forecasts made in the 1970s, concerned with future adult participation rates in different sports (12 years in the future and 30 years in the future), Coalter (2004) highlights significant variation in the 'predicted' and 'actual' numbers

of people who came to take part in a range of sports, including squash, badminton, table tennis, and swimming. Furthermore, when noting that one set of the forecasts 'made no reference to aerobics/ keep fit (which has a participation rate of 12%)' (Coalter 2004: 79)', further 'unknowns' are alluded to.

A related issue concerning the relation between provisioning and use is a tendency to work with a singular interpretation of what any one sport involves, and to cater for those requirements. This overlooks the development of multiple forms of the 'same' practice, for which varied forms of 'provisioning' may be involved, such as for indoor and outdoor swimming.

A critique of dominant approaches

According to these three ways of explaining participation, change in the number of people participating in sport is variously understood to be an outcome of: changes in mindset (individuals becoming more or less motivated); changes in the configuration of social groups and what they do; and changes in what is being provisioned (on the basis that if particular facilities and equipment are made available they will be used for particular activities).

These explanations are sometimes combined. When all mixed together, for example, participation may be understood as an outcome of: sufficiently motivated individuals belonging to particular social groups living within accessible distance of particular facilities. Yet, whether in isolation or in varied combination, it is questionable how far these conceptualizations can help in understanding how participation unfolds over the course of individual lives.

As I go on to explain, these dominant accounts miss the subtleties of how personal histories of engagement with a particular activity ebb and flow, and they fail to recognise different and changing forms of participation over time, and between one location and another. In this thesis I am interested in developing a much more nuanced understanding of these specificities and of what they mean for how participation changes in two particular sports - running and swimming.

Why running and swimming?

Recreational running and swimming are currently the two most popular participation sports in England for adults (Sport England 2016a). Similarly, the prevalence of adult participation in recreational running (Scheerder et al. 2015a) and swimming (van Bottenburg et al. 2005: 176) relative to other sports has been documented in recent years in other European countries, also based on national sports participation data. Running takes different forms (such as running in parks, running on treadmills in gyms, running in mass participation events), as does swimming (e.g. swimming in 'open water' as well as in indoor pools): both can involve a variety of infrastructure, clothing and equipment, both essential and non-essential, and both can be done in many locations resulting in a variety of settings in which to explore what 'provisioning' involves in different sports.

My intention in this section is to present data which show trends in running and swimming in the UK and to pose questions about what we know about the dynamics that underpin them.

In theory, people have always had the potential to run and swim. The extent to which people actually do so is partially revealed in an 'avalanche of statistics' collected by many states since the 1820s on various facets of

everyday life (Hacking 1986: 222), and through various historical accounts of both pursuits. However, in the UK, detailed large scale surveys seeking to record the numbers of people running, swimming, and doing other sports have only been carried out in recent decades.

To take a longer view, when writing about running and 'foot racing' in *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* at the turn of the 19th century, Strutt (1876 [1801]: 142) states that it is 'needless, I doubt not, to assert the antiquity of this pastime'. Similarly, 'Swimming is an exercise of great antiquity; and no doubt familiar to the inhabitants of this country at all times' (Strutt 1876 [1801]: 151). Strutt further suggests that the prevalence of swimming has changed: 'I am sorry to add, that swimming is by no means so generally practiced with us in the present day as it used to be in former times' (Strutt 1876 [1801]: 152).

Although Strutt (1876 [1801]) did not seek to provide a statistical account of the prevalence of running or swimming, sports historian Harvey (2004: 9) 'attempts to establish as accurate a record as possible of the amount and type' of participation in various sporting activities in Britain for a sixty year period starting in 1790. As part of this exercise, Harvey (2004) pieces together information on a selection of open-to-all sporting events held in Britain, including running ('pedestrianism' and 'foot racing') and swimming ('aquatics') events. However, data on participation in running and swimming is relatively patchy until the late twentieth century.

Between 1987 and 2002, data on adult sports participation (those aged 16 and over) in Great Britain was captured in a *General Household Survey* (GHS), administered by the Office for National Statistics. In editions of the survey where data on sports participation were collected (in 1987, 1990, 1993, 1996,

and 2002 editions), the proportion of adults who had run on average at least once-a-month was consistently 5%. Meanwhile, the proportion of once-a-month swimmers fluctuated between 13% and 15% over the same period (Sport England 2002).

Between 2005/2006 and 2015/2016, data on adult sports participation (again those aged 16 and over) in England was captured in ten annual editions of an *Active People Survey* (APS), administered by Sport England. In contrast to the GHS, the APS captured data on a range of frequencies, including three-times a week participation, once-a-week participation, and once-a-month participation. Based on one of these measures, Chart 1.1 uses APS data to show the numbers of people who ran and swam on average once-a-week between 2005/2006 and 2015/2016. These are set against equivalent data for a selection of other sports.

Chart 1.1 shows that, over the course of the ten editions of the survey, the number of once-a-week swimmers fell from 3.3 million (8.0% of adults in England) in 2005/06 to 2.5 million (5.7%) in 2015/16. Meanwhile, the number of once-a-week runners rose from 1.2 million (3.1% of adults in England) to 2.2 million in 2015/16 (4.9%). These trends contrast with the trajectories of the other four sports represented in the chart, which all stayed relatively stable.

The recent shifting trends in running and swimming also contrast with the 1987-2002 period, where, according to the different measures taken in the GHS, overall participation in running and swimming remained stable.

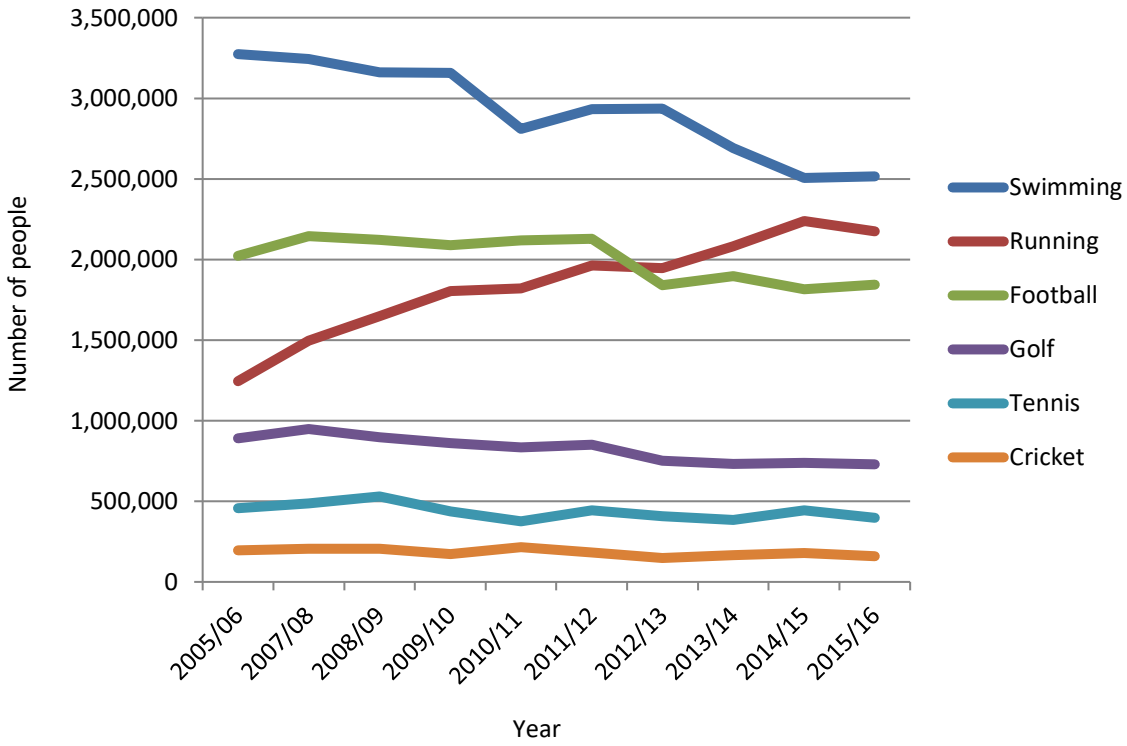

Chart 1.1: Adult participation in selected sports in England (at least once a week)

Source: Sport England Active People Survey data

In describing these trends, whether with reference to APS or GHS data, running and swimming are treated as singular activities. In the context of the APS, for example, Sport England (2016a) clarify that running is taken to encompass the following forms: 'running track, running cross-country/road, running road, running ultramarathon, jogging' (Sport England 2016a: 4). In addition, in at least some editions of the APS, the category of running has been extended to also capture fell running, running on beaches, and running on treadmills (Sport England 2014).

To take things further, when focusing on one of these forms, 'running road', Sport England (2014) provide the following guidance to interviewers responsible for conducting the survey on their behalf: 'Marathon and half marathon are included with 'Running road', as is running in a park/local area' (Sport England 2014: 293). Swimming, meanwhile, is similarly

comprised of different forms in the APS, including: indoor swimming, outdoor swimming, open water swimming, and deep water swimming (Sport England 2016a; Sport England 2014).

Accordingly, the meaning of running and swimming as recorded and depicted in Chart 1.1 is a composite of numerous forms. In a general sense, this is relevant for thinking about the relative prevalence of different sports. For example, other APS data reveals that the number of people who swam outdoors on average once-a-week in 2015/16 was marginally higher, at 405,000, than those who played tennis at the same frequency over the same period (398,000). Furthermore, while Chart 1.1 shows a fall in participation in the overall category of swimming, other APS data reveals that a fall in the numbers of people who swam outdoors on average once-a-week was far less pronounced.

The notion that people do different *forms* of running and swimming has implications for how changing patterns of participation in these sports might be understood and explained. This is an issue I explore in depth in the thesis. At one level, different forms of running and swimming involve different forms of provisioning or, at the very least, ideas of what provisioning may involve. Such diversity is alluded to in the typical names of forms such as *indoor* swimming, *open water* swimming, *cross-country* running, *fell* running, and running on *treadmills*.

Then, while hidden amidst the statistics, these multiple forms might be *done by the same person*, perhaps featuring at different times over the course of their life or 'career' in running and swimming. Whether some forms come to be practiced or not by individuals will, in part, depend on the geographical location in question (for example, what forms of running and swimming are

practiced and provisioned for in a particular city and its surrounding countryside?), and these are subject to change. Furthermore, it is possible that fluctuations in participation may vary with other phenomenon, such as the seasons and weather conditions, as well as the particularities of specific forms of these sports, such as training for a half marathon event.

In addition, it is possible to overlook the role of clothing and equipment in shaping where, when, and how different forms of running and swimming are practiced. The clothing worn and equipment used by those doing 'pedestrianism' and 'aquatics' in the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Strutt 1876 [1801]; Harvey 2004) differs, of course, to that which is worn and used today. Changes of this kind, however, suggest that an understanding of the processes through which specific kinds of clothing and equipment come to be part of different forms of running and swimming are also important for understanding what participation involves and how it changes.

Taking these observations together, a more varied picture emerges of what participation in running and swimming involves. This has implications for thinking through what is going on as participation changes over different time scales for any given individual.

My interest in these issues is shaped, in part, by my own relationship with running and swimming. Over the past decade or so of my adult life, I have run and swum with varying degrees of frequency, and have come to do a variety of kinds of these practices. For example, as well as doing a number of 'regular' runs over this period, starting from the front door of different places I have lived, I have also run with two running clubs, taken part in a variety of running events, including a marathon, and dabbled with fell

running. Also with fluctuating levels of consistency over the same period, I have swum in local pools and a variety of outdoor locations.

These first-hand experiences partly influenced how the topics were chosen and how the research was conceived and undertaken. For example, I was already aware that some forms of these activities had seen growing popularity in recent years – including Parkrun[1] and forms of open water swimming. I was also aware that my own participation in these activities has developed and changed across my life, sometimes in relation to these broader shifts, but sometimes not. My own experiences were clearly relevant both in recruiting and talking with participants and also in the possibility of undertaking 'go-along' interviews and observations, which I subsequently introduce in the next chapter. In this respect, my own practices were unavoidably part of the research, and part of how the study developed.

In addition, and also from the start, I had a more general interest in how and why people's participation in different sports comes to change, and how this might be studied. As well as thinking about my own experiences, this stemmed from being curious about how other people approach sport, and on what basis generalizable claims might be made about participation.

In the next chapter, where I set out a research design for the project, I will reflect further on how my 'personal' history as a runner/swimmer, and my own 'analytical orientation' are implicated in the research. Before getting into these details I first take stock of some of the conceptual resources on which I draw.

[1] A free, weekly, timed 5 kilometre run that takes place in parks and public spaces on Saturday mornings in the UK and 16 other countries (Parkrun 2018b)

Practices, careers and materials: conceptual resources

In contrast to the dominant approaches to explaining how participation changes in sport, social theories of practice offer an alternative way of conceptualizing processes of social reproduction and change (Reckwitz 2002b; Shove et al. 2012). In this thesis, I work with the following concepts from the field: practice-as-performance and practice-as-entity (Shove et al. 2012), the notion that people have and move through careers in practice (Lave and Wenger 1991), and the cross-cutting contention that 'materials' are constitutive of practice (Reckwitz 2002b: 252-253).

Although I work with these concepts and a selection of others from across the social sciences in subsequent chapters, my intention in this section is to briefly introduce the conceptual resources I shall be working with in the thesis and set out why they are relevant for the study.

A key contention in social theories of practice is that practices are, or should be, taken as the central unit of conceptualization and enquiry, rather than, for example, individual mindsets or the characteristics of social groups (Reckwitz 2002b). Drawing precise boundaries as to what, exactly, constitutes a practice is always a subjective enterprise (Warde 2013), and later in this section I will discuss how I propose to delineate running and swimming, and the different forms they may take.

A second critical contention is that particular instances of doing a practice (e.g. when someone goes for a swim) are inherently bound to the broader existence and history of practice (e.g. swimming as it is and as it has been practiced by many people). Reckwitz (2002) distinguishes between these two conceptions, and comments on how they relate, when describing a practice as a 'block' or 'pattern which can be filled out by a multitude of single and

often unique actions' (Reckwitz 2002b: 250). To conceptualize the processes through which blocks of practice and instances of doing are reproduced and change, Shove et al. (2012) refer to Reckwitz (2002b) and a rich heritage of philosophical thought in making a similar initial move. Shove et al. (2012) draw an analytical distinction between 'practice-as-entity' and specific instances of doing, 'practice-as-performance', and also see the two as being recursively related (Shove et al. 2012: 15).

Building on these ideas, Shove et al. (2012) suggest that practices involve the active and dynamic integration of three elements: materials, competence, and meaning. 'Materials' are taken to include 'things, technologies, tangible physical entities, and the stuff of which objects are made'; 'competence', meanwhile, encompasses 'skill, know-how and technique'; and 'meaning', here, includes 'symbolic meanings, ideas and aspirations' (Shove et al. 2012: 14). In their analysis, it is when these three elements of materials, competence, and meaning are actively integrated by individuals or 'carriers' of a practice (Shove et al. 2012: 7; Reckwitz 2002b: 250) that practices-as-performance occur. Practices-as-entities are similarly constituted through such integrations.

An advantage of this stripped-down view is that it opens up possibilities for analyzing patterns and connections between elements and practices. Practices change or transform, for example, when 'new elements are introduced or when existing elements are combined in new ways' (Shove et al. 2012: 120). In this conceptualization, there is scope for thinking not only about how practices such as running and swimming are routinely reproduced but also how they are transformed.

While Shove et al. (2012) develop Reckwitz's (2002b) contention that individuals not only act as the carrier of singular practices but also figure as the crossing points 'of many different practices which need not be coordinated with one another' (Reckwitz 2002b: 250), Lave and Wenger (1991) focus on how an individual's qualitative engagement with the same practice develops over time.

In their book *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*, Lave and Wenger (1991) attend to how newcomers to a practice, initial 'peripheral' participants, move through careers in practice and, in cases, become experts. In order for this to happen, Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that newcomers must cross the thresholds of sequential, increasingly complex stages, distinctive to the practice in question. While Lave and Wenger's (1991) work has been influential in debates about how adults and children 'learn', the notion that people move through careers in practice, and that practices are themselves ordered according to their own internal hierarchies, offers another starting point in this study.

A further theme, which I explore in greater detail throughout the thesis, concerns how materials feature in practice. This is of relevance for all the analytical distinctions of practice so far introduced, including: practice career, practice-as-performance, and practice-as-entity.

The following overview of recent and relevant writings on materiality and practice helps situate my own contribution. More specifically, I introduce a selection of conceptual resources – from writing in social theories of practice and selected theories of materiality – before outlining how I work with these particular ideas in the thesis.

Concurrent with a material turn across the social sciences in recent decades, contemporary theoretical accounts of practice have come to emphasize the significance of materiality for everyday conduct. For example, when setting out an 'ideal type' of practice, Reckwitz (2002b) underlines that materials should not be taken for granted: 'It might sound trivial to stress that in order to play football we need a ball and goals' (Reckwitz 2002b: 252-253). This marks a departure from strands of earlier social theory, such as Giddens (1984), which have been influential in the development of work in this field. As Reckwitz (2002a: 215) points out, in Giddens' writing, materials are treated as resources which 'are primarily understood as allocative or authoritative means of power, less as things/artefacts to be handled'.

In what is described as a 'second wave' of practice theory, much greater attention has been paid to the 'material'. Within this literature there are differences in precisely how the relationship between materials and practices is conceptualized.

As noted above, Shove et al. (2012; Shove and Pantzar 2005) conceptualize materials as one of three practice elements, along with meanings and competence. In contending that materials and practice are inextricably linked, they suggest that materials are in different ways part of, and integral to, social practices. In this account it is the materials, as used and integrated in performances of a practice, which are the important focus.

In contrast, Schatzki (2010; 2002) treats 'material arrangements' as being connected to, but conceptually distinct from, practice. For him, practices transpire within arrangements, which are taken to encompass a variety of phenomenon, including physical entities, 'nature' and the 'environment'

(Schatzki 2010: 126). Although outcomes of practice themselves, material arrangements draw attention to the way a variety of phenomenon precede and shape practice.

Other interpretations explicitly focus on how particular kinds of material feature within, or relate to, a multitude of practices. For example, accounts focusing on 'infrastructure' (Shove et al. 2015), 'technologies within and beyond practices' (Morley 2017), and the relational qualities of space (Hui and Walker 2017, drawing on Schatzki) shed insight into the roles various 'materials' play in how a spectrum of practices come to connect or not in space and time.

The above interpretations of materials and practice constitute different lines of enquiry, with variation in not only what is taken to be a material, but the extent to which multiple rather than 'singular' practices are the focal point, and difference in how, exactly, phenomenon which is understood to precede or be implicated during practice is conceptualized. My intention in this project is to 'start' with two particular practices – running and swimming – and focus on how materials are folded into these activities. In this way, I draw on Shove et al.'s (2012) conception of material in their three elements model of practice. Though, at the same time, my intention is to 'rule in' and foreground a broad range of phenomenon as part of what materials might be taken to mean – including the weather, the natural/built environment, seasonal conditions, and, as I shall discuss further, the body.

As studies which work with Shove et al.'s (2012) model of practice demonstrate, complementary ways of conceptualizing materials as-part-of practice have usefully been employed in response to different questions concerned with how practices come to be reproduced and change. To reveal

how equipment, for example, is implicated in the actual 'doing' of activities – such as bats in games of baseball (Wang and Shove 2014), or sticks in Nordic Walking (Shove and Pantzar 2005) - the concept of a hybrid, whereby the boundary between non-humans and humans is dissolved (e.g. Michael 2000), has been drawn upon from the field of science and technology studies.

What tends to be less of a focus in practice-informed accounts, however, is the notion a broad range of phenomenon are implicated in the conduct of activity and, accordingly, the terms in which other theories of materiality might be drawn upon. In a recent study on running and exercising in an outdoor gym within a neighbourhood estate, however, Maller et al.'s (2016) account represents a notable exception. In addition to exercise clothing, Maller et al. (2016) are wide ranging in what they include as 'materials', taking this to also comprise trees, parks, weather, the seasons, lights, roads, paths, and play equipment (Maller et al. 2016: 56). Significantly, Maller et al. (2016), reveal how diverse kinds of material have a hand in shifting when and where their respondents exercised.

At the same time, Maller et al. (2016) temper their focus on diverse materials-as-part-of exercise practices by showing how a broad range of daily life practices – including commuting, working, and looking after children – also play a decisive role in when and where their respondents' exercise. Yet if it is the case, as Lave and Wenger (1991) argue, that someone's engagement with an activity is qualitatively different over the course of a career in practice, is there something specific about how, exactly, diverse kinds of material feature in activity that helps with understanding how one performance connects to another? Other interpretations of 'the

material' provide different starting points from which to explore the detail of how diverse kinds of material feature in the conduct of doing.

The concept of affordance (Gibson 1986) from environmental psychology, which posits that diverse kinds of phenomenon allow for particular activities to take place, represents one point of departure. While Gibson (1986: 127-133) is far reaching in the phenomenon he attends to – which include a plethora of objects, artefacts, and what he identifies as particular kinds of environment – the relationship he identifies between such phenomenon and the carrying out of various actions is a uniform one.

Conversely another starting point emphasizes how multi-faceted material relations characterize the conduct of doing (Rinkinen et al. 2015). With reference to the practice of keeping warm, Rinkinen et al. (2015) develop a typology of material relations to illustrate the different ways people 'encounter', 'act' in, and 'evaluate' material environments in practice, and how, as part of this, material elements may switch from passive to active forms and vice versa. Such questions around materials in practice present new starting points from which to explore how performances and careers within singular practices relate, and how these vary and change over time.

Meanwhile, other traditions in the social sciences take the changing nature of the body as a point of departure. For example, in a study of boxers in Chicago, Wacquant (1995) observes that, through training, the body is capable of amassing more 'value' than is originally 'sunk' into it. Wainwright and Turner (2006), meanwhile, attend to how injuries and ageing have shaped the careers of current and former Royal ballet dancers. Far from being thought of as inert, such work attends to the varied ways bodies change. Yet what can be less clear in some interpretations of materiality, is

how exactly the body is understood to feature and change in conjunction with materials.

Anthropologist Ingold, however, who provides guiding statements on what engagement with a 'world of materials' involves, incorporates the body as part of his account (Ingold 2007b). As a first step, and as in Maller et al.'s (2016) take, diverse phenomenon are included in Ingold's notion of materiality. All forms of artefacts and natural objects are incorporated and, while some may be regarded as being more artificial than others, this does not make them 'any more a part of the material world' (Ingold 2007b: 4).

Furthermore, although for Ingold (2011: 130) the weather 'is absent from the accounts of practically every author, in anthropology and archaeology, who has set out to investigate the engagements between people and what is conventionally known as the 'material world", his aim is to redress this gap. Thus the 'wind…is not an object, nor does it tear at trees because it is endowed with agency. It is an air current, materials-in-motion' (Ingold 2011: 17).

A further feature of Ingold's interpretation of materiality is that 'my own body' (Ingold 2007b: 4) is included, as for Ingold (2007b: 7) 'human beings do not exist on the 'other side' of materiality'. On this point, Ingold's interpretation differs from accounts where either bodies and materiality are understood as belonging to separate realms in the conduct of doing, or where the body is understood to play only a restrictive role in enacting practices.

The second step, and main characteristic of Ingold's account, concerns the way in which diverse kinds of materials interrelate. In contrast, for example, to focusing on how materials are 'used' as part of what people do, Ingold

(2007b: 11) argues that, 'Far from being the inanimate stuff typically envisioned in modern thought, materials in this original sense are the active constituents of a world-in-formation. Wherever life is going on, they are relentlessly on the move – flowing, scraping, mixing and mutating'. Ingold's 'world of materials' and Maller et al.'s (2016) analysis help articulate the range and role of materials relevant for participation in running and swimming.

Inspired by Maller et al. (2016) and Ingold (2007a; 2007b), I make use of the conclusion that diverse kinds of materials are implicated in constituting running and swimming, and suggest these can be divided into four main categories as set out in Table 1.1 below.

Built/natural structures	**Natural and artificial phenomenon**	**Clothing and equipment**	**The body**
Parks	Day-to-day weather	Running shoes	In a fit condition (e.g. from training)
Mountain trails	Day time and night time	Running clothing	In a less fit condition
Gyms with treadmills	Seasonal conditions	Monitoring devices	Injured
Swimming pools	Artificial lighting	Swimming costumes	Recovering from injury
Lakes	Stable indoor temperature	Neoprene wetsuits	Well rested

Table 1.1: Materials implicated in running and swimming

In foregrounding the idea that diverse kinds of material are implicated in running and swimming, I suggest that, in any given run or swim, materials from each of the four broad categories in Table 1.1 are typically implicated.

Aspects of this are obvious. Looking at the 'built/natural structures' column, for example, water is of course needed for swimming, as is some form of terrain for running. Yet the availability and kinds of 'materials' within this category, such as treadmills and mountain trails, not only differs from place-to-place but is relevant for the actual 'doing' of these activities. Accordingly, rather than constituting a block category, 'materials' within the column will, to varying degree, differ from location to location and are in part relevant for what actually constitutes a run or swim.

Various 'clothing and equipment', meanwhile, may readily be recognised as being part of these practices too, such as running shoes and swimming costumes. Yet the precise kinds of clothing and equipment that come to be part of runs and swims is also in a sense arbitrary and thoroughly subject to social processes. Neoprene wetsuits, for example, which have become an increasingly widespread piece of kit for outdoor swimmers, have a longer history that precedes them featuring in swimming this way. Swims with such specific kinds of clothing are not only different in character to those without, but whether such attire is available at all may somewhat be an 'accident' of history.

A related point is that some materials may readily appear to 'go together' at particular moments in time, including those from the different columns in Table 1.1. For example, contemporary treadmill running may involve a treadmill in a gym, stable indoor air temperature, and running shoes and clothing. Yet, in practice, though for outdoor running and swimming in particular, multiple combinations of materials are possible. In part this relates to the idea that 'natural and artificial phenomenon', such as various weather and seasonal conditions, play a role too in shaping what other

'materials' appear and in how exactly they feature, and not necessarily in predictable ways.

An issue cross-cutting which kinds of 'materials' appear and how they do so in run and swims is precisely how the body features in this context. Again, rather than somehow constituting a block category, not only does the body age but, in relation to practices such as running and swimming, may be in a more or less fit condition, for example.

Sport sociologist Wellard (2014: 22) claims that generic surveys which seek to elicit people's motivation for sport are limited insofar as they do not have the capacity to explore underlying questions about the way sport is experienced. Elsewhere, ethnographers and sociologists of sport have drawn on theories of embodiment to show how feelings of pleasure and pain change over the course of long distance open water swims (Throsby 2013) and long distance fell runs (Atkinson 2016).

One interest I have in this thesis is to explore how recreational runs and swims, including those conducted indoors and out, are experienced with reference to the idea that diverse kinds of material are implicated in the conduct of doing as set out in Table 1.1. In addition to help understand how various combinations do and do not come together, an understanding of how personal careers in running and swimming evolve is needed. To this end, I further make use of Stebbins's concept of 'Serious Leisure' (Stebbins 1982; Stebbins 1992; Elkington and Stebbins 2014) and Lave and Wenger's (1991) analysis of the processes through which people move through careers within specific practices.

Aims and research questions

In working with these ideas, my overall aim in this thesis is two-fold: to provide an account of how participation in recreational running and swimming changes that focuses not on individual commitments, social group membership or the existence of requisite facilities but on the development of these activities as materialized practice; and, second, to extend sociological accounts of 'materials' and 'careers', and to provide new ways of linking these together in explaining how running and swimming have evolved.

These concerns underpin the following research questions, explored in different chapters:

- Through what processes do different forms of running and swimming come to be produced and spread to different places? How are materials implicated in these processes? (Chapter three)

- What social roles do materials play in the experience and immediacy of 'doing' runs and swims? (Chapter four)

- Through what processes do 'careers' in running and swimming unfold? (Chapter five)

As will be detailed in Chapter two, my study makes use of a mixture of methods. These include desk-based historical research and a particular style of interview with 30 runners and swimmers, which involved both a go-along interview, in which I accompanied participants on a typical run or swim of their choosing and interviewed them about it, and a biography interview, in

which I explored how their participation in different forms of running and swimming had evolved over the course of their lives with the aid, in part, of an interviewee-drawn 'career timeline'.

Outline of the thesis

Following an account of why I chose two particular study sites, the cities of Bristol and Lancaster as well as their surrounding countryside, and an outline of my research design and methodology (Chapter two), I focus on the processes through which different materials (infrastructure and clothing/equipment) have come to be part of running and swimming in Bristol and Lancaster, as well as more broadly. I use this contextual analysis to inform and develop new ways of thinking about how running and swimming have changed (Chapter three), and consider how this representation fits with different accounts of how practices are reproduced and how they spread (Shove and Pantzar 2005; Wang and Shove 2014).

Having established some of the processes through which running and swimming have changed, I focus on precisely how different materials are implicated in runs and swims (Chapter four). Here I make use of go-along interviews, aspects of which are interpreted with reference to writings on the social roles of materials (Gibson 1986; Ingold 2007a; Ingold 2007b). To help make sense of how interviewees' running and swimming careers have unfolded, I make use of key works by Stebbins (1982; 1992; Elkington and Stebbins 2014) and Lave and Wenger (1991), as part of an empirically informed discussion of how participation in running and swimming changes (Chapter five).

To conclude, in Chapter six, I review what I have learned about practices, materials, and careers at different scales, relating these insights to some of

the distinctions set out in Table 1.1 above, and to a broader discussion of how 'careers' and trends in participation intersect at different scales. Based on my research, I argue that the premises which inform current sports policy, and the interpretations of participation on which these ideas depend, don't capture the ways in which recreational running and swimming develop, and I put forward an alternative account of what these activities involve and how they change. This informs some specific suggestions as to how policy might be designed, and also helps identify future lines of research especially relating to issues of exercise and 'healthy' practice.

Chapter two: Studying running and swimming

To pursue my concerns, I needed to devise an appropriate research design to gather empirical material. With respect to deciding upon the research design of any project, de Vaus (2001) asserts that 'in social research the issues of sampling, method of data collection (e.g. questionnaire, observation, document analysis), and design of questions are all subsidiary to the matter of 'what is the problem in which I am interested' and 'what evidence do I need to collect?' (de Vaus 2001: 9).

Research design

In response to de Vaus's assertion, and to begin to explain what I did and why, I made some early decisions relevant for the types of data I needed to collect and how they would be used. Firstly, as expressed at the end of Chapter one, I was interested in: the processes through which running and swimming, as practices entities, are changing in the places where a selection of people do these activities; the roles diverse kinds of materials play as part of the immediacy of 'doing' runs and swims, and what this means for how they are experienced; and how patterns of participation over the course of people's careers in running and swimming could be explained. All of these concerns had implications for the lines of enquiry that I chose to follow, and for the decision to adopt qualitative methods. This decision is in keeping with Hammersley and Atkinson's observations about 'getting a view from inside and outside' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 230-233), and the importance of qualitative approaches for capturing the detail of what participants do and their understandings of how their practices have unfolded, and for acquiring accounts of practice that are situated in time and space, and in specific material settings and environments.

While quantitative data would in part be needed, to show how what is involved in the doing of running and swimming has changed, I held that explanation of such changes, through exploration of processes and experiences, required qualitative data. Furthermore, I required data that would allow me to home in on certain ways in which materials feature in practice (how do materials of diverse kinds feature in the experience of singular runs and swims?), but, also, to be able to branch out from such a focus (how do contemporary careers in running and swimming unfold?), and, even further still (how do different forms of running and swimming change in particular sites and in the UK more broadly?).

In addition, I needed a strategy to select cases which would enable careers in, and specific instances of, recreational running and swimming to be studied in conjunction with 'holding still' certain materials. When deciding upon cases in social research, Flyvbjerg (2001: 78-79) broadly distinguishes between 'random selection' and 'information-oriented selection' approaches to sampling. For the purpose of this study, information-oriented selection provided a means of ensuring that I 'obtain information about the significance of various circumstances for case process and outcome' (Flyvbjerg 2001: 79), including detailed data on materials, the careers of participants, and how these intersected with different forms of running and swimming.

In this chapter, I have two main aims. Firstly, to explain why I foregrounded specific kinds of materials and aspects of participation in running and swimming in my research design; chose to conduct 'go-along' and 'biography' interviews with selected participants, and engaged them in a 'career timeline' activity; and to describe how I identified and worked with a selection of secondary sources.

A second aim is to provide a reflexive account of how the research was conducted. In accordance with Hammersley and Atkinson's (2007) central contention that qualitative researchers are unavoidably implicated in the social world in which they study, my intention is to reflect on how both my 'personal characteristics' (which include being male, in my early thirties, and someone with a degree of experience with running and swimming) and my 'location as an analyst.. in the academic field' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 39) played a role in shaping the research across subsequent sections.

Selecting study sites

The dominant approaches for understanding how participation in everyday sport changes, reviewed in Chapter one, either collapse all sports into a singular category (and then focus on, say, the mindset of participants), or, conflate the various forms of a specific sport (e.g. cross-country running and running in a park) into a singular understanding of what doing such a sport involves. As a consequence, some of the nuance as to what participation in various sports involves – whether as part of a singular instance of 'doing', or over the course of a career that incorporates and criss-crosses among many types – is lost.

An alternative starting point, which I adopt here, is to take different sports - running and swimming - and initially separate out different ways in which different kinds of built/natural structures or environment feature in various forms of these practices. Consequently, in selecting study sites and respondents, I opted to foreground different parts of the environment to determine from where interviewees would be recruited, and where go-along interviews would take place. This decision also informed a particular cluster of questions within biography interviews and the types of secondary sources that would be drawn upon.

It is relevant that the initial judgements I made here – for example, what terms such as 'built/natural structures' or 'the environment' could be taken to mean, and what may or may not be understood as recreational running – are open to interpretation. Different decisions could have been made, and my interpretations are themselves situated in time and space. Imbued in the process through which I came to make judgements about what to foreground in the study was both an effort to take diverse kinds of material (Maller et al. 2016) in practice seriously, and a measure of reflection about my own experience in doing different forms of running and swimming. In the context of the study as a whole, these influences on how 'materialized' study sites were selected are important insofar as they were informed by my 'own' initial take on the relevance of different materials and environments, rather than those of yet-to-be met interviewees, and most of the secondary sources of data. In what follows, I set out how I came to select particular study sites, including sites of indoor and outdoor running and swimming in Lancaster and Bristol.

While built/natural structures may be infinitely complex, in deciding which kinds of materials from this category to foreground, I sought variation (Flyvbjerg 2001: 79) by broadly distinguishing between indoor and outdoor forms of running and swimming. In addition, for running, I further broadly differentiated between 'urban' and 'rural' environments, again for the purpose of incorporating and therefore examining relevant variation. Although outdoor running may involve the piecing together of many types of surface in a given run (roads, footpaths in parks, trails through a wood), a crude distinction between urban and rural forms helps move towards the idea that, typically, running may largely involve particular configurations (such as particular surfaces and street lighting in urban areas). Indoor and outdoor swimming also represent qualitatively different configurations.

To foreground these differences, I sought two study sites that would allow me to explore how the urban and rural environment is part of outdoor running; that afforded indoor swimming and treadmill running in gyms; and that had clear locations for outdoor swimming.

Two English cities, Bristol, in the south west, and Lancaster, in the north west, met these criteria. In contrast to cities situated within large conurbations Bristol and Lancaster are close to countryside, providing an opportunity to explore what 'rural' running involves. In addition, and as expressed in the population sizes of these cities – Bristol has a population of 449,328 and Lancaster 142,283 (Office for National Statistics 2016) – they provide different scales and settings to explore what constitutes 'urban' running.

Furthermore, both cities have public swimming pools, gyms furnished with treadmills, and locations where outdoor swimming is a recognised activity, whether within the cities themselves or within nearby countryside. In addition to allowing me to achieve my conceptual aims, these study sites provided a practicable study design, as I would be living in both cities over the course of the project, thus making the two-part interviews achievable. This 'casing' (Ragin 1992) of different forms of environment provided me, then, with criteria in which to seek out appropriate locations. Bristol and Lancaster, and parts of their immediate surroundings, met these criteria.

In turn, within these two study sites I sought to recruit runners and swimmers from locations where particular natural and built materials featured. This process of delineating which respondents I sought to recruit and from where is represented in Figure 2.1 below, where each blue block constitutes a respondent.

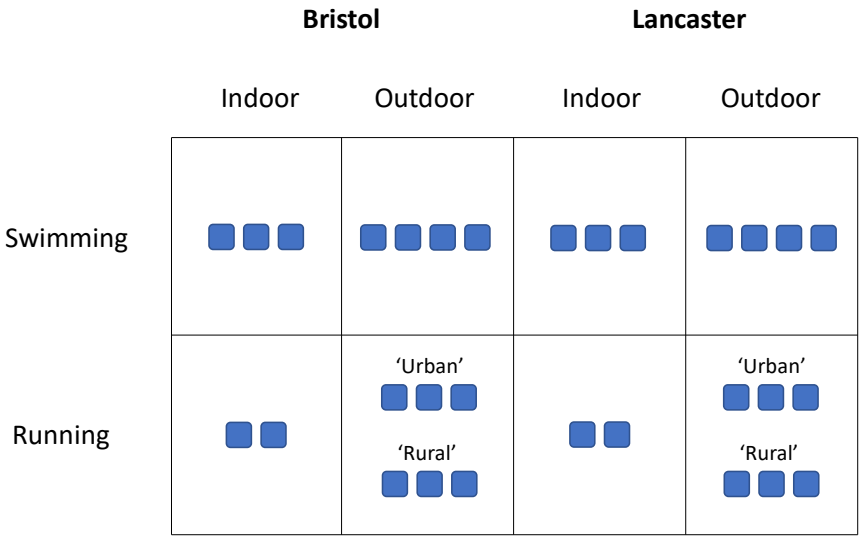

Figure 2.1: Criteria for selecting study sites and recruiting 30 interviewees

As detailed in Chapter three, there are many sites and places where running and swimming are practiced in and around Bristol and Lancaster. For the purpose of contrasting experiences of running and swimming in the same natural/built structures among different respondents, I recruited from the same location in a number of instances. This was the case for indoor running and swimming in Bristol (where all five respondents either ran or swam at Horfield Leisure Centre) as well as for indoor running and swimming in Lancaster (again the five respondents ran or swam at Salt Ayre Leisure Centre). Similarly, the four outdoor swimmers in Bristol swam at Henleaze Lake, a dedicated outdoor swimming facility situated three miles from the city centre, while the four outdoor swimmers near Lancaster all swam at Windermere Lake in the Lake District. There were further 'characteristics', though, of interviewees that I sought to include as part of the research design.

Selecting respondents

As well as capturing different aspects of the environments of running and swimming that respondents would have at least some experience of running on/swimming in, I sought further variation according to the length of

'career' they had in running and swimming, as well as including a balance of men and women.

To build these features into my research design, I used age as a rough approximation for career length, whereby I sought 15 adult interviewees aged under 50 (and aged over 16); and 15 aged over 50. I also sought to recruit 15 men and 15 women. Cutting across these requirements, to capture recreational runners and swimmers, I specifically sought respondents who did not run or swim professionally.

Upon receiving ethical approval from Lancaster University in March 2015, and after carrying out a pilot interview with a Lancaster-based runner, I set out to recruit respondents. My recruitment strategy partly involved taking part in, and asking around at, different places where recreational running and swimming take place in Bristol and Lancaster. This included swim sessions at Horfield and Salt Ayre Leisure Centres, Parkrun in both cities, and a fell running club near Lancaster, 'Lonsdale Fell Runners'.

In addition, I posted flyers at Horfield and Salt Ayre Leisure Centres, put out calls for participation online, and contacted organisers of a swim training session at Windermere Lake (called 'Sleeker Swim') as well as members of a Henleaze Lake organising committee. Interviewees also gave me further contacts who I could approach.

Although it became a little more time consuming towards the end of the recruitment process to identify respondents who would, in combination, give me a balance between gender and age, ultimately 15 women and 15 men were recruited, and 15 of the overall pool of interviewees were aged over 50 (with the oldest 88) and 15 aged under 50 (with the youngest 17).

Table 2.1 below, which uses pseudonyms in place of interviewee's real names, provides an overview of the participants according to their age, gender, occupation, and, in accordance with Figure 2.1, the place where they were recruited.

While biography interviews were carried out with all 30 interviewees, go-along interviews, in the way in which I originally imagined them to be conducted, were completed with 23 interviewees. In one case, an outdoor runner sustained a leg injury while running a few days before we were scheduled to meet. They were happy to be interviewed about that specific run, though, and so I asked similar questions as in regular go-along interviews (detailed below). With limited opportunities to arrange repeat interviews with six other interviewees, I took a similarly pragmatic decision to interview respondents about a run/swim completed in the particular place where I had just recruited them. This was the case for indoor runners, Jake and Hayley, outdoor swimmers, Charlotte and Nisha, and indoor swimmers, Arthur and James.

The recruitment process brought to my attention aspects of the environments of running and swimming that I had not previously considered. For example, open water swimming in the winter began for the first time at Henleaze Lake toward the end of 2015, while Lancaster's first Parkrun was set up in January 2016. In turn, these recent changes had direct implications for who was recruited – for example, Brian and Jasmine were recruited at Lancaster Parkrun – and this weekly event had had a strong influence on the emergent running careers of these interviewees.

Runners, Bristol

No.	Place recruited	Name, occupation	Gender	Age
1	Indoor	Zoe, General practitioner (part-time)	F	40
2	Indoor	Hayley, Civil servant	F	34
3	Outdoor – urban	Lydia, Project manager	F	38
4	Outdoor – urban	Anna, Travel consultant	F	42
5	Outdoor – urban	Rory, Civil servant	M	48
6	Outdoor – rural	Julia, School teacher (part-time)	F	57
7	Outdoor – rural	Matthew, Retired	M	56
8	Outdoor – rural	Christine, Accountant	F	56

Runners, Lancaster

No.	Place recruited	Name, occupation	Gender	Age
9	Indoor	Adam, Garage assistant	M	52
10	Indoor	Jake, Unemployed	M	17
11	Outdoor – urban	Simon, Unemployed	M	29
12	Outdoor – urban	Brian, Archaeologist	M	61
13	Outdoor – urban	Jasmine, PhD student	F	28
14	Outdoor – rural	Dennis, Software developer	M	38
15	Outdoor – rural	Harriet, General practitioner	F	54
16	Outdoor – rural	Craig, University manager	M	51

Swimmers, Bristol

No.	Place recruited	Name, occupation	Gender	Age
17	Indoor	Sophie, Retired	F	60
18	Indoor	Michael, Voluntary sector manager	M	61
19	Indoor	Luke, Accountant	M	31
20	Outdoor	Emily, Company director	F	63
21	Outdoor	Oliver, IT consultant and gardener	M	60
22	Outdoor	Charlotte, Social care worker	F	47
23	Outdoor	Nisha, Clinical psychologist	F	41

Swimmers, Lancaster

No.	Place recruited	Name, occupation	Gender	Age
24	Indoor	Grace, Administrator	F	24
25	Indoor	James, Retired	M	66
26	Indoor	Arthur, Retired	M	88
27	Outdoor	Holly, Activity centre instructor	F	25
28	Outdoor	George, IT consultant	M	50
29	Outdoor	Alice, Education consultant	F	45
30	Outdoor	Tom, Fireman (part-time)	M	53

Table 2.1: Overview of interviewees by age, gender, occupation and place recruited

In addition, the 'condition of the body' and day-to-day weather conditions were of further relevance in different ways. For example, I put on hold the process of looking to arrange go-along run interviews while recovering from my own leg injury for two months, while a rain storm led to the postponement of one go-along run interview.

Beyond the choices made with respect to selecting study sites and recruiting respondents, the design and approach of the interviews offered further scope to address my theoretical concerns.

Go-along interviews

To explore how and why participation in running and swimming changes, the case was made in the previous chapter for an alternative unit of analysis: practice, and the associated proposition that diverse kinds of material constitute practice. The idea of accompanying respondents on a typical run or swim of their choosing – arguably a performance-of-practice – was to explore what this proposition might mean, and to explore how it relates to various careers and patterns of participation.

Hitchings and Latham (2016a) suggest that qualitative research strategies 'which involve spending time in identified social contexts and learning from doing relevant activities, listening carefully as particular groups describe their experiences, and closely considering how different phenomena are represented' (Hitchings and Latham 2016a: 301) are useful in providing a more nuanced account of the relationship between recreational exercise and the environment. Methods to help achieve this have included auto-ethnographic accounts for running (Allen Collinson 2008) and swimming (Ward 2016), and go-along interviews for recreational running (Hitchings and Latham 2016b; Hitchings and Latham 2017; Cook et al. 2015).

Go-along interviews have been conducted in different ways, though they generally share features that are characteristic of an ethnographic approach, such as participant observation, which offers researchers the chance to 'see the very things which might not be reported in an interview' (Becker and Geer 2004 [1969]: 248). In the context of this study, go-along interviews opened up the possibility of asking respondents about 'materials' as I observed them and, as interviewer, to further pursue such threads elsewhere in the interview process.

Inspired by these possibilities, I accompanied 23 interviewees on a recreational run or swim of their choosing, with these being selected with reference to the particular 'environment' in which they were recruited (as per Figure 2.1 and Table 2.1 above). Just before and after these occasions, I conducted mini-interviews with participants, predominantly to explore how the 'materialized' doing of the specific runs and swims was experienced, and how this differed to other runs and swims they had previously completed. In addition, though for runs only, interviews were extended to incorporate discussion during the activity itself. The interviews were recorded with an audio recorder.

These practical considerations, including my own fitness and that of my participants, along with the challenges of recording whilst 'on the run' clearly shaped both the types of settings I was able to explore, and the forms of observations and insights that I collected.

Rather than assuming that interviews would generate 'objective' accounts of runs and swims, I was aware that the interview setting along with my 'personal characteristics' would influence proceedings in different ways, with consequences that would be likely to vary from interview to interview. In

some respects, these different settings (and their consequences) were not treated as obstacles to be overcome: instead they became part of the research design.

For example, as part of the recruitment process, I asked participants to choose a 'familiar' or 'frequent' run or swim with the upfront caveat that, for runs, we could go at a speed where we are able to both talk (for a copy of the project information sheet circulated to interviewees, see Appendix one). Meanwhile, in a bid to encourage participants to discuss the detail of the actual runs and swims themselves – details which could be relatively mundane and perhaps taken-for-granted in nature – I sought to not make too many of my own assumptions about these based on my own experiences, and brought along an interview guide with sample questions and prompts (reproduced in Appendix two) to aid me.

With respect to the kinds of runs and swims selected by interviewees within the constraints of different parts of the 'environment' I was looking to foreground (indoor swimming; outdoor swimming; treadmill running; running in rural areas; running in urban areas), there could be considerable variation. For example, while most interviews were more conventionally one-to-one, this was not always the case; one joint go-along interview was with a couple who swim together (Alice and Tom), while other interviews involved the co-presence of others in varied ways, whether as part of a running club session (with Dennis as part of a fell running club training session), a swim group session (with Holly), or a Parkrun event (with Brian).

Yet, to somewhat underline the diversity of what might constitute a typical run or swim, it transpired that the interviewees with whom I did go-along interviews involving others, would also run or swim alone, or had done so

previously. Conversely, many of those with whom I conducted one-to-one go-along interviews also, or previously had, routinely run or swum with others (e.g. Harriet was also a member of a running club, and Lydia would sometimes run with her partner).

Furthermore, while particular 'material' environments in Bristol and Lancaster both guided where I recruited respondents and looked to arrange go-along interviews, there were some immediate ways in which I was encouraged to further consider what might constitute the 'material'. For example, four interviewees (Lydia, Julia, Matthew, Brian) brought along their dogs for our go-along outdoor runs, while another (Anna) would normally bring her dog on her once-a-week lunchtime run.

The questions I posed sought to draw out details of the 'materialized' doing of the specific run or swim, and to explore how this contrasted with other runs and swims. In most cases go-along interviews took place before biography interviews, which made it possible to explore emerging points of interest over the longer timescale of an individual's biography.

Partly as the interviews were spread out over the course of just over a year of fieldwork, and partly as a product of my relationship with different readings, my 'location as an analyst in the academic field' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 39) was not static over time. While the decision to focus on a performance of a practice was built-in to the research design of the thesis early on, to some extent the readings I encountered to help make sense of diverse kinds of materials permeated how different go-along interviews were conducted and interpreted.

Biography interviews

The purpose of biography interviews was to explore how interviewees' participation in running/swimming had unfolded over their lives to date, and to start building a picture of the processes through which this might be explained. As part of this, a concurrent aim was to find out about changes in the different kinds of running/swimming interviewees had done over their careers, and how a range of materials, including clothing and equipment, were implicated in this.

Each biography interview was around one hour long, audio-recorded, and took place in a variety of settings, including cafés within Horfield and Salt Ayre Leisure Centres, interviewees' homes and work places, and by the side of Henleaze and Windermere Lakes. An alternative approach might have involved an effort to 'standardize' such settings, whereby, for example, interviews would take place in the same two locations in Lancaster in Bristol. While there might be a strong case for doing so in other research – such as that involving focus groups – arguably any kind of setting contributes to the character of interviews. My response was pragmatic: for me, the 'setting' was part of the interview process and the research design. I therefore proposed that interviewees choose somewhere convenient and relatively quiet to meet, with the hope was this would also help them feel comfortable.

The interviews were semi-structured and involved the carrying out of a 'career timeline' activity (discussed separately in the section below) roughly half way through. With the aid of questions and prompts in an interview schedule (reproduced in Appendix three), I typically sought to cover eight broad topics: interviewee's running/swimming routine, including how this has fitted alongside other practices; the different forms of

running/swimming they had done; clothing/equipment that had featured as part of their practice; natural settings they had run/swum in; how they learned to run/swim; the different 'conditions' their body had been in; their relationship to various institutions, such as whether they belong or had belong to running/swimming clubs and their awareness of various policy initiatives; and their thoughts on future participation.

The decision to explore these particular topics, as well as the decision to include the career timeline activity, mainly emerged from an initial pilot biography interview with a recreational runner in Lancaster. There were two further main points I took from the pilot interview. First that, while I expected many respondents to have had careers in both running and swimming, there appeared to be much scope to explore, in depth, how careers in one of these had played out, and obtain interesting and useful empirical detail in the process. In addition, the pilot interview showed that the career timeline activity could be a very useful device for prompting the memory of interviewees about the details of past participation. While I had introduced this drawing activity toward the end of the biography interview in the pilot, I adapted my schedule to include it roughly half way through interviews with the 30 participants.

As with go-along interviews, and for better or worse, my 'personal characteristics' (including, for example, my age and gender) helped shape the interpersonal dynamics of the interviews. While some of these characteristics are obviously beyond my influence, I broadly sought to follow human geographers' Cloke et al.'s (2004: 159) general advice when conducting interviews: to listen to answers with sensitivity; to remember what has already been said; to seek an effective balance between listening and speaking out (with questions, prompts, and responses); and to respond

sensitively to unspoken signals in terms of body language. The use of an audio recorder to document the interview helped free up my attention to do so, though my feeling also was that the breaking of the whole interview process into different parts – by also including the go-along interview and career timeline activity – contributed positively to how the biography interviews generally went.

Throughout interviews I treated participants as knowledgeable about their 'materialized' running and swimming practices, as well as other phenomenon to which they referred. When reflecting on the content of the thirty biography interviews, the length and particularities of interviewees' careers influenced how, and the extent to which, topics from the interview schedules were pursued.

Yet I also held that interviewees' knowledge should not necessarily '..be accepted at face value, any more than should that of information from other sources' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 98). This was partly an issue for how the idiosyncrasies of memory were to be handled (discussed later in this chapter). Though, perhaps more profoundly and whether more explicit or subtle, my 'location as an analyst in the academic field' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 39) was bound up with the kind of knowledge that was produced throughout the interviews.

This orientation is evident in the kinds of questions and prompts I included in the interview schedules, as well as in how, ultimately, I came to render and draw upon biography interview material in empirical chapters (predominantly in Chapter five). Yet it also underpinned how I engaged with participants during the interviews themselves. For example, in one interview, an interviewee sought to persuade me that, in order to 'correctly'

understand how they came to swim or not over different periods, I needed to know about a set of 'motivational factors' and 'enablers' and whether these had been in place or not. Rather than treating this explanation as definitive, I continued to ask further questions about participation – both in terms of the detail of the swimming they had done, and how swimming had fitted in alongside other activities in their life – just as I had with other interviewees. In the course of the research, and in analyzing the resulting material, I have developed and worked with certain theoretical traditions, and with ideas that are clearly not embedded in more popular 'motivational' schools of thought. As a result, my interpretations and analysis of the full collection of interview data is at times at odds with some of the 'taken for granted' explanations put forward by individual respondents.

Career timelines

To gain a complementary perspective as to how interviewees' participation in running/swimming had changed over their life course, I requested they draw and annotate timelines of their careers in running/swimming, and to talk me through them.

The timelines were graph-like in nature. The horizontal x-axis of the timelines represented time, beginning when interviewees first started running/swimming and then stretched across to the present day. In instances where interviewees clearly elaborated on how they imagined their careers in running/swimming to unfold in the future, I encouraged them to extend the x-axis of their timelines accordingly.

The vertical y-axis sought to capture how interviewees' levels of commitment to running/ swimming had changed over time. Rather than necessarily seeking an absolute measure along this axis – such as sessions

completed per month or year – the term 'commitment' was initially used as a way to encourage interviewees to provide their own evaluative account of times in their lives when they have done more or less of various forms of running/swimming.

With these two axes in place, a line would then be drawn by interviewees, depicting how participation had changed over the course of their careers in running and swimming. Interviewees would annotate the timelines and were encouraged to note details, such as the different places they had lived, the clothing/equipment that may have been important at different times, and the different types of running/swimming they had done.

As I was interested in interviewees' verbal accounts of 'what was going on behind the line', I encouraged them not to be too concerned about the detail of the drawings themselves, though I factored in a generous amount of time for the activity during interviews.

Like other parts of the interview process, both my 'personal characteristics' and 'analytical orientation' played a role in exactly how the timelines were drawn and discussed, influencing what was included and excluded, emphasized and backgrounded. While pinpointing such effects is not necessarily clear-cut from interview to interview, there are alternative approaches I could have taken in setting up the activity in general. One would have involved asking participants to bring a completed timeline to the interview, rather than drawing one when we met. As I was providing advance notice about the activity anyway, whether in the process of recruiting participants face-to-face or within project information sheets circulated prior to interviews, this was an option. However, my hunch was that some of the details about materialized practice I was seeking to

investigate might be deemed too mundane to mention – for example, issues to do with seasonality, the weather, conditions of the body, and a variety of forms of running/swimming they had done. I concluded that these were more usefully explored and evoked through conversation prior to drawing the timelines themselves. Further, as noted below, the timeline format and the meaning of the different axes became a topic of interview discussion in itself, which was revealing of different orientations amongst the interviewees.

Many interviewees said afterward that they found drawing the timeline to be an interesting way to think about their personal histories with running/swimming, and a number either requested I send them a copy, or took me up on an offer to send them one.

One interviewee's career timeline is shown in Figure 2.2 below. While career timelines are discussed and analyzed in conjunction with interview material in Chapter five, my intention here is to provide an idea of what they look like and to talk through some common issues as to how they were drawn and what they represent.

Beyond serving as a device to encourage respondents to talk about, and help remember, how their participation in running/swimming had evolved over their lives, further issues arose as to how I might subsequently compare timelines, and draw upon them as a source of data in this thesis. In the remainder of this section, and in part of the next concerning 'memory and reflexivity', I elaborate upon the different ways the y-axes, x-axes, and 'commitment' lines were drawn and what they represent.

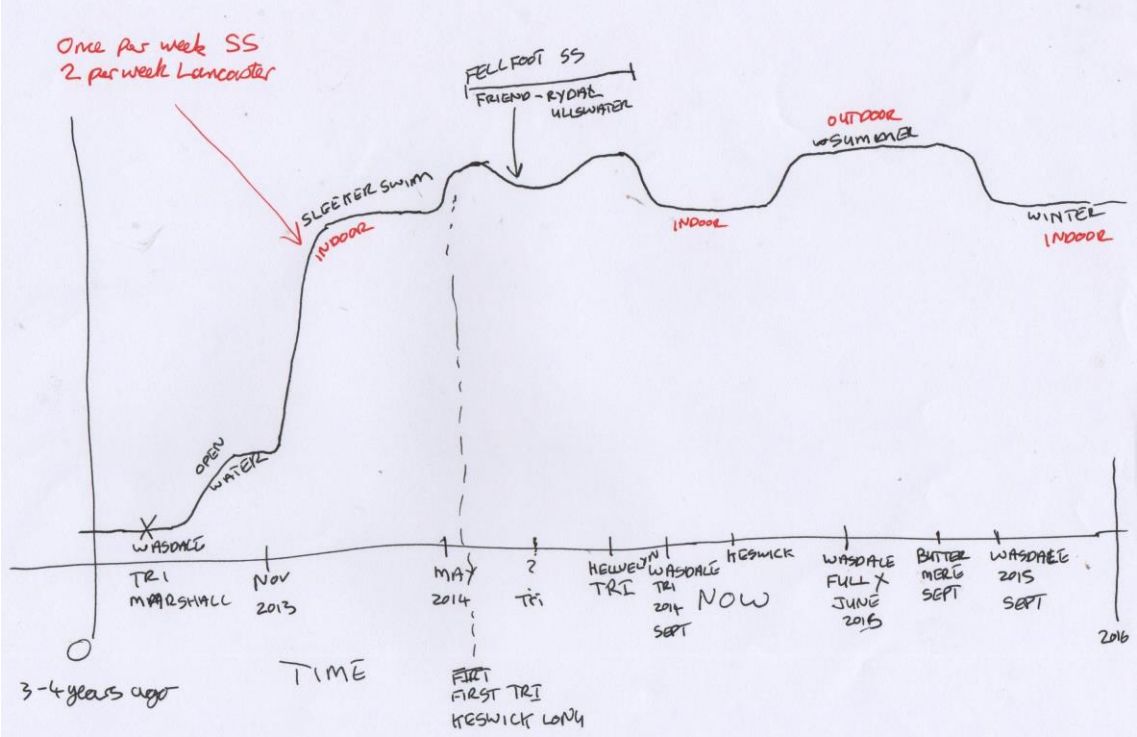

Figure 2.2: George's career timeline (swimmer, 50, Lancaster)

Deciding how to label the y-axis was not typically straightforward in interviews. In Figure 2.2 the terms 'high and low' commitment are used in George's timeline. Elsewhere, Charlotte drew three lines rather than one, with each separately representing quantity, skill, and determination/passion. Indoor and outdoor runner Zoe opted to leave a blank y-axis label, but initially spoke about 'varying levels of motivation' in relation to when she had run more and less at different times in her life. Julia, whose recreational running career had started recently in 2009, depicted both frequency (here, in number of days per week) and commitment. Luke, meanwhile, labelled his y-axis 'enthusiasm' before drawing and talking through how his participation in indoor and outdoor swimming had fluctuated.

The x-axes reflected the length of interviewees' careers in running and swimming. Even so, there was considerable diversity in what x-axes encompassed. For example, rather than necessarily depicting an even

amount of space between years or months – though this was also done – some interviewees compressed certain periods – for example where they went through an extended period of not running/swimming. In addition, while some interviewees signalled where they had practiced different types of running/swimming on one timeline, others created separate lines for each.

With these differences among the timelines in mind, it would not make sense to compare timelines in an exact, like-for-like fashion. Furthermore, when considering how any singular timeline may be interpreted, it must be noted that the peaks, troughs, and periods of stability are relative and subject to ongoing evaluation. Intervening years will have changed how earlier periods of participation are remembered, evaluated, and recalled. And, as participation continues and/or time passes, what constitutes ebb, flow, and stability will always be subject to change as the 'goalposts' continue to move, however subtly. In the context of looking to understand how careers in running/swimming unfold, these issues require the timelines to be handled with caution as sources of data.

A key benefit of doing the timeline activity was that it helped interviewees to recall different forms of running and swimming they had done over their lives, and the detail of how 'materials' had been involved. In addition, as the interview switched back to a regular format, after the activity was concluded, the presence of the timeline itself often acted as a useful reference point for further discussion. Yet while the timeline helped with triggering interviewees' memories, there were broader issues concerning how memories were being drawn upon in the project.

Memory and reflexivity

Across all parts of the interview process – encompassing go-along interviews, biography interviews, and the production of career timelines – I was reliant on invoking the memories of respondents about past participation in running/swimming as well as other aspects of everyday life from earlier times. The reliance on respondents' memories and the 'accuracy' of personal accounts as a source of data are potential limitations in the study.

As noted in the age column of the 'overview of interviewees' in Table 2.1, interviewees were of a range of ages, with the youngest aged 17 and the eldest 88. Although there was not a straightforward relationship between age and career length in recreational running/swimming, the upper end of the range indicates that respondents could potentially be recalling events and experiences from several decades previously.

Accordingly, it could be argued that a bespoke methodological strategy would be required to invoke the memory of older respondents, who might be thought to struggle at times to remember details from particular periods, including the more distant past. Oral historian, Thompson (2000: 136-137), would argue against this. He paints a more complex picture of processes of remembering, identifying that the acuity of recalling earlier rather than more recent events is not necessarily predictable over the life course. Thompson (2000: 137) concludes that 'Interviewing the old, in short, raises no fundamental methodological issues which do not also apply to interviewing in general'.

A more pressing concern for some oral historians is how memory and processes of remembering should be understood more generally. For some,

memory is 'not a storehouse where we can find a ready-formed story' (Abrams 2016: 79), 'not a passive depository of facts' (Portelli 2006 [1979]: 37). Rather, memory and the process of remembering always involve 'a practical and active process of reconstruction' (Abrams 2016: 79). This presents an issue for how certain memories might be evoked.

In my study, the interview process followed a particular pattern that involved zooming in and out of different time periods. In most cases, go-along interviews took place first, and these 'here and now' experiences served as a useful point of comparison with other specific runs/swims and periods of participation which arose in other parts of the go-along and biography interviews. Biography interviews, meanwhile, followed a similar 'arc'. Questions about interviewees' recent routines (the week, recent seasons) would then branch out into those concerning the more distant past where applicable (e.g. the last five years, and longer time frames including early experiences). In addition, as noted above, the production of career timelines – both in the 'doing' of the activity and as subsequent reference point – also served as a useful device for organizing the conversation.

More generally, and transcending these different time scales, questions to do with specific details about respondents' experiences of 'doing' running/swimming (for example, the specific types of running/swimming they had done and the places where they had done these) helped trigger memories at various time scales, too.

While I have already noted that peaks, troughs, and periods of stability in the career timelines are relative and subject to on-going change, a second potential limitation of the interview data concerns its ability to record experience. Oral historian Lummis suggests that memory 'is a complex

phenomenon which cannot be tested for truth by the application of a set of rules' (Lummis 1987: 130). Although I didn't have a strategy for 'truth testing' in this thesis per se, various parts of the interview process helped towards this end. For example, the recruitment strategy and go-along interviews helped ensure the respondents do run/swim in the particular places I'm interested in. In addition, some of the themes that emerged from interviewees' personal accounts overlapped with secondary sources I was gathering on the social organization of running and swimming.

Secondary sources

To explore how provisioning for running and swimming had changed at both a national scale and within Bristol and Lancaster, I examined and made use of secondary sources of data. Considerations that guided my research and interpretations of relevant data included the aim to pursue themes that emerged in interviews; inspiration from thinking about how 'practice-as-entity' might be understood (Shove et al. 2012; Shove and Pantzar 2005; Wang and Shove 2014); and the experience of reflecting on my prior and evolving knowledge of the social organization of running and swimming.

For indoor and outdoor swimming at a national scale, I predominantly drew on social histories of these activities in Britain and made use of data collated by the authors of these accounts. This included data gathered on changes in the number of swimming baths and indoor pools in Britain, drawn from Carnegie Trust and National Sports Council data (Gordon and Inglis 2009); changes in the number of participants and outdoor swimming events, drawn from 'Great Swim' series data (Parr 2011); and changes in the number of outdoor pools and lidos in Britain, drawn from statistics gathered by 'Played in Britain', a sporting heritage research group (Smith 2005).

In evaluating what to include in my synthesis, I was attentive to moments in the history of indoor and outdoor swimming that appeared to be particularly influential for their trajectories. These prompted me to seek out and study some sources of public documentation directly, such as a set of recommendations on national sports provisioning in the 1960s (Wolfenden 1960).

Alongside an account of swimming pool infrastructure, I also explored how the wetsuit, a piece of clothing/equipment now relatively common in outdoor swimming, developed. For this purpose, I consulted an entry in an encyclopedia of tourism and recreation on the subject (Altobellli 2008), using this as a lead to conduct further library searches.

For running at a national scale, I drew on social histories concerned with the introduction of public parks in the nineteenth century, as part of a broader history of leisure in British cities (Meller 1976). I also drew on online Parkrun statistics, which provide a means to illustrate how this event has evolved and spread to different parks and public spaces in Britain. In addition I drew upon accounts of the relatively marginal topic of the history of treadmills, which feature as part of social histories of running (Cregan-Reid 2016) and walking (Solnit 2001). In addition, I drew upon sections of a history of fell running (Askwith 2005) when researching running shoes in that context.

When researching local histories of provisioning for running and swimming in Bristol and Lancaster, I consulted a selection of websites, including those run by the respective City Councils of these places; those hosted by a variety of running and swimming clubs; and those belonging to different running shoe and triathlon clothing shops. I also looked at local news reports

concerned with the staging of running events and the opening of leisure centres over the twentieth century, as well as relevant sections of the aforementioned broader social histories of running and swimming. I also consulted a selection of public records, including county level plans concerned with indoor and outdoor provisioning for leisure, books concerned with local histories of leisure, and a social history of swimming at Henleaze Lake in Bristol (Klemperer and Klemperer 2007).

Although the approach was selective rather than exhaustive, the strategy outlined above provided enough background to explore the issues that I set out to investigate, and allowed the interview data to be situated alongside some longer-term histories of running and swimming.

Zooming in and out

In the following three chapters, I draw on this collection of empirical data to analyze running and swimming at three analytical scales of practice: entities, performances, and careers.

In Chapter three, I predominantly draw on secondary sources when focusing on the processes through which a selection of materials have come to be part of running and swimming in Bristol and Lancaster, as well as more broadly. In a sense this involves taking a zoomed out view of practice. Yet, as noted in the 'selecting respondents' section, a relevant feature of provisioning in this thesis is that on-going changes to provisioning – evident over the course of recruiting interviewees – were of relevance for subsequent patterns of participation.

In Chapter four, having established some of the processes through which a selection of materials have come to be part of running and swimming, I

zoom in to examine how diverse kinds of materials come to be assembled and feature in the immediacy of 'doing' runs and swims. To do so, I draw on go-along interviews to look in detail at how specific runs and swims are experienced. It is important to note that this analysis is situated within the broader framework of the thesis; the detailed performances are located at specific moments in interviewees' careers, which are themselves relevant for how these specific runs and swims are understood.

In Chapter five, I principally draw on career timelines and biography interviews to empirically inform a discussion of how careers in running and swimming unfold. As part of this analysis, the cumulative effects of runs and swims in different material environments for participation are discussed.

Chapter three: Provisioning and participation

In this chapter I provide an account of how the 'practice-as-entities' of running and swimming have been changing in order to detail one slice of the complex relationship between provisioning and participation.

I begin by reviewing histories of national and to a lesser extent international provision first for running and then swimming, attending to indoor and outdoor varieties of each. In doing so, I focus on how a variety of 'materials' feature. For running, I will make reference to: public parks, treadmills and gyms, and particular kinds of running shoes. For swimming, I will refer to: swimming baths and school pools, outdoor swimming sites and wetsuits. My intention is to provide an account of how these materials relate to general patterns of participation.

I then turn to histories of provisioning in Lancaster and Bristol, where I also introduce the study sites in which interviewees' in the project run and swim. My intention is to highlight some of the ways in which materials, whether provided by nature, local/central government, or private organisations, combine and change over time as they have become part of these practices. To do so, I draw on a range of secondary sources.

Outdoor running

Running takes place in many public spaces today. According to Latham (2015: 118), the development of jogging in the United States in the 1960s 'pushed the physically active body back into the public environment – into parks and public reserves and city streets, onto beaches and golf courses'. When describing what present-day recreational running involves in the UK, Cook et al. (2015: 8) similarly describe a varied environment: 'runners are accustomed to running in spaces replete with an obstacle-course of traffic,

dogs, pedestrians and other runners'. By contrast, at the turn of the 21st century, anyone who wished to exercise outdoors in London had a choice: to either give up or else 'defy London's unwritten law and brave London's mockery' contends one novel (Wodehouse 1915 quoted in Cregan-Reid 2016: 203).

Yet, as much as running has become a routine public activity in many places, it also tends to be concentrated in certain spaces and not others. Cook et al. (2015: 3) also describe how recreational running is 'channelled', with it more likely taking place down certain main roads and paths, not simply anywhere. Likewise, in a blog titled '*Where people run in major cities*', Yau (2014) draws on publicly available GPS data to present a series of city maps which indicate that routes within parks as well as those next to rivers are particularly popular.

To provide one take on the processes through which some spaces have come to be prevalent for running, the public park constitutes an interesting case. In a study on the historic introduction and reception of leisure facilities in British cities from the 1870s, Meller (1976), a social historian, investigates how municipal provisioning for leisure subsequently enabled participation in various leisure activities. Yet, 'One of the curious facts about the municipal provisions for leisure and pleasure was how little their development owed, in most instances, to popular demand' (Meller 1976: 97).

In looking to explain why municipalities provided a range of leisure facilities in the Victorian period – including public parks, open spaces, swimming baths, public libraries, art galleries, and museums – Meller (1976) argues that municipal pride was important. This manifested itself in new ideas

concerning the social needs of citizens, including ideals relating to health, recreation and pleasure.

In examining how and the extent to which such leisure facilities were introduced across the country, Meller (1976) emphasises that financial gifts from private benefactors were often critical, as was the way negotiations with various land owners unfolded. Although Meller (1976: 96) finds that 'In the early Victorian period, Manchester led the way in the provision of public parks', she emphasises that when and how, exactly, this happened within cities such as Liverpool, Cardiff, Bradford, and Bristol differed over the Victorian period (Meller 1976: 109-113).

Although a variety of leisure activities were envisaged to take place in these new public parks, recreational running was not one of them. In any case it was not until much later, in the 1960s, that an initial 'boom' in recreational running took place in many Western countries (Scheerder et al. 2015b).

During this phase, Scheerder et al. (2015b) suggest running transformed from a marginal, quasi professional activity to a mass participation sport in North America and Europe. This manifested itself not only in an expansion in the kinds of social groups taking part in the activity, but the spaces where running would take place. For example, not only did road running become prevalent among less competitive runners, as it had for elite runners, 'but also running in other public spaces, such as a park or wood' (Scheerder et al. 2015b: 2).

In addition, a significant number of marathons were staged across Europe for the first time during the 'first boom'. Following the establishment of annual city marathons in Budapest (1961), Prague (1963), and Rome (1965),

'other capitals soon followed' according to Scheerder et al. (2015b: 5). These included inaugural events in Athens (1972), Berlin (1974), Amsterdam (1975), Paris (1976), Madrid (1978), Stockholm (1979), Warsaw (1979), Dublin (1980), Helsinki (1981), London (1981), Reykjavik (1984), Vienna (1984), and Lisbon (1986) (Scheerder et al. 2015b: 5).

A 'second boom' in recreational running began at the end of the 1990s. This took place when 'the number of running participants started to rise spectacularly, not only in North America and European countries, but this time on an almost global level' (Scheerder et al. 2015b: 5-6). The boom is also characterized by significant increases in the number of women and middle aged runners taking part (Scheerder et al. 2015b: 7).

Concurrently, the number of running events has mushroomed during the second boom. While Scheerder et al. (2015b: 12-13) stick with marathons to illustrate this trend across the world, there are further ways events have spread. Parkrun, a weekly, open-to-all, 5km timed run, constitutes such an example. Following the staging of a trial event in October 2004 in Bushy Park, London, where 13 people took part (Parkrun 2018a), the event has proliferated. By January 2018, 1.55 million people had registered with Parkrun in the UK with each, on average, having completed 12.6 runs (Parkrun 2018a). By the same date, the event itself had spread to 499 parks and open spaces across the country, and a number of sites within a further 16 countries (Parkrun 2018b).

Although free-to-enter and staged on a weekly basis, Parkrun events share similarities with other events that are part of the two running booms, including marathons, half-marathons, and 10 kilometre events, insofar as they involve at least some form of institutional organisation beyond

individuals just 'doing' running. For example, a 'Run Director' is required, as are people to marshal the events, finishing tokens, and equipment to time participants' runs. This could all be understood as provisioning, as could underlying public space required to stage such events.

A substantial number of the 499 Parkrun events in the UK now benefit from the earlier provisioning for public parks – indirectly tapping into previous ideas regarding municipal pride and new ideals concerning leisure and health. As represented here, the spread and success of Parkrun is an outcome of successive waves of provisioning - with different practices in mind and at different times - overlaying each other. As such it is not simply tied to or constitutive of a boom in running.

Interwoven threads of history and provisioning are similarly evident in what people wear when they run outdoors, serving to shape what outdoor running entails and where and when it is done. The development and spread of different kinds of running shoe is a good example. Like public parks, shoes are a topic of study their own right. As part of a social and cultural history of the sports shoe, of which the 'running shoe' is a subset, between 1870 and 1990 in Britain, the United States and Germany, Turner (2013) illustrates how shifting trends in fashion are implicated in what is produced and made available. There is no guarantee that shoes ostensibly designed for running will be used for running, and people run in all kinds of footwear. Even so, the history of the running shoe provides relevant insight into the changing materialities of the practice.

When worn whilst running, running shoes interface between body and place. So far, I have predominantly focused on running in urban spaces, yet the particular types of shoes worn by runners – contributing to what the

interface between runner and ground is comprised of at any given moment – can of course be of consequence for running anywhere. In what is both a personal account and social history of fell running – running on rural hills and mountains - in the Lake District and other mountainous parts of Britain, Askwith (2005) describes how changes in the types and availability of footwear worn by fell runners over the past 60 years have altered how this form of running is conducted.

In the 1960s, purpose-made footwear for running on fells would include metal studs to aid grip but these were expensive and heavyweight, and 'more like golf shoes than running shoes' (Askwith 2005: 203), and most would make do with various compromises. While a lighter shoe with a 'ripple' rubber sole was developed by Norman Walsh, from Bolton, during the 1980s to aid grip, it was not until later that decade that a particular model became prevalent among fell runners. This model, the 'Walsh PB', emerged through a partnership between Walsh and Pete Bland, a Lake District-based fell runner who had patented a rubber sole with multiple square pyramid studs in 1985.

For the fell runner wearing the Walsh PB, Askwith (2005: 204-205) writes, such footwear 'provides the advantages of metal studs (good grip on sloping or slippery turf) without the disadvantages (weight, plus a tendency to bend and break), with the additional advantage of a surprising amount of grip on rock (because the softish studs 'drag' like tyre treads)'. At the time of writing, Askwith (2005: 205) maintains that 'most fell-runners wear footwear that is recognisably modelled on the PB'.

These two examples – the history of parks and of park running; and of shoes and running in the fells – illustrate just some of the materials that

combine, at different points in time, in shaping outdoor running. This is an illustrative and not an exhaustive account. Yet it shows how public and private sector organisations, commercial providers, and voluntary organisations variously have a hand in defining the character of running outdoors.

Indoor running

Running also goes on indoors. In this section I review the strikingly different histories and combinations of materials involved. In this narrative, the treadmill is a key piece of equipment. Prior to finding their way into gyms in the latter part of the twentieth century, treadmills were initially used as instruments of punishment in prisons in England and other countries in the nineteenth century. As detailed below, the prison treadmill, like the running machines of today, had a longstanding, though perhaps unexpected, connection with health.

The invention of the treadmill itself – not unrecognizable in original basic form from what can be seen in many gyms today – is credited to William Cubitt, a civil engineer from Norfolk in 1818 (Solnit 2001: 260). For the invention to take hold, it needed to 'fit' with or become part of a practice. At the time, there was a philosophical shift in ideas about how punishment for criminal activity should be administered, from a focus on retribution to an emphasis on deterrence, which manifested itself in the 1779 Penitentiary Act in England and Wales.

The 1779 Act, which 'sought to nationalise prisons by creating a network of state-run facilities' (Cregan-Reid 2016: 197) was preceded by a 1778 Hard Labour Bill, which recommended the construction, all over the country, of Houses of Hard Labour. Cregan-Reid (2016: 197) quotes directly from the

1778 Bill, which states that prisoners should undergo toil 'of the hardest and most servile kind, in which drudgery is chiefly required'. Cubitt's invention, Cregan-Reid (2016: 197) posits, helped address this need.

The coupling of treadmills and prisons spread to other countries, and featured frequently in nineteenth century English literature. Solnit (2001: 260) explains that the owner of a prison in the United States, James Hardie, took great interest in Cubitt's invention. In 1824, Hardie described the effects of treadmills on prisoners in the American prison he oversaw: 'It is the monotonous steadiness and not its severity which constitute its terror, and frequently breaks down the obstinate spirit' (Hardie 1824 quoted in Solnit 2001: 260). Cregan-Reid (2016: 200-201), meanwhile, documents how treadmills featured in Charles Dickens's letters, essays, short fiction, and seven of his novels, as well as in the work of other authors during the same period.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, treadmills were on their way out of prisons, in England and Wales at least. While Oscar Wilde was himself imprisoned in 1895 and 'worked the treadmill for as much as six hours a day' according to biography sources (Cregan-Reid 2016: 201), he was also 'unfortunate that his spell inside just preceded a wave of penal reforms at the end of the century' (Cregan-Reid 2016: 201).

Although Cregan-Reid (2016: 207) notes that treadmill running in gyms is a recent phenomenon that started around thirty years ago, his historical research and Solnit's (2001) reveal how the idea that running on treadmills could have health benefits had earlier roots. For example, not only did prison owner Hardie describe the spirit sapping properties of the treadmill, he also noted that, 'the opinions of the medical officers in attendance at the

various prisons, concur in declaring that the general health of the prisoners has, in no degree suffered injury, but that, to the contrary, the labor has, in this respect, been productive of considerable benefit' (Hardie 1824 quoted in Solnit 2001: 260-261).

Since this time, and beyond the prison environment, treadmills and gyms have undergone much change, both separately and as part of a tangled history. Not only have treadmills become electrified but, much like other 'clothing/equipment', they have their own histories marked by various innovations (for example, the introduction of an in-built digital facility to track distance and speed and, later, in-built TV screens).

Public and privately owned gyms, in which many treadmills are now situated, have become much more prevalent recent decades in the UK and elsewhere (Sassatelli 1999; Sassatelli 2010). This is apparent not only in increases in the number of 'standalone' private gyms, but other sites such as leisure centres, hotels, office-place complexes, and luxury student accommodation.

This on-going relationship between treadmills and gyms, now both linked to recreation and health, was evident in my study. Even during the time of my research, new 'machines' were introduced, enabling (somewhat) new experiences of treadmill running.

On the face of it, the link with the prison has now been lost, but as with the Victorian parks discussed above, the point is that contemporary practices often have long and sometimes surprising roots. These are ideological as well as material – as in concepts of health and exercise. In this case the notion of using a 'machine' to enable the human body to run indoors

continues to echo aspects of discipline and control associated with early uses of the treadmill.

Somewhat different themes arise in relation to the provisioning for swimming. The next sections highlight other material relations, starting with the conditions in which people swim outdoors.

Outdoor swimming

Like running, outdoor swimming can be done in many locations, this time in all kinds of water, including the sea, lakes, rivers, and canals. Some of these locations have been associated with swimming, or somewhat developed with provision for outdoor swimming in mind – such as outdoor swimming pools and sections of sea within sight of coastal lifeguards.

As with running, there is no obvious 'start date' as to when swimming began as a practice – and arguably humans have always had the potential to swim. However, it is possible to identify and track changing ideas about open water in Britain and how these have had a bearing on fluctuations in the prevalence of swimming.

In 1595, an influential 'how to' manual for learning to swim – *A Short Introduction for to Learne to Swimme* - was published in English by Christopher Middleton (Parr 2011: 17). While the original was written in Latin in 1587, by Everald Digby a Fellow of St John's College, Parr (2011: 17) suggests that Middleton's translation and simplification allowed for the text to be widely understood. The book detailed a variety of swimming techniques, including forms of breaststroke, backstroke, and doggy paddle.

During the seventeenth century, the idea that swimming in open water could be a healthy activity for British people emerged and spread. This was prompted, according to social historians of outdoor swimming Parr (2011: 35) and Smith (2005: 10), by medical experts extolling the benefits of 'taking the waters'. Following an initial visit to Scarborough in 1637, Dr Robert Wittie, an influential physician from Hull, made the initial claim that drinking mineral-rich water could bring a host of health benefits, before later concluding that immersion and bathing in sea water was also beneficial; Parr (2011: 35) argues this idea had an 'extraordinary impact' which would 'sow the seeds of a massive industry and change the fortunes of Britain's coastal towns and villages'.

This helped pave the way for the development of seaside resorts in Britain during the eighteenth century but as Smith (2005) explains, at least initially, such resorts were both exclusive and not particularly accessible: 'most ordinary people had only the choice of bathing in rivers, lakes, and ponds, though canals and flooded marl pits were also popular' (Smith 2005: 17). Bathing in some of these places could be a danger due to safety and hygiene concerns: 'pollution and water-borne diseases heightened the risks, while drownings were common' (Smith 2005: 11). Partly in response, an important selling point of Britain's first formalised public outdoor swimming pool, opened in Finsbury, London in 1743, 'was its relative safety compared with swimming in rivers and natural lakes' (Smith 2005: 11).

From that time on, various other outdoor pools were built, and safety and hygiene continued to be concerns. Liverpool's Burlington Street Open Air Baths, opened in 1895, 'was constructed following concerns that local boys were swimming in a polluted and dangerous canal' (Smith 2005: 19). However, such facilities were few and far between and, at the turn of the

twentieth century, there were only 13 outdoor pools according to data collected by 'Played in Britain', a sporting heritage research group (Smith 2005: 176-183), with all of these located in English towns and cities.

Over the course of the twentieth century, Parr (2011) and Smith (2005) chart a significant increase in the construction and use of public outdoor pools across Britain. Parr (2011: 124-126) attributes this rise to the simultaneous inscribing of holiday leave into work contracts as a result of changes in employment laws; the passing of a national 1937 Physical and Recreation Act, which was set up to provision for facilities to improve the health of the nation through exercise and recreation; and the influence of a fitness mania underway in Britain and on the continent.

Across Britain, these new facilities were distributed relatively evenly across towns, cities, and coastal locations such as seaside resorts (Smith 2005: 176-183). While 'many local authorities were continuing to charge people to use the beach and forcing them to make use of expensive facilities in the form of bathing machines, huts, or tents' (Parr 2011: 124), a particular kind of outdoor pool, the lido, conversely, 'played their part in the democratisation of swimming' (Parr 2011: 124).

The lido movement was relatively short lived, however, and by 2005 many of these open-air pools had ceased operating. Table 3.1, below, which again draws on Smith's (2005) use of 'Played in Britain' data, illustrates this change.

Defunct lidos have variously been abandoned, become derelict, or repurposed. Smith (2005: 176-183) notes, for example, how many sites have made way for housing, car parks, factories, garden centres, supermarkets,

leisure complexes, cinemas, tennis courts, and roads. Although not the whole story, this decline in provision for outdoor swimming is closely related to a rise in the provision and availability of indoor swimming pools.

	Defunct	Operating
England	254	93
Scotland	20	4
Wales	27	1
Total	301	98

Table 3.1: Public lidos and open-air pools in Britain in 2005

Source: Smith (2005: 176-183)

More recently there has been a renewal of interest in, and changes in the possibilities for, other forms of outdoor swimming Within her social history of swimming, Parr (2011) titles a final substantive chapter: 'Resurgence: swimming Britain's rivers, lakes and seas at the start of the 21st century'. Here, the publication and circulation of 'wild swimming' guides – akin to travel guides documenting idyllic swimming spots (e.g. Start 2013) are understood to have played a role in such an upturn, as has the spread and uptake of participation in 'open water' swimming events.

The rise of a particular set of open water swim events, the *Great Swim* series, is charted by Parr (2011). Following the initial staging of an event in Lake Windermere in the Lake District in 2008, which attracted 2,250 entries, a total of 20,000 people had signed up to take part in four *Great Swim* events in 2010, held in different lakes across the country (Parr 2011: 151). Parr (2011: 151) also describes how the spread of triathlons, a sporting event that involves swimming, cycling, and running in sequence, has also contributed to a more recent resurgence in outdoor swimming in Britain.

Alongside changes in the different spaces of swimming, it is noteworthy that other 'materials' of the practice have also evolved. The invention of the wetsuit, which has extended the possibilities for outdoor swimming, constitutes a significant example. Acting like a second skin, contemporary neoprene wetsuits help keep the body warm when swimming in open water and provide it with additional buoyancy.

The invention of the wetsuit is typically attributed to Hugh Bradner, a physicist who developed the kinds of clothing worn by military underwater swimmers in the 1950s (Rainey 1998). Hitherto, the clothing worn by such military personnel sought to keep the body 'dry' when submerged and was somewhat unsuccessful. In addition to subsequently featuring in surfing and a range of water sports on a widespread scale, wetsuits have, for many, become a key part of open water swimming.

The prevalence of wetsuits today is indicated both in estimates of their market size and in their particular relationship with a growing number of open water events. Market research consultants, Grand View Research, estimated that the global market size for wetsuits was 800 million US dollars in 2014 (Grand View Research 2016). Meanwhile, in order to enter many open water swim events and triathlons, possession of a wetsuit is often a mandatory requirement (Swim England 2016).

When discussing the downward trajectory of once-a-week adult participation in swimming between 2005/06 and 2015/16 in Chart 1.1 in Chapter one, it was pointed out that the fall in outdoor swimming was less pronounced than for indoor swimming over the period. The existence of organised events may be part of this story. As noted, there has been an increase in the number of people entering *Great Swim* events, for example,

and for at least some participants, joining an event represents the end of longer projects of training in open water.

As described above, 'provisioning' for outdoor swimming takes many forms, such as the elaborate concrete structures of the 'lido', the informal marking up of a 'piece' of lake or beach, and the particular kinds of clothing worn. By contrast, year-round indoor swimming depends on the much more resource intensive infrastructure of a heated pool.

Indoor swimming

The public indoor swimming pool has been housed in a 'recognisable building' for around two centuries in Britain according to sport historians Gordon and Inglis (2009: 19). During this period, however, fundamental ideas concerning what such pools are for, and how exactly they should be provisioned for have changed. Drawing predominantly on Gordon and Inglis's (2009) historical account of these developments, my intention is to sketch some of the processes through which this has happened, before discussing linkages with recent trends in adult participation in swimming.

In a bid to remedy poor standards of hygiene in the mid-nineteenth century, a national Act to 'Encourage the Establishment of Public Baths and Wash-houses' was passed in 1846 (Gordon and Inglis 2009: 34; Parr 2011: 92). The ambition was to make facilities for bathing and doing laundry available to the public at a reasonable cost. Local authorities could vote on whether to adopt the Act or not. Those that did so, paid for the construction and maintenance of public baths and wash houses through taxes, or by borrowing funds against taxes (Gordon and Inglis 2009: 34). While at least one facility was in operation prior to 1846 - as well as a considerable number of exclusive, private subscription baths - a large number of public baths

were subsequently built across Britain during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

For bathing, these public facilities included individual 'slipper baths' – not dissimilar in form to baths in many homes today – as well as plunge baths whereby 'several persons bathe in the same water' (Gordon and Inglis 2009: 34). Yet what 'few people envisaged in 1846 is that, as the century wore on and more homes became connected to a mains water supply, more people would visit public baths to swim than to wash or to use the laundry facilities' (Gordon and Inglis 2009: 19). A subsequent amendment to the Act in 1878 explicitly encouraged the 'provision of covered swimming baths' – and thus the word 'swimming' was used for the first time in any iteration of the Act. However Gordon and Inglis (2009: 52) suggest that, 'in truth this made no practical difference. Local authorities had been building indoor pools under the Act for over 30 years'.

To partially capture changes from this point onwards, Table 3.2, which draws on Gordon and Inglis's (2009: 13) data, shows periodic changes in the number of public swimming pool sites in England, Scotland, and Wales between 1880-2008.

	1880	*1918*	*1967*	*1978*	*2008*
England	83	327	666	898	876
Scotland	2	35	119	103	165
Wales	1	6	19	75	126
Total	86	368	804	1076	1167

Table 3.2: Public indoor swimming sites

Source: Gordon and Inglis (2009: 13)

By the 1960s the sole rationale for providing these facilities was to enable swimming; there was no longer a link to laundry or to washing. Then, during the 1960s, there was a rapid expansion in the number of pools built. In

contrast to the post war period 1945-1960, when only two public swimming pools were built, a total of 197 were constructed between 1960-1970. In no other 10 year period between 1846 and 2008 were more public pools built (Gordon and Inglis 2009: 233).

Underpinning this intensive period of pool building was a national drive to promote participation in sport. As part of this, the publication of a particular report played a significant role in making the case for the widespread construction of new pools (Gordon and Inglis 2009: 233). The report, titled *Sport and the Community* and also known as the Wolfenden report, was debated in the House of Commons in April 1961, where it was lent support by the Labour Party who were in opposition at the time (Polley 1998). When the Labour Party won the next general election in May 1964, Harold Wilson, the new Prime Minister, declared that sport, along with industrial training and the arts, was one of the 'subjects essential to Britain's economic and social development which had not been given adequate priority in the past' (Wilson 1964 quoted in Polley 1998: 21).

In line with a specific recommendation of the Wolfenden report, the government established a Sports Council the following year (which subsequently became Sport England). In parallel, just as sport facilities were a prominent topic in the Wolfenden report, a 'Facilities Planning' committee was established by the Sports Council at its inception. In a section titled 'Facilities' in the Wolfenden report, provisioning for swimming was earmarked as a pressing concern: 'At present the majority of the towns with a population of over 20,000 have no public swimming bath; this fact seems to us to call for urgent action' (Wolfenden 1960: 36). Wolfenden and colleagues further clarified what form this provisioning this should take: 'We believe that as a general rule this provision should be indoor… the facts of

the British climate call for indoor heated baths, with the necessary equipment for ensuring the purity of the water' (Wolfenden 1960: 36). In addition, presaging the widespread construction of public leisure centres in Britain in the latter part of the twentieth century, the Wolfenden report stated that the new swimming pools could be combined with other new indoor sports facilities as part of 'Multi-Sports Centres' (Wolfenden 1960: 36).

Concurrently there was an even greater boom in the number of school pools built during the 1960s. An estimated 4000-5000 were constructed by education authorities between 1960 and 1970 (Gordon and Inglis 2009). As well as being associated with the promotion of sport and exercise at a young age, this expansion was tied to changes in the national curriculum; children were now required to become sufficiently proficient swimmers as a matter of safety.

With respect to this more varied picture of contemporary swimming pool provisioning, Table 3.3 shows the number of indoor swimming sites in Britain by sector in 2008 and again draws on Gordon and Inglis's (2009: 13) data. While the number of public pools, at 1167, matches that shown in Table 3.2, the fall in the number of school pools since the end of the 1960s – that is from 4000-5000 to 981 – is significant.

Alongside these changes in school pool provisioning, it was noted in Chapter one that once-a-month adult participation in swimming stayed between 13-15% from 1987-2002 in Britain, but then fell. As illustrated in Chart 1.1 once-a-week participation in swimming in England fell from 8% to 5.7% between 2005/06 to 2015/16.

Public	1167
Private	1438
Education	981
Other[2]	52
Total	3638

Table 3.3: Public indoor swimming sites in Britain by sector in 2008
Source: Gordon and Inglis (2009: 13)

While acknowledging that this is not like-for like data, there are obvious trends in how and why indoor pools are provided, and there is some indication that these trends are associated with changing patterns of participation. It is difficult to go much further. To establish whether participation and provision are strongly related it would be necessary to study cohorts of swimmers carefully and, to consider the weight placed on swimming relative to other sports in physical education curricula. In any case, and as detailed in subsequent chapters, experiences and 'careers' in swimming are neither linear nor predictable.

It is also important to notice that national trends, like those represented above, do not provide much insight into the details of provisioning in any one location or at any one point in time. For people who do running or swimming, these local features are critical. In the next section I move from an account of longer term trends, and of the material forms these have taken, to a much more specific description of the 'infrastructures' and facilities available to those I interviewed, and to other people living in Lancaster and Bristol. Here my purpose is to provide some context to the chapters in which I discuss respondents' first-hand experiences of running and swimming. This exercise also allows me to link long range trajectories of

[2] Sites provided for health authorities, the police, fire services, the Ministry of Defence, and charitable trusts

running and swimming, and local as well as national forms of provisioning for them, with the detail of how these practices are enacted today.

Running and swimming in Bristol

Located in south west England, Bristol is a city with a population of 449,300 (Office for National Statistics 2016).

Running

Various parks are listed as recommended places for running in 'Parks and open spaces' and 'Running in Bristol' sections of Bristol City Council's (2017) website. The move to make some of these locations open-to-all tie in with broader shifts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries where a concerted effort was made by municipalities and city councils to provision for leisure and sport.

Clifton and Durdham Downs, a 1.7km^2 area of public open space situated 3 miles north west of the centre of the city, constitutes one of Bristol's largest parks. Until the land was purchased in 1861 by the city's municipality, Bristol Corporation, and made open-to-all, the Downs were privately owned and access was limited. When reporting on the Corporation's decision to buy out the land, a local newspaper declared: 'the beautiful scenery of the River Avon, the pure fresh air from the distant sea, know no caste' (Bristol Mirror 1861 quoted in Reid 2005: 81).

Some 100 years later, the provisioning of open space for public recreation re-emerged as a local authority concern. Ashton Court Estate, the city's largest park at 3km^2 and situated 1.5 miles west of its centre, was purchased by Bristol City Council in 1959 and made open-to-all. The Estate had

previously been privately owned by a family for several generations (Bristol City Council 2016).

Council discussions on how to provision for parks and open spaces continued in the 1970s when an 'Open Spaces and Amenities Committee' (OSAC) was set up by Bristol City Council under the remit of a broader 'Leisure Working Group'. As set out in the annex of a subsequent document, deliberations in OSAC meetings in the 1970s culminated in the establishment of a set of priorities which focused on three areas: indoor provisioning; outdoor provisioning; and the city docks (Bristol City Council 1985).

A subsequent mushrooming of running events in and around Bristol has since implicated the city's built and natural environment in different ways. An official half marathon, for example, has been held in Bristol every year since 1989, with the first attracting over 1000 runners and a 2017 edition of the event over 10,000 participants (BBC News 2017a). In 2008, an official 10km was staged in the city for the first time, attracting 5,000 runners and has also become an annual fixture. In 2017, 13,000 runners took part in the event (BBC News 2017b). Both the half marathon and 10km routes follow a main road out and back from the centre, 'the Portway', which closes to traffic during the events.

A number of Parkruns have also been established in various parks within and near the city, including ones at Ashton Court (which started in 2011), Pomphrey Hill (2013), and Eastville Park (2017). Meanwhile, three years after it was initially setup, a Parkrun at Little Stoke park closed in 2016, following a dispute with a local parish council over whether participants should be charged or not to use the park (BBC News 2016).

Among a number of dedicated running clubs in the city, one explicitly seeks to cater for running in nearby countryside. The Town and Country Harriers are 'an off-road running club dedicated to exploring the varied countryside around Bristol' (Town and Country Harriers 2017). Like a number of other running clubs in Bristol, the Town and Country Harriers organise open-to-all running events, including a series of off-road races each summer in locations between 12-26 miles from the city centre.

Among the different places where treadmill running happens in Bristol, such as within private gyms, office-place complexes, and hotels, six Council-operated Leisure Centres are included. Of these, Horfield Leisure Centre is the site from where two indoor runners were recruited in the project.

Swimming

Provisioning for outdoor and indoor swimming has a varied history in and around Bristol. At the turn of the 20th century, four outdoor pools opened in quick succession in parks within the city (Smith 2005: 176). Following the opening of such pools in Eastville Park and Victoria Park (both in 1904), a further two opened in Greville Smyth Park (in 1905) and Ashton Park (1906). Eastville Park pool closed in 1975, and, by 1985, the remaining three outdoor pools had also fallen out of use (Bristol City Council 1985).

Bristol's Floating Harbour, an area of 0.3km^2 in the centre of the city, has at various times been used for swimming. Constructed in 1809 to allow visiting ships arriving from the Bristol Channel to remain afloat, it was previously used by some for bathing in the nineteenth century (Meller 1976: 114). Today permission is occasionally granted for the swimming section of an annual triathlon event, though swimming is otherwise prohibited. A campaign to make swimming in the harbour a widespread possibility,

however, was lent support in 2014 by George Ferguson, Bristol's inaugural mayor, who drew a parallel with Copenhagen's successful move to provision for harbour swimming in 2002 (BBC News 2014).

Contemporary locations for which swimming is explicitly provisioned include two sites in the neighbouring county of Somerset. A tidal lake was re-opened for swimming in 2015 in the coastal town of Clevedon (originally built in 1929), while a lido at Portishead, also a coastal town, opens for swimming in the summer months (built in 1962).

Within the city, 'Bristol Open Water', situated in Bradley Stoke, eight miles north of the centre, opened for swimming in 2011. Although the private site was originally constructed for other water sports, it was subsequently reframed as a '600 metre swimming lap course… especially suited to swimmers or triathletes who want to improve their times and performance' (Bristol Open Water 2018).

Also within the city, Henleaze Lake, situated three miles north of the centre, has been a distinct outdoor swimming location since 1919. While the site was originally used for limestone quarrying, this activity ceased in 1916 when 'the springs took over, eventually giving a maximum depth of water of 30 metres' (Klemperer and Klemperer 2007: 3). The lake is 450 metres in length and has, on average, a width of 30 metres, though swimming is confined to a more restricted area for most of the year. In 2015 a sauna was installed next to the lake, and from this date the site began to open all year round rather than for summer months only.

Elsewhere in the city, and in a move broadly consistent with changes in indoor provisioning across the county, Broad Weir public baths opened in

in 1850. Bristol Municipality's construction of Broad Weir coincided with the passing of the national Baths and Wash-Houses Act, which had taken place four years previously, although it was also tied to a specific need to respond to a serious cholera outbreak (Meller 1976: 114).

Over the course of the twentieth century there have been fluctuations in the opening and closures of public pools. Between 1995 and 2005, for example, there was a radical closure of eight pools, attributed to budget cuts from the 1980s (Gordon and Inglis 2009: 179). Today there are pools run by Bristol City Council at six sites: Bristol South Swimming Baths; Jubilee Swimming Baths; Easton Leisure Centre; Horfield Leisure Centre; Henbury Leisure Centre; and Hengrove Leisure Centre. Among these outdoor and indoor possibilities, some of the interviewees I recruited in the project swam outdoors at Henleaze Lake and others indoors at Horfield Leisure Centre.

Running and swimming in Lancaster

Located in north west England, Lancaster has a population of 142,283 (Office for National Statistics 2016) and is situated on the River Lune.

Running

The contemporary spaces of running in and around Lancaster have similarly been produced through the repurposing of various natural and built structures and have implicated a range of actors. Popular places to run today include along a towpath adjacent to Lancaster canal, which opened in 1819 and connected nearby towns Preston and Kendal. Williamson Park is also a popular site within Lancaster. The ornamental park was made accessible to the public in 1881, and further extended in the 1990s to incorporate nearby woodland at Fenham Carr. In addition to tarmacked paths, the park includes trails and stony paths at varied gradients. Lancaster's first Parkrun, set up in

Williamson Park in January 2016, incorporates a combination of this terrain. Elsewhere a woodland trail which surrounds Lancaster University's campus constitutes another site.

The city has a number of running clubs, including Lancaster and Morecambe Athletics club, whose headquarters are situated at a running track next to Salt Ayre Leisure Centre. The club organise a series of annual open-to-all running events around the city, including a half marathon and a 10km race. These events are organised in partnership with a running shoe and clothing shop in Lancaster, 'the Runner's Centre', which opened in 2004.

Two fell running clubs, Bowland Fell Runners and Lonsdale Fell Runners, are also based nearby. Bowland also organise events, including an annual fell race up and down Clougha Pike Fell, six miles east of the city. As in many other places today, there are various gyms within and near the city, including one within Salt Ayre Leisure Centre, which is operated by Lancaster City Council, and is from where some treadmill runners in the study were recruited.

Swimming

Various indoor and outdoor bodies of water have been used for swimming over the past century in and around Lancaster, while some of these sites have also come and gone.

With respect to outdoor swimming, a particular stretch of the River Lune, located four miles north east of Lancaster, is recommended for 'long swims' in a recent national guidebook on wild swimming (Start 2013: 205). Elsewhere, Lake Windermere, which is the largest lake in England, is

situated 30 miles north west of Lancaster and, among other activities, is popular for swimming. The lake features as one of the sites where *Great Swim* events take place in Parr's (2011: 151) social history of swimming, and is from where some interviewees in the project were recruited. These interviewees swam with dedicated groups, including Sleeker Swim, a swim coaching club which organises sessions at the southern tip of the lake, and Kendal triathlon club, whose swim sessions start from a shore not far from the small town of Windermere.

Nearer to Lancaster, a particularly large outdoor swimming pool, Morecambe Super Swimming Stadium, opened in 1936 before closing in 1971. The attraction opened at a time when Morecambe, located four miles north west of Lancaster, was a popular seaside resort. Of the pool, outdoor swimming pool historian Smith (2005: 130) states it was 'a colossal creation that dwarfed any of its contemporaries'.

Moving indoors, and within Lancaster itself, Kingsway Baths opened in 1939. The facility 'was one of the last new baths in Britain to be equipped with slipper baths, and one of the first to have no roof skylights' (Gordon and Inglis 2009: 182). Following the baths' closure in 2005, the surviving elements of the building have been incorporated into a retail park.

Today, as well as a pool at Salt Ayre Leisure Centre, which is from where further interviewees were recruited, Lancaster City Council operates three other pools near Lancaster, at Carnforth, Hornby, and Heysham. Elsewhere, there is also a pool at Lancaster University.

As becomes clear in the chapters that follow, these portraits of provision set the 'scene' in which my interviewees go running and swimming. There is no

one-to-one correspondence between the provision of facilities and their use. Equally, the range of facilities, their characteristics and their accessibility is hugely important for the practicalities of participation. In this respect, and in sketching a longer-term history of 'facilities' for running and swimming (indoors and out), I have described arrangements that are on the one hand outcomes of previous iterations of the practices of running and swimming (and are, for example, implicated with ideas relating to health, safety, and hygiene). Some of these traces are inscribed in material form, shaping both the provision for and the conduct of contemporary running and swimming. Such facilities are, at the same time, of constantly shifting significance, as practices evolve collectively and in the lives of those who do them.

Chapter four: Materials in practice: from static to dynamic processes

Having seen some of the processes through which a selection of materials have come to be part of the practice-as-entities of running and swimming, in this chapter I zoom in to explore how diverse kinds of materials feature in the 'doing' of practice. Which different materials are part of specific runs and swims? How do different materials combine in, and simultaneously shape, particular performances? What are the implications for when, where and how running and swimming are done? And, is the particular moment in someone's running and swimming career relevant for understanding these materialized instances of doing?

To navigate this exploration, I begin this chapter by introducing conceptual resources which provide different ways of thinking about how a wide range of materials feature in the conduct of what people do. These are, namely, the concept of affordance (Gibson 1986) from environmental psychology; and the notion that people are immersed within a 'world of materials' (Ingold 2007b; Ingold 2010: S124), developed by anthropologist Tim Ingold. I draw on some examples from my empirical study to exemplify these different positions. These ideas frame the analysis and discussion. In particular, I draw on go-along interviews to analyze 'single' materials, and combinations of materials (including the body) in the 'doing' of runs and swims.

I argue that although the concept of affordance provides a useful means of understanding how materials enable the conduct of specific practices, the concept does not account for the fact that material affordances can vary and change. Drawing on Ingold's idea that the interrelations between materials, including practitioners' bodies, are in ongoing flux, I demonstrate that the

affordances of materials in runs and swims are not static, but dynamic, which have implications for when, where, and how running and swimming are done. I go on to argue that practitioners' bodies also change during a practice performance, in the sense, for example, they heat up and cool down, and thus the relation of practitioners' bodies to the diverse materials of practice are dynamic too. Finally, while Ingold's 'world of materials' is helpful for thinking about these dynamic interrelations and their implications in moments of practice, my findings also show that such materialized ways of doing are inseparable from practitioners' longer careers; a theme which is developed in Chapter five of the thesis.

Making sense of materials in practice

Gibsons's concept of 'affordance' and Ingold's 'world of materials' have their roots in different disciplines and theoretical traditions, but on the basis that each has something to say on the roles a diverse range of materials play in the social world, I introduce the key features of each position here.

Affordance

Gibson introduced the concept of affordance in *The Ecological Approach to Perception* (Gibson 1986), in order to extend traditional psychologies of the 'mind' or 'behaviour' to the environment. In Gibson's account, affordances offer a way of thinking about a particular relationship between people and the environments they inhabit. On one side, he says 'the affordances of the environment are what it *offers* the animal, what it *provides* or *furnishes*, either for good or ill' (Gibson 1986: 127, emphasis in original). On the other side, in order for an action to be brought about, the person must simply be able to perceive these affordances.

The types of 'material' that Gibson includes in the concept of affordance are far-reaching, and include examples that comfortably fall into the categories of 'natural/built structures', 'natural and artificial phenomenon', and 'clothing and equipment' discussed in Chapter one. Gibson sets out, for example, how: ground affords standing (Gibson 1986: 127); a man-made couch affords sitting (128); air affords breathing (130); ripe fruit affords eating (131); a steep downward slope affords falling (132); a large object with a handle affords grasping (133); and steps afford stepping (132). Although perhaps not a primary concern, Gibson does also acknowledge that a 'single' material may provide different affordances for multiple actions. Water, for example, affords drinking, washing, bathing, and swimming (Gibson 1986: 131-132).

Yet, as much as Gibson goes far and wide in bringing materials into his concept, they are all understood to play the same predictable role; affordance is the static quality of a material, which is drawn into practice, or not. This could be one way to go, to interpret the materials that feature as part of practice as having the same role, or in other words to assume that there is just one kind of relationship between materials and practice.

Ingold's 'world of materials'

In direct contrast to Gibson, Ingold (2007) focusses on how a wide range of materials interrelate and have implications for each other. The sky, for example is not some separable, bounded entity, as it may appear in Gibson's framework. Rather, living out in the open involves an interrelation between substances (e.g. the earth), the medium (e.g. air), and organisms (e.g. humans). Ingold highlights that such a position is necessary if we are to describe human, bodily experiences such as how it feels to be outside on a windy day, which involves the medium and the organism interacting and

reacting (Ingold 2007a: 19). For Ingold, 'to describe the properties of materials is to tell the stories of what happens to them as they flow, mix and mutate' (Ingold 2007b: 14).

Ingold includes a diverse range of materials in his account. All forms of artefacts and natural objects are taken to be included and, while some may be regarded as being more artificial than others, this does not make them 'any more a part of the material world' (Ingold 2007b: 4). Furthermore, while Ingold focuses on the weather as a topic in its own right (Ingold 2010; Ingold 2011), all kinds of weather phenomenon are included in his accounts of materials (Ingold 2007b; Ingold 2011). In fact, he explicitly aims to redress the exclusion of weather from conventional accounts of the material world. For example, he claims the 'wind… is not an object, nor does it tear at trees because it is endowed with agency. It is an air current, materials-in-motion' (Ingold 2011: 17). As noted in Chapter one, the observation that weather is material has been drawn upon in the conceptual framework of this thesis.

A further feature of Ingold's work of relevance here, is that alongside recognising diverse forms of animal, plant, fungal and bacterial life as forms of material, the same is true 'of my own body' (Ingold 2007b: 4). For Ingold (2007b: 7) 'human beings do not exist on the 'other side' of materiality'. This differs to some accounts in theories of practice. For example, Reckwitz (2002b: 251-253) treats bodies/people and things as belonging to somewhat separate realms.

The second step, and main characteristic of Ingold's account, concerns how diverse kinds of materials (including the body) are understood to interrelate. In contrast, for example, to focusing on how materials are 'used' as part of

what people do, Ingold (2007b: 11) argues that, 'Far from being the inanimate stuff typically envisioned in modern thought, materials in this original sense are the active constituents of a world-in-formation. Wherever life is going on, they are relentlessly on the move – flowing, scraping, mixing and mutating'.

To conceive the dynamic interrelations between materials, then, Ingold's 'world of materials' provides an alternative way of exploring and analyzing the diverse materials of run and swims, and can deepen an understanding of how materials make and shape performances of practice.

Comparing and combining concepts

While Gibson and Ingold both recognise that diverse kinds of material are implicated in what people do, they would analyze them very differently. Gibson separates out materials, focusing on them one-at-a-time in order to study what they offer humans. Ingold, on the other hand, foregrounds dynamic interrelations between materials and humans. Prior to engaging with how these resources might help make sense of interviewees' experiences of runs and swims, I draw on my empirical material to further exemplify these two ways of thinking.

For Gibson, most straightforwardly, water affords swimming and the ground affords running. This way of thinking can be applied to other materials discussed by interviewees. For example, Craig (runner, 51, Lancaster), talked of using a head torch for countryside night-time runs, which he would go on with a small group. While streetlights obviate the need for such equipment for night-time runs in many parts of towns, the head torch affords for running in conditions where it would otherwise be unlikely to happen.

Similarly, Harriet (runner, 54, Lancaster) described how she had different kinds of running shoe for various terrain. 'For the runs I do locally I have a trainer type of running shoe: cushioning trainers that are good for road and trail really. For fell running I've got a pair of Walsh's [running shoes with studded rubber soles]'. One kind of running shoe affords running in some kinds of environment, while another kind affords running in others.

Finally, Hayley (runner, 34, Bristol) showed me a photo on her phone of some running-related Christmas presents she had recently received. They included a small rucksack with a built-in water bag and spout, so that water could be consumed while running. Again, arguably this affords for running longer distances, or in hot weather.

In these examples, materials are analyzed as though they have static qualities and play a predictable role in running practices. For example, affording running in different terrains, over varying distances and in multiple climates. However, as Ingold points out, the characteristics of materials are dynamic rather than static, because they interact with each other and with human bodies. In our interview along a woodland trail and through fields on the outskirts of Bristol, Julia (runner, 57), remarked: 'Having said I run in my off-road shoes, I'm wearing my road shoes now because they're going to be my marathon shoes. I'm just trying to break them in. They're the same as another pair I've got, but they're new'.

Julia's comment highlights that the affordance of running shoes is not static nor is it simply an inherent characteristic of the running shoe. Instead, to create a shoe which affords marathon running, the body needs to first shape the shoe and the shoe to shape to the body. Through this process the shoe is 'broken-in' to offer the affordance required of it. Extending this example

a step further, we might also expect the shoe's affordance to change again, wearing down and deteriorating over time, until eventually it does not afford running at all.

In addition, while in the concept of affordance running shoes may be expected to perform a clear role in running, Ingold's account foregrounds that other materials, including the running body and the ground itself vary and change, and as such are implicated in the affordance of the shoe itself. Brian (runner, 61, Lancaster) recalls the running section of a triathlon event, which illustrates these points: 'It was in an appallingly muddy field and everyone had trouble. I mean a few people did face-plants and lots of people had their shoes sucked off them in the mud. And I thought there's not a shoe on earth that's gonna cope with that!'

The examples above demonstrate the contrasting positions of Gibson and Ingold, and also touch on some of the insights about materials in practice which might be drawn out by placing the positions alongside each other. This analysis is extended in the following two sections, 'Materials on the move' and 'Dynamic bodies and materials'. Each of these sections takes a different starting point. In 'Materials on the move' I take a cue from Gibson to focus on the affordances of materials, including swimming pools and the built and natural structures of running routes, specifically analyzing how and why affordances vary and change, and the implications for the performance of these practices.

In 'Dynamic bodies and materials' I foreground practitioners' bodies in the analysis, exploring how bodies change during runs and swims. These dynamics themselves need to be understood as part of the relational, fluctuating world of materials. Through examples of indoor and outdoor

running and swimming in different times, places, weather and seasons, I demonstrate how dynamic bodies, and practitioners' strategies for handling different conditions of the body (such as excess heat and cold), have implications for when, where and how practices are done.

Materials on the move

Taking the suggestion from Gibson, I focus on materials that are constitutive of runs and swims and analyze how interviewees spoke about their affordances. Specifically, I focus on the category of 'built/natural structures', including swimming pools, bodies of open water, and various running routes.

We might expect the affordances of swimming pools to simply include a restricted expanse of water, perhaps heated to a temperature that makes swimming without special clothing comfortable. Gibson's stance would be that if this is available then swimming is possible, and he is partly right, it is of course necessary to have water to swim. However, this is not the whole story, as my analysis will reveal.

Notable in interviewee responses were the changing affordances of the swimming pool. In particular, interviewees focused on other swimmers in the pool, and how the pool's affordances changed as other swimmers entered and exited the water as the pool was more and less busy at different times of day.

For some, the busyness of the pool gave it a positive affordance, creating rhythm and pace to the performance of swimming. For example, Luke (swimmer, 31, Horfield) describes the experience of some swims at the pool: '…when it's busy it pushes you to get into a rhythm'. He contrasts this with

recreational runs, where other people do not influence the performance in the same way: '…but if you are out running, you can get stuck in a rut… it's just down to you'. Similarly, Grace (swimmer, 24, Salt Ayre) described a recent swim in which other swimmers in her lane were going slower than usual and/or she was going quicker. Grace recalled: 'I was like 'come on guys, get a move on!'.

James (swimmer, 66, Salt Ayre) also recognised the different affordances of the pool, noting how at certain times it could get congested. James organised his swims around this dynamic affordance, in his case avoiding the busy times, 'I always come in at quarter to eight… you can really move if you have no interruptions'. This was contrasted with the experiences of James's friends, who get in the pool a bit earlier; James relayed how, when recently asking them 'how did you get on this morning?' they replied 'oh its chaotic'. When reflecting on who else tended to be in the pool when he would swim, James described how other people who were also retired would typically be present: 'working people who swim, come swim and then go to work. Whereas we've got more leisure time'.

So, according to the interviewees, the swimming pool had affordances which changed by time of day, because of swimmers entering and exiting the pool. As such fellow swimmers play a role in shaping each other's swims. As well as being in the environment they shape the environment, changing the affordances of the pool as they enter and exit. For some, a number of other swimmers in the lane is evaluated as a good thing; for others they are evaluated as a hindrance, and if interviewees had flexibility in their schedules, then this had implications for when swimming was done.

An outdoor swimmer discussed some of the different characteristics that open water could have. Beyond the water itself, the ephemeral nature of different kinds of affordance was evident in outdoor swims. Windermere Lake swimmer, Alice, 45, described how waves, created by passing boats, were something she enjoyed as part of her swims: 'My other half jokes when I get in the lake that I've missed the 'wave machine', because on Windermere, when there's a boat, especially a big boat, there'll be some good ones'.

As with swimming pools and open water, the 'built/natural structures' from which outdoor running routes are made might also be regarded as fixed. However, once again, this proved not to be the case.

In one example, Bristol-based runner Anna, 42, spoke of trying to run along the city's harbourside but of finding the area too busy. If she were to try again, she would be more strategic in finding a less busy time. Likewise, Simon (runner, 29, Lancaster) also spoke of devising running routes that avoided busier pedestrianized spots. Having moved to the UK from Canada in 2013, he had created lunchtime running routes around Lancaster which would allow him to avoid the busier spot of the town centre near where he lived. These interviewees had learned about the dynamic affordances of the city, and created routes for themselves which provided the materials they needed.

It would be easy to assume that the material requirement for running would be a route wide enough for an individual performer. However, the interviewees spoke of running in combination with other runners – both human and non-human. Anna (runner, 42, Bristol) had recently begun to run regularly with her dog. This had involved identifying locations with

sufficient space for the two of them, and ideally where she can let her dog off its lead. The new arrangement also meant that she has stopped running with headphones, allowing her to be more attentive to where her dog is relative to others.

Parkruns and other running events present another example. While a significant number of people run in the same direction, en masse, this also typically involves overtaking others and being overtaken, which requires different affordances of built/natural structures. Lancaster runner Brian, 61, talked of enjoying weaving through a shifting field of runners when running with his dog at Parkrun: 'We start right at the back so we're not endangering anybody. And as we get more confident we work our way through, and he's actually really good at thinking 'that gap is wide enough for the both of us' and he leads me through, rather than me leading him. It's good fun, good fun.'

Brian spoke happily about this development, but also alluded to how it wouldn't have been possible in the recent past. 'I'd done one practice, down to, across the river, across Carlisle Bridge, and so forth, when he was six or eight months perhaps. And it didn't go well. He kept going ahead of me and tripping me up and all the rest of it. I thought 'oh we're going to have to work on this', and I didn't try it again until a few weeks back'.

The extent to which built/natural structures afford continuous running, as opposed to stopping and starting, was also discussed by other interviewees. When describing runs that he had done previously in Vancouver, Canada, Simon (29, Lancaster) described the range of tactics he employed to negotiate various obstacles of the built environment: 'mostly when you're planning a route, you're just trying to not stop to cross roads because, as I

said, it's on a grid so you are always coming to intersections quickly. So, if you're always hitting very busy ones, you spend a lot of time waiting for the lights to change. So there's some tricks in getting around that: some blocks that have a big park on them, or something where you get a longer period on them without crossing them, a street. And that was always good.' In Simon's example, a different kind of 'busyness' is being negotiated to that discussed above. In addition, further features of the built environment were also relevant in his account of running in Vancouver: 'we have very big wide pavements to run on. So in that sense it's quite easy'.

Other outdoor runners described features of the built/natural environment which were important for their run, but had only featured fleetingly. Around half way through a go-along run interview in Lancaster, for example, Harriet, 54, described how a particular view of the city's castle was her favourite part of the regular route we were on. In contrast to the more fixed backdrop of materials that characterise indoor running and indoor swimming, this sort of moving in of materials for a fleeting moment was an affordance deemed valuable in outdoor running. While Harriet had come to develop and refine two other regular running routes around Lancaster in recent years, this kind of engineering had not always possible elsewhere and at different times in her life.

Elsewhere, and somewhat similarly, particular air quality 'conditions' were described as distinctive yet fleeting features of outdoor runs. To this end, Hayley, 34, who typically runs on treadmills in Horfield Leisure Centre, described an outdoor route she had recently started to do in Bristol that constituted training for what would be her first marathon. Starting from her house she'd repeat a four kilometre loop four times, as that would amount to 10 miles – a requirement for her training. Yet half of the loop would

involve running along the main road where she lives, and this could get particularly busy with traffic. By the fourth loop she spoke of really noticing the effects of inhaling fumes. Like the affordance of the ground, then, the affordance of air is no more uniform in running. Although the situation was not ideal, Hayley spoke about needing to fit training in after work, and that she did not feel confident trying an alternative route just yet.

Interview findings also highlight how the affordance of built/natural structures is relational. That is to say they are themselves shaped by materials interacting. For example, rather than not go running when it is raining, Bristol-based runner Lydia, 38, would select a particular route sheltered by the canopy of large trees. This tactic was similarly employed by Anna, 42, also from Bristol, who talked of sheltering under trees during a recent run when a rain storm broke out. Yet as the trees only constitute shelter in particular conditions this affordance is temporary.

It is certainly the case, then, that runners and swimmers appreciate the affordances different materials offer within runs and swims. However, the interview findings also illustrate that these affordances are not static or once-and-for-all. Rather affordances fluctuate as, in these cases, built/natural structures interact with other materials, including practitioners, other practices (e.g. driving cars), and the weather. As such Gibson's static concept is challenged and extended through considering Ingold's 'world of materials'. The next section explores this further by focusing on how bodies themselves are in flux during practice performances.

Dynamic bodies and materials

This section focusses on how the bodies of practitioners are in flux throughout performances, and how this relates to the dynamic affordances

of interacting materials discussed in the previous section. By focusing on the bodies of runners and swimmers as performances unfold, and how different combinations of materials interact with these dynamic bodies, it therefore takes a different analytical tack. The implications of these dynamics for when, where, and how practices are performed are also reflected upon.

One way of looking at how the body interacts with diverse kinds of materials during a run or swim is to take the view that some materials (including practitioners' bodies) are sometimes in the 'background' while others are in the 'foreground'. What I mean is that, from the practitioner's point of view, they are more aware of some materials and not others (including their own body) whilst they are running or swimming, and that this awareness changes throughout a performance. Such conditions change because materials and the relationships between them are dynamic.

I introduce and discuss examples of these occurrences, first from running and then swimming, before re-entering dialogue with the conceptual resources that provide ways of thinking about how diverse materials feature in practice.

Towards the end of a lunchtime run with Anna, 42, which took place on a tarmac and gravel towpath adjoining the River Avon in Bristol, she remarked: 'I can tell I've done 4k because my foot always goes numb here'. Half-way through a run which involved descending a hill in Ashton Court park in Bristol, Lydia, 38, commented: 'It's weird, I always get a stitch [a sudden sharp pain] when going downhill'. And, ten minutes into a thirty-minute run which began on pavements in Lancaster, Simon, 29, talked of a change in his knees: 'the stiffness has kind of gone at this point and I tend to enjoy it more from here'.

The significance of these experiences – a foot becoming numb, a stitch, stiffness in the knees – are in some ways difficult to judge (for example how fleeting or long lasting were they?), yet they were brought about by a specific combination of materials acting on each other (the body, running shoes, particular terrain). It is only through the materialized doing of the activity that these particular moments of pain, relief, and enjoyment are experienced, and the body transformed in this way. The body-in-practice is therefore partly shaped by the different kinds of materials that interact with it.

Some of the interviewees had recognised this relationship, and devised strategies to reposition their body within this web of material relations. For example, Harriet, 54, had devised a running route around Lancaster which minimised the amount of time she would spend running on harder surfaces. When accompanying Harriet on this run, I noticed that whenever there was an available stretch of grass to run on – for example along strips between pavement and road, as well as adjacent to a canal footpath – she would run on these rather than the concrete alternative. When asked about this, Harriet said such surfaces were kinder on her joints, as well as being closer in character to fell running, a type of running on mixed terrain that she would do when she had more time.

While Harriet's strategy illustrates how an 'urban' route might be engineered to include certain surfaces and not others by an outdoor runner, an equivalent possibility is not available, of course, to a treadmill runner. Yet this is not to say a wide range of materials are less implicated in the setting of a gym. The following examples illustrate how the running body changes throughout a treadmill run, how this can result in materials that are in the background and foreground changing, and how treadmill runners attempt to configure these dynamics within the more restrained gym setting.

Among the many activities provisioned for in a contemporary multi-purpose gym, treadmills for running (or walking) are just one. Stationary 'spin' bikes, various exercise machines, free weights, and mats for stretching on are some of the others. Although all activities associated with such equipment may be done in different ways (with different degrees of intensity, for longer and shorter periods), and involve distinct equipment (a spin bike, dumbbells), air temperature can be thought of as an all-pervading 'material'. Treadmill running – typically done by my interviewees as either their sole or predominant exercise activity during gym visits, and for at least 20 minutes – presents an interesting case for thinking through how air, bodies, and heat interact in different ways as a run unfolds.

For at least starting out on a treadmill run, Jake, 17, described the temperature of the gym at Salt Ayre Leisure Centre as agreeable: 'Its a good temperature. If the room was hot I don't think I'd be wanting to do it, it'd make me feel all stuffy and I just wouldn't be in the mood'. Adam, 52, who also runs at Salt Ayre, talked not only of the basic phenomenon of his body warming up during a run, but the process through which this happens in relation to air conditioning in the room: 'Sometimes the conditioning... it doesn't quite seem to be conditioned, when I've got a good sweat on its warm'.

Bristol-based runner Lydia, 38, made a somewhat similar observation to Adam, though, for her, other specific temperature-regulating technologies were described as being part of the run (miniature fans built in to the treadmill itself): 'The fans don't do the job. Once I get going it's like I'm on a tropical island!'. Elsewhere, Bristol-based runner, Zoe, 40, talked of overheating during treadmill runs and described an unsuccessful attempt to regulate temperature at Horfield Leisure Centre. After trying to open a

window, a gym assistant requested that Zoe keep it closed on the basis that problems could ensue with the room's air conditioning system.

In contrast to running outdoors, where the running surface, shoe, and parts of the body are variously foregrounded and backgrounded during a practice performance, in the less flexible, more controlled indoor environment of the gym it is the relationship of body, heat, and air that comes to the fore. Nevertheless, these dynamics were brought about through similar processes of materials (including bodies) acting upon each other, culminating in some materials being foregrounded and others backgrounded. When these aspects were viewed as a problem for the practice performance, practitioners sought strategies to intervene in this dynamic material world. This is not to overlook the way the performance is done, in the sense of it being conducted with greater or less intensity, or for a longer or shorter period, but rather to think of this 'doing' as also including a range of materials acting on each other.

For swimming, the relationship of body, heat and water proved significant to interviewees, including Bristol-based swimmer, Sophie, 60, who spoke about her experiences of swimming in different pools over her lifetime. Sophie was aware of which water temperature she had come to prefer, and that this might differ compared with other swimmers. Sophie enjoyed swimming in colder water in indoor pools, as the coldness helped prompt her to swim more intensely and 'really go for it'. However, she thought such temperatures were likely to be 'off putting' for both older and younger people, who might swim less intensely and thus their bodies interact with water and temperature differently.

With reference to outdoor swimming, Bristol-based Oliver, 60, similarly illustrated that the repeated corporeal experience of swimming in cold water had come to shape his current preferences and routines over time. However, whether further materials were 'needed' or not to regulate body temperature was an ambiguous issue. When recalling a particularly cold winter swim in Henleaze Lake, for which he forgot to bring his swimming gloves, Oliver still managed to cover what had become his usual distance. Yet the aftereffects were severe: 'my hands were bloody blocks of ice!'

Indeed, for outdoor swimming I expected to find the use of specialist clothing – especially neoprene wetsuits, hats and gloves – to be common strategies for moderating the relationship of body, water and temperature. However, at my study site in Bristol this was not the case. Although Oliver generally used swimming gloves during the winter months, for year-round Henleaze Lake swimmer Charlotte, 47, seasonal changes did not correspond with changes in the clothing/equipment brought into her practice. Indeed, although Charlotte described how she would swim for less time in the winter, and would be careful about 'knowing limits', she spoke of not being interested in bringing additional equipment into her practice. Rather 'I like the physicality of it [the cold water]. If that means I'm in for less time, but I'm experiencing that, that's better for me'.

In fact, my interviewees revealed how another material at Henleaze Lake had presented a further strategy for swimmers to manage the cold. The construction of a sauna in 2015, to coincide with the introduction of winter swimming at the site, had contributed to the ways in which swimmers' would regulate body temperature. Alongside eating a sufficient amount of food beforehand, Charlotte described how the sauna had made this type of swimming easier. Likewise, Nisha, 41, who had previously used a wetsuit

when swimming at Henleaze Lake but found 'it quite difficult to put on and take off, especially when you're really cold and your hands are numb', would now use the sauna after winter swims.

Taking the different examples in this section together, I have shown how the bodies of runners and swimmers transform as runs and swims unfold. These dynamic bodies are partly produced by their interactions with a variety of materials, including particular terrain, running shoes, clothing, air, water, and heat. Such materials do not merely feature in performances but are continually interacting with the transforming bodies of practitioners, as well as each other (as noted in the previous section). In situations where these interactions foreground aspects which practitioners' view as problematic, they seek to intervene in these complex relationships by introducing materials into their practice, or trying to alter the environments they were in.

To take up dialogue again with Gibson and Ingold's contrasting concepts, the findings support Ingold's position that the ongoing interaction between diverse kinds of materials and human bodies is a fluid relationship. The findings show that this is not only a way of making sense of what it is like to be outside, which is the focus of Ingold's work, but that it offers original insights on what it's like to be inside too.

Discussion

The analysis reveals that both over the course of runs and swims and before they take place the affordances of materials including bodies, and the relations between them, are constantly changing. In 'Materials on the move' I show how the affordances of materials vary and fluctuate. Focusing on the built/natural structures of running and swimming as an example, the

analysis found that as well as being in the environment, practitioners also make the environment, changing affordances as they enter and exit. Furthermore, analyzing the affordances of materials as they were discussed in specific runs and swims revealed that affordances are not static but dynamic, as built/natural structures interact with other practices and the weather. Finally, some 'materials', such as the opening up of a particular view during a run, may be momentary yet can be considered an important affordance by the runner. These dynamics are not recognised in Gibson's work, but I suggest that it makes a valuable amendment to it.

In focusing on how the body itself transforms throughout specific performances of a practice, I took a different analytical strategy. Rather than conceptualizing the interaction of bodies and diverse materials in practice as being consistent and equal throughout the performance I showed how bodies are themselves transformed in practice, and the importance of different material interactions in understanding these transformations.

This phenomenon was closer in conceptual terms to Ingold's notion of a 'world of materials' than Gibson's idea of affordance. However, it is necessary to hold the two ideas together at the same time: that the affordance of materials varies and changes across a performance, and that the body itself transforms in relation to these diverse, interacting and fluctuating materials. It is when these different aspects of analysis are taken together that it reveals and provides some conceptual resources to understand the ways in which diverse materials shape practice performance, whilst also illustrating how these materials are shaped by practices. In this chapter, these relations are revealed through zooming in to look at the performance of particular runs and swims. However, if we are to understand the relations of materials in practice, this is still is not the whole story.

Specifically, still to discuss are the dynamics through which particular combinations of materials come to be part of a performance, and how bodies transform across longer timescales of careers, partly as an outcome of these relational material worlds which they have been part of. This relationship between materials and practice across longer careers of running and swimming is taken up in the next chapter.

Chapter five: How participation ebbs and flows

Having seen that forms of 'provisioning' for the practices of running and swimming are neither uniform or simply enabling in the sense that facilities are not always used, this chapter takes issue with a second plank of conventional explanations of participation: that whether people 'do' or do not do running and swimming is essentially a question of having a particular mindset.

The biography interviews indicated that participation in running or swimming varied, and also ebbed and flowed over the course of interviewees' lives: this was a central feature of the timelines that they drew. This chapter focuses on these patterns of ebb and flow at different temporal scales, focusing on the implications of accumulating experiences of running and swimming in different environments for current and perhaps future forms of participation.

Following a brief account of one interviewee's 'career', I introduce conceptual resources that provide ways of making sense of how people's engagement with leisure activities in general (Stebbins 1982; Stebbins 2014) and specific practices, in particular (Lave and Wenger 1991), unfolds in the long term. I go on to discuss explanations and processes that are relevant in making sense of fluctuations in participation across the broad set of interview data, before combining these accounts to better understand how two specific careers have unfolded. The chapter ends with a discussion of how careers in running and swimming might be re-conceptualized as careers 'in practice'.

I begin by describing the experiences of just one respondent, Luke. Luke, 31, is an accountant who lives in Bristol and was swimming regularly at

Horfield Leisure Centre and occasionally at Henleaze Lake at the time of interview. Luke labelled the two axes of his career timeline 'age' (x-axis) and 'enthusiasm' (y-axis); his career timeline is reproduced in Figure 5.1.

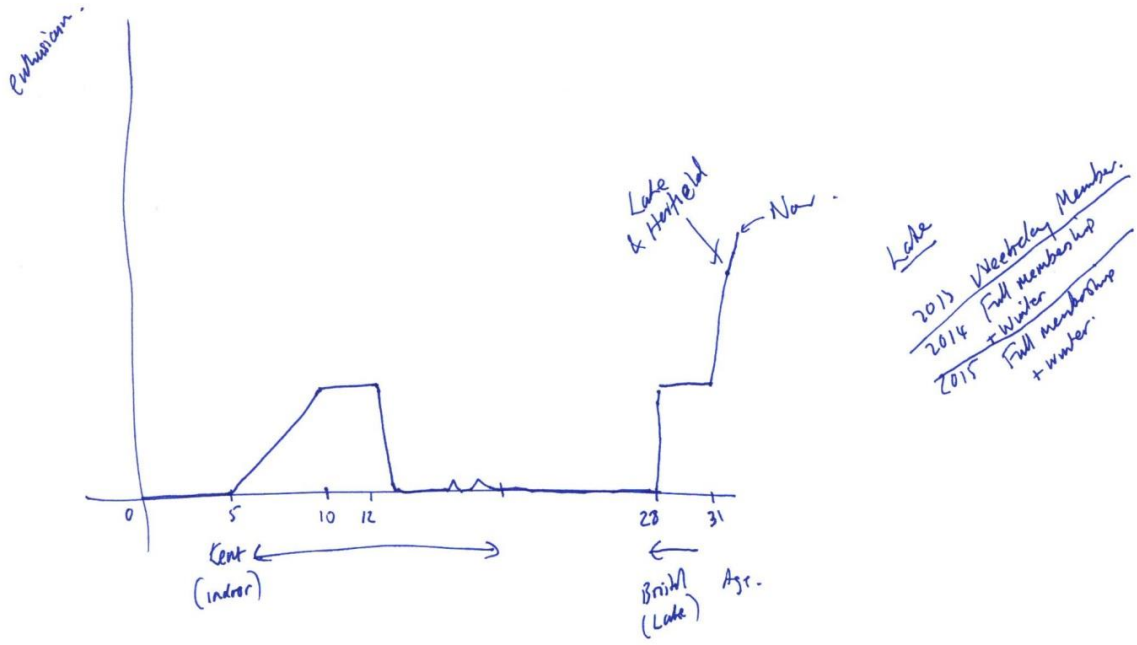

Figure 5.1: Luke's career timeline (swimmer, 31, Bristol)

Since it wasn't possible to learn to swim at primary school, Luke's parents first took him to a local pool in Kent for swimming lessons when he was five. Once reaching a basic level of competence, he stopped swimming aged 12. This happened not long after his parents encouraged him to try out a local swimming club: 'I was a bit reluctant..I did join, but it was just too intense. So I didn't continue. I think there were a lot of kids who were a lot better'. Although Luke more or less stopped swimming altogether until turning 28, the few times he swam during the intervening period were with his mates in his teens 'because I used to go along when they went along'.

Aged 28, Luke was living in Bristol with his partner when they first heard about Henleaze Lake; they saw a flyer that had been addressed to a flatmate.

'That's how we found out about it. A bit of luck basically'. As marked on the right side of Luke's timeline, they joined the Lake in 2013, initially as weekday-only members and would swim in the summer. The following year they became full members when, not only did they also begin to swim on weekends, but in the winter once or twice a month also.

Aged 31, and one month before the biography interview, Luke began a concurrent indoor swim routine at Horfield in December 2015. Due in part to a succession of knee injuries sustained while running, Luke decided to try out a replacement activity: 'it was very quiet over the period [between Christmas and the New Year], so I thought I'll go in the lanes and see how it goes. And I thought, actually, I could do this a lot more regularly, and then it spiralled into doing it pretty much every day really'. At the time of interview, Luke would 'get up very early and go to the 6.30 one [laned swimming session] in the morning, then get out from swimming, then get a bus straight to work basically' and would typically swim on the weekend too. With respect to his routine in the future, Luke stated that, while he had no immediate plans, he was interested in trying out a triathlon in a few years' time.

While other career timelines inevitably revealed different configurations of ebb and flow, this is a good example with which to introduce the question: how might the ebb and flow of Luke's career be conceptualized and analyzed?

Participation over the long term: some conceptual resources

Sociologist of leisure, Robert Stebbins and learning theorists, Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, have developed conceptual resources which help in

thinking about how a given person's engagement in an exercise activity might be sustained and how it might change over the longer term (that is, over years or decades rather than days and months).

The Serious Leisure Perspective

In contrast to what Stebbins defines as casual leisure activities, which he takes to include watching television and having a picnic (Stebbins 1982: 253), serious leisure is defined as 'the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity sufficiently interesting for the participant to find a career there acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience' (Stebbins 1992: 3; also e.g. Stebbins 2014: 4).

Stebbins has categorised serious leisure activities according to these sub-groups of 'amateur', 'hobbyist', and 'volunteer', and established further categories within each. For example, while swimming and running are two of many activities classified as hobbyist in the serious leisure perspective, Stebbins (1982) distinguishes between those who compete and those who take part recreationally: 'Swimmer number one is a player [of competitive sports or games] because he competes in swimming meets. Swimmer number two is an activity participant because she swims strictly for the pleasure of the development and maintenance of her skill and for the exercise it provides' (Stebbins 1982: 263).

In setting about this classification and in ordering activities and the types of people that do them, Stebbins suggests that there are dynamics at play that complicate this process. The fact that activities change over time is one such complication. For example, at the time when he was writing, and in North America at least, Stebbins (1982: 282) points out that, as racketball and

autoracing were undergoing processes of professionalisation, it was difficult to establish their exact status as serious leisure activities or to even determine the detail of what doing these activities involved.

Yet, Stebbins's overall project is less to do with how and why such changes take place. His primary ambition is to explore the idea that a given person's participation in a serious leisure activity is an outcome of a mixture of qualities, inherent both to the individual and the activity in question. Specifically, he names six: 1) the need to persevere at the activity; 2) the availability of a leisure career; 3) the need to put in effort to gain skill and knowledge; 4) the realisation of various special benefits, such as self-actualisation; 5) a unique ethos and social world; and 6) an ability to forge an identity (Stebbins 1982: 256-258; Stebbins 1992).

Building on this analysis, 'Stebbins coined the term serious leisure to express the way the people he interviewed and observed defined the importance in their everyday lives of amateur, hobbyist and volunteer activities (Stebbins 1982). The adjective 'serious' (a word his research respondents often used) embodies such qualities as earnestness, sincerity, importance and carefulness' (Elkington and Stebbins 2014: 34).

For the purpose of my study, Stebbins's account leaves a number of important questions hanging. In particular, his discussion of serious leisure tells us little about the social processes through which someone comes to access, take up, and move through a career in a particular leisure activity. Similarly, if it is the case that there are different ways of doing specific activities (e.g. as an 'activity participant' and as 'player of competitive sports'), through what processes might participants move between one or

another form?

Careers in practice

Lave and Wenger's (1991) work on situated practices provides additional resources for thinking about how and why someone's engagement with a given practice might evolve over the longer term. Drawing on ethnographic accounts of people's professional participation in a range of practices, including tailoring; midwifery; quartermastering, a form of navy officer training; and butchery, Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that in order to become a master or 'full practitioner' newcomers must progress through a set of stages distinctive to the practice in question.

Movement from one stage to another in a career may be marked in different ways, such as through attainment of formal qualifications. Of interest to Lave and Wenger (1991) is the detail of 'doing' at successive stages and how such stages are demarcated and organised. This involves homing in on how newcomers come to take on increasingly complex tasks. For example, they focus on how apprentice tailors initially carry out basic sewing and cutting tasks before progressing to more complex ones (Lave and Wenger 1991: 71-72).

When showing how people's careers in practice unfold, Lave and Wenger attend to how the stages, or the rungs of a ladder that must be climbed, are configured from practice to practice. For some practices, cohorts of practitioners move relatively fast through successive stages: the ladder is short and it is possible to move from the position of a newcomer to a full practitioner relatively swiftly (Lave and Wenger 1991: 99). In other situations, the gap between a second and third rung, for example, may be very large or insurmountable for some.

In setting out these ideas, Lave and Wenger (1991) engage with debates in theories of learning: their key argument is that learning is best understood as a process that takes place through participation, and in a social context, rather than being located in atomised individual minds. As much as it is the case that there are rungs and stages which are configured differently from practice to practice, it is the shifting social relations between newcomers and old-timers that is of concern (e.g. also Wenger 1998).

There is scope for appropriating these ideas and putting them to work in relation to my study of running and swimming. The notion that people have careers in practice, and that their engagement with particular activities may be qualitatively different over time, provides a particular way of thinking about some of the patterns of participation in running and swimming that I observed.

However, Lave and Wenger tend to focus on narratives of progression. Whilst they do provide an account of how people drop out, or fail to become 'full' practitioners, it is rather harder to explain how patterns of participation ebb and flow. Further ideas are needed to conceptualize fluctuations in participation - such as the prolonged trough in Luke's career up to the age of 28 - as well as the varied processes and experiences to which respondents referred in characterising their own, and others' careers in running and swimming.

Understanding ebb and flow

In this section I review the types of explanations that my interviewees put forward, and consider the consequences of each for the 'careers' of those involved. Three themes were repeatedly discussed in biography interviews and career timelines: the changing conditions of the body; intersecting daily

life practices; and the demands associated with taking part in organised events.

Changing conditions of the body

Running and swimming are both physically demanding activities in the sense that they can only be undertaken by bodies that have certain physical capacities. The nature of these necessary capacities varies for different reasons, and as careers develop, but there is always a risk of disruption through ill health or injury. Amongst those with whom I spoke, this was generally a more significant issue for runners.

Bristol-based runner, Rory, 48, who had sustained a sprained ankle while running recently (meaning that our go-along interview had to be postponed), described how a variety of injuries explained the stop-start character of his career timeline for much of the past 20 years. In the past six years in particular, he had accumulated a considerable number of visits to physiotherapists and podiatrists to aid recovery from injuries and help revive his practice.

Rory's injuries meant that there were times when it was impossible or difficult to take part in some exercise activities (running). At these times, he reported an increase in other activities (e.g. swimming), in which the same injury was not a hindrance. The final section of Luke's indoor swimming career, introduced in Figure 5.1, follows a similar pattern: a succession of knee injuries sustained while running led him to seek out the 'replacement activity' of lane swimming at Horfield.

It is not possible to be categorical about how Luke's running and indoor swimming routines will unfold in the future, however other interviewees

described how injuries and/or the ageing body had simply ended their running careers. For example, Bristol-based swimmer, Sophie, 60, described how a previous routine of running around Durdham Downs park had ended following a hip replacement. Elsewhere, Michael, 61, also a long-term swimmer from Bristol, stated that, while his swimming routine had been sporadic up to his early twenties, it had followed a fairly constant two or three-times-a-month pattern since then. Yet alongside this prolonged period, it also emerged that shorter careers in other exercise activities had come and gone. As Michael explained, injuries and/or the ageing body often played a key role; for example, squash 'began to hurt my back', while a running routine next to the river Thames 'kept giving my hip trouble, so it was time to call it a day'.

In a different example of changing conditions of the body, Lancaster-based swimmer, James, 66, talked of a fifty-year period during which he would rarely swim. As represented on his career timeline, this five-decade hiatus was preceded by frequent swimming up to the age of 15. At a peak during this earlier period, James would swim five times a week at Lancaster Baths and Morecambe Super Swimming Stadium, and regularly enter swimming races. In addition, James and his friends would swim in the sea as well as the Lancaster canal which passes through the village where he grew up, Bolton-le-Sands.

Between the ages of 16 and 65, James worked as a mechanic and a labourer on civil engineering projects. During much of this extended period, James talked of having limited time for leisure activities. He also explained that, owing to the physically demanding nature of the work, he'd be too tired to swim in the way he wanted and had therefore stopped going. At the time of interview, one year after retiring, James had a new three-times a week

routine at Salt Ayre, and as he explained this routine allowed him to 'still get some [physically demanding] work done'.

Oher interviewees, such as Sophie, 60, and Christine, 56, spoke about previously being pregnant and having children before picking up careers in swimming and running, respectively, after a break.

Other requirements come into play as standards and expectations evolve. The physical demands of training for a marathon are not the same as a quick run at lunchtime unconnected from such kind of broader project. Equally, as the body develops with training more ambitious forms of running and swimming are possible. For example, Alice, 45, from the Lancaster area, spoke of enjoying the effects of being in shape for two prolonged periods as a consequence of taking part in successive triathlon events. At time of interview she had entered two triathlons in the summer of 2013, and three in the summer of 2015.

There were other examples of a similarly recursive relation between conditioning (of the body) and specific forms of participation. One relates to the process of adapting to swimming in open water of varying temperature. Having started swimming at Henleaze Lake three years previously, and initially in the summer only, Nisha, 41, had become accustomed to swimming in a range of temperatures at different times of the year. This had further effects beyond the particular site at Henleaze: 'Now, when going on holiday any time of year in the UK, even in winter, I'll bring my swimming gear and often swim in the sea'.

Somewhat similarly, Oliver, 60, who had been swimming at Henleaze Lake since moving to Bristol in the mid-1980s, spoke of his preference for

particular kinds of water, evaluating them with reference to a classification scheme of his own making: 'I think I am a freshwater swimmer. I do prefer it. My hierarchy would be: freshwater, sea swimming, then open lidos, then, at the bottom, would be indoor pools. I mean I really don't like indoor pools because they're just sort of boring. Just sort of ploughing up and down'. When asked if this ranking of swimming environments had changed over time, Oliver replied: 'I think I would have been: sea swimmer, lido swimmer, then a pool swimmer. The freshwater/outdoor swimming, that's probably since I was 20'.

When looking at Nisha and Oliver's cases together, the experience of swimming in different kinds of water has clearly had effects: as the body has become accustomed to different conditions, new possibilities for swimming in different kinds of water had opened up. In addition, how different kinds of water have been evaluated have changed as careers have unfolded; what is preferred now, and at a later point in a career, is different to what was preferred previously.

A further issue in Oliver's case is that this more subtle evaluation of different kinds of water has not obviously affected his career timeline. While Oliver marked on his timeline the various places he has lived since starting swimming (Felixstowe, Liverpool, Grimsby, London, Bristol), with the exception of an extended period, when he was a student and had a demanding job, his commitment to swimming had been consistently high.

Intersecting daily life practices

When exploring 'what was going on' as participation ebbed and flow, intersecting daily life practices were never far from view. For example, as noted above, when looking back at over five decades of not-swimming,

James, 66, attributed this gap to his physically demanding professional career. Over a shorter time-frame, Luke, 31, introduced at the beginning of the chapter, noted that an intense upcoming period of work would have implications for his new swimming routine at Horfield Leisure Centre, for a few months at least.

Over the course of a career in running and swimming, a wide range of daily life practices, occurring at varied temporal scales, had what often was a crucial role in shaping the peaks and troughs of running/swimming 'careers'. This is exemplified in the following potted history of the experiences of Grace (24, Lancaster) as a swimmer, which accompanies her career timeline in Figure 5.2 below.

In Grace's career timeline, various periods in her life are marked on the horizontal axis; from first learning to swim as a child, going to different schools, moving home, going to university, and starting her current job as an administrator near Lancaster. The y-axis of her timeline, meanwhile, denotes frequency, ranging from 'no swimming' to periods of 'high' frequency.

Grace's broadly 'W' shaped pattern is defined by three periods in which she went swimming particularly frequently. When reflecting on the first period, when she first learned to swim, Grace talked not only of being able to swim ever further distances, but of obtaining badges which recognised this, and recalled the time fondly: 'I loved swimming lessons, and getting all the different milestone badges you get at school, getting them all sewn on my towel'.

In addition to the swimming lessons at this point, Grace described how she began swimming once a week at Kendal Leisure Centre as part of a regular family outing. At this time, Grace, her Mum, Dad, and sister would 'go swimming every Monday night without fail, because that's what we did'. As it turns out, this routine depended on the particularities of her parent's work: Monday nights were one of the two nights that her parents' fish and chip shop was closed.

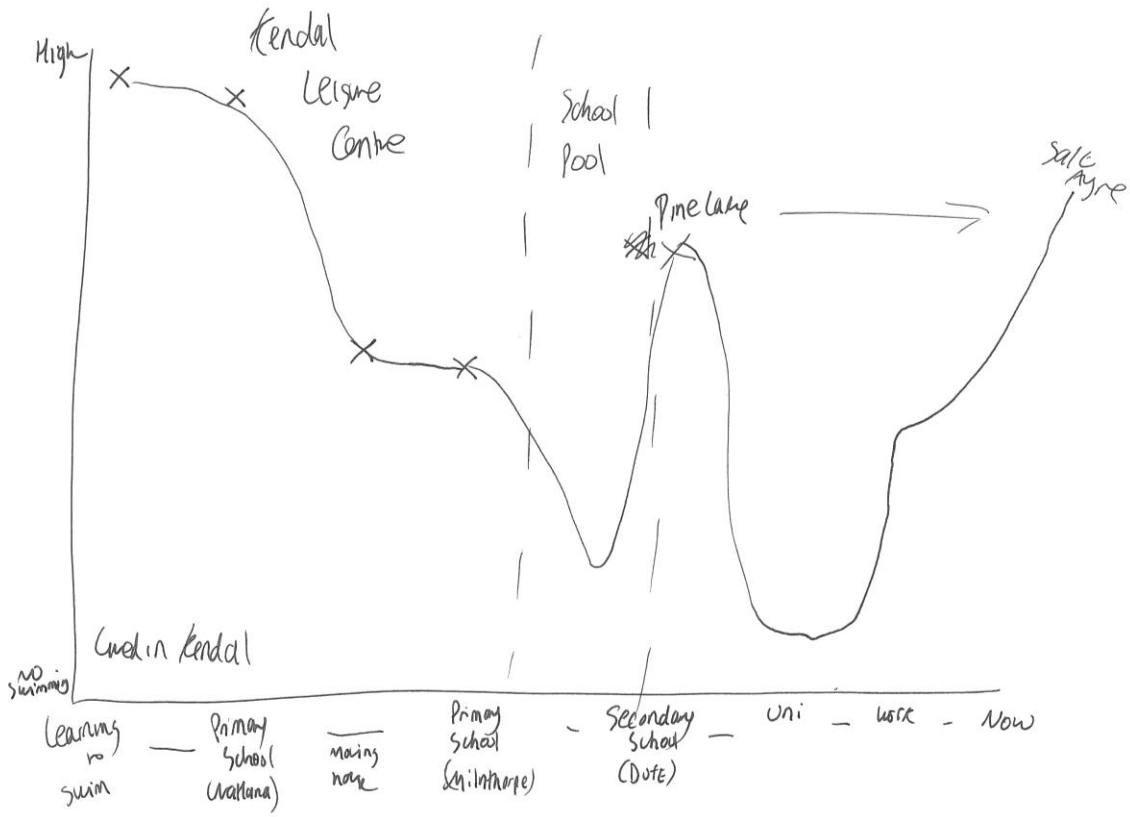

Figure 5.2: Grace's career timeline (swimmer, 24, Lancaster)

Subsequently, her family moved house and, while their local pool remained the one in Kendal, it was further away and the regular family trips stopped. Beyond occasional compulsory swimming sessions during physical education lessons at primary school, swimming 'wasn't a priority for me. I had more interesting things to do. I was quite bored by it'.

The second period of frequent swimming occurred while at secondary school, when Grace completed three successive 'Duke of Edinburgh Awards' - bronze, silver, and gold. Among a range of tasks that need to be completed to obtain each of these awards, akin to an additional qualification for pupils at participating schools, candidates are required to demonstrate their commitment to a sport. For each, Grace chose to do swimming and would go to Pine Lake, a holiday resort with a swimming pool situated 15 miles north of Lancaster. Grace described the effects of these particular projects on her swimming routine: 'it picked up again because I had to do that every week for three months at a time for the bronze, then six months for silver, then twelve months for gold'.

Afterwards, having started university, the frequent period of swimming fell away. While there was a swimming pool on the university campus, swimming was not a priority and other practices took hold. 'I really got into climbing, and tried out lots of other new things. Swimming took a back seat'.

The latest incline in Grace's career timeline, and the first in her adult swimming career, started when she entered a first triathlon in April 2016 and began training sessions in the preceding three months at Salt Ayre Leisure Centre. Although a friend had been encouraging her to sign up for a triathlon for considerable time, Grace only decided to do so once she was settled in to a new role working as an administrator. As part of this, Grace spoke of 'making the most' of regularly being at Salt Ayre by also taking part in group exercise classes held at the leisure centre, and shifting where she would do grocery shopping to a supermarket nearby the facility on her way home.

While Grace's swimming career includes childhood as well as adulthood swimming, periods of frequent and infrequent swimming in her life are linked to the waxing and waning of various priorities, commitments, and interests linked to practices beyond swimming. When growing up, peaks in swimming have occurred as part of family time together, as well as the institutional priorities and possibilities associated with schools she's attended. More recently, Grace's swimming career has undergone a peak in conjunction with other practices conveniently fitting in alongside swim training. Troughs, meanwhile, have occurred as other practices beyond swimming have taken hold (e.g. while growing up as a child and while attending university) and other 'careers', more broadly, have passed (e.g. going to university).

Events

Other interviewees talked of undergoing periods of training in the lead up to specific running or swimming events or triathlons and, as with Grace, these periods showed up in the career timelines they drew. It is unclear how Grace's swimming career will unfold after taking part in her first triathlon. But for other people periods of more frequent participation in the lead up to selected events were often followed by a slump once the event had taken place. However, this was not always the case. As described below, there were three main ways in which events featured in the lives of interviewees: for some, taking part in selected events involved distinct periods of pre-event training and post-event decline; for others, participation in weekly events (such as Parkrun) defined 'regular' involvement in running; and in still other cases, taking part in multiple kinds of event did not have any obvious impact on the ways in which careers developed.

For Grace, training for her first triathlon meant that she set herself clear targets for three months, related to the particular distance she would need to swim, as well as run and cycle. Immediately after doing a gym exercise class at Salt Ayre on Monday nights, she would replicate the distance she would need to swim for the triathlon in the pool. '[I do] the 400m I need to do for the triathlon. So that's 16 lengths, and I can squeeze that in the little time window I've got between my class finishing and the pool closing'. Then, to help build up stamina, 'either on a Thursday night or on a Saturday I'll go and do a longer swim'.

Beyond explaining how this pattern fitted in with other aspects of her daily routine, such as with her work, Grace noted that her new swimming schedule overrode a previous inclination to avoid swimming in the winter. While Grace disliked the sensation of going out into cold air from the swimming pool, 'this year that's not really an issue cause I've kind of got to go and do it'.

In another case of 'overriding', Bristol-based runner Rory, 48, talked of picking up a fairly serious ankle injury while training for a recent London Marathon, but of still running the event regardless. In regular circumstances he would not have run that distance with his body in such a condition, but this was overruled; he was impelled to still take part.

In the aftermath of a period of training that culminated in taking part in an event, various interviewees described a period of decline. This was the case for Adam, 52, a Lancaster-based Garage assistant, who started recreational running for the first time soon after turning 50. Most of the running he had subsequently done had taken place on treadmills in Salt Ayre Leisure Centre, where he had taken out gym membership towards the end of 2014. He half-

jokingly recalled that his family had intervened to get him to exercise regularly and to take his long-term health more seriously. This also led him to sign up for a multi-discipline event called 'Total Warrior' which would take place in the summer of 2015. Adam's running career timeline, which started in October 2014, was an inverted 'U' shape. At the peak, Adam marked 'Total Warrior 1st August 2015' as a critical date. Although it was not straightforward to fit training in amidst his work routine at the time, Adam talked of the run training that he did complete as being necessary and that, looking back, it was worth making the sacrifice. While Adam did not have further events lined up in conjunction with his current running routine (which was now less frequent) he talked about being particularly busy at work: what was possible one year was not necessarily possible in another.

For other interviewees, the aftermath of taking part in an event marked the beginning of a more, rather than less, intense period of participation. For example, while Jasmine (28, Lancaster), described doing a 5km charity fun run – 'Race for Life' – during a distinct 'trough' in her running career, the experience prompted her to start running more often. Subsequently, in advance of taking part in the same event the following year, she undertook pre-event training. Then, rather than undergoing a post-event slump, Jasmine spoke of continuing to run regularly after the event.

There is an important difference between events which punctuate careers - like annual charity runs, triathlons or marathons – and those which are much more embedded, and which become part of the practice itself. This feature varies in ways that relate to the form of 'event' involved and to how participation in events is framed - as a longer term goal to aim for, or as something regular to participate in.

This is most obvious in relation to Parkrun, to which participation had come to replace other running routines for some interviewees. For example, for Jasmine, Parkruns replaced an earlier routine of running alongside the Lancaster canal and around the local University campus. Similarly, Brian, 61, who had taken part in 11 of the first 14 Parkruns held at Lancaster, marked on his career timeline that he was in the midst of what seemed to be an escalating trajectory, partly 'driven' by this particular form of participation.

Whilst 'events' are clearly important in shaping careers and timelines, their effects are somewhat unpredictable. Not everyone participates in 'events' and although for some people such occasions were important moments in their timelines this was not always the case.

Ebb and flow as woven into careers

Although participants variously referred to 'conditions of the body', 'intersecting everyday practices', and 'events' when explaining how running and swimming had ebbed and flowed across different temporal scales, trajectories were defined by combinations of such considerations. While such overlapping explanations have been alluded to before, I now focus on how these come to be woven together over the course of people's careers.

I do so by focusing on how the careers of two recreational runners have unfolded to date. These include Julia's, 67, whose running career had begun seven years before our interview, and Zoe's, 40, whose career had begun 23 years previously. While both have done different forms of recreational running since first starting, including taking part in a variety of events, their accounts show that different kinds of ebb and flow are important for understanding how and why their careers have developed the way they have.

Julia, a part-time primary school teacher based in Bristol, began her running career when she stopped working full-time and wanted 'do something about my health' in 2009, when aged 50. Since then, her running has intensified and developed in a way that is, in part, consistent with the idea of the crossing of successive thresholds in a practice, identified in Lave and Wenger's (1991) account. However this process has also been characterised by cross-cutting patterns of ebb and flow.

Julia began running on treadmills only, in a gym on the outskirts of Bristol, partly because she did not want lots of people to see her running. She soon worked up to start doing 5 kilometre treadmill sessions and, after twelve months, was running approximately five times a week. This level of frequency continued for a further eleven months, until November 2010, when both her position about being seen running outside had changed and she had become bored with the treadmill. Arguably, November 2010 marked the crossing of a distinct 'stage' in Julia's career as this was the last time she ran on a treadmill. Yet it is also the case that working part-time rather than full-time – a favourable combination of intersecting daily life practices – facilitated this move outdoors.

In November 2010, Julia tried outdoor running for the first time, in Ashton Court park, Bristol, before starting a twice-a-week outdoor routine at the start of 2011. Julia's outdoor career timeline, reproduced in Figure 5.3 below, begins at this point. The x-axis of Julia's career timeline is divided into years and starts in 2011. The timeline includes events Julia has participated in, and notes a serious injury she sustained between 2013 and 2014. The earlier indoor 'stage' of treadmill running is noted on the left hand-side of the timeline. The y-axis, meanwhile, denotes how frequently she would run in number of days per week. In addition, at the top of her

timeline, Julia has listed what her day-to-day running routine has been like most weeks over the past five years.

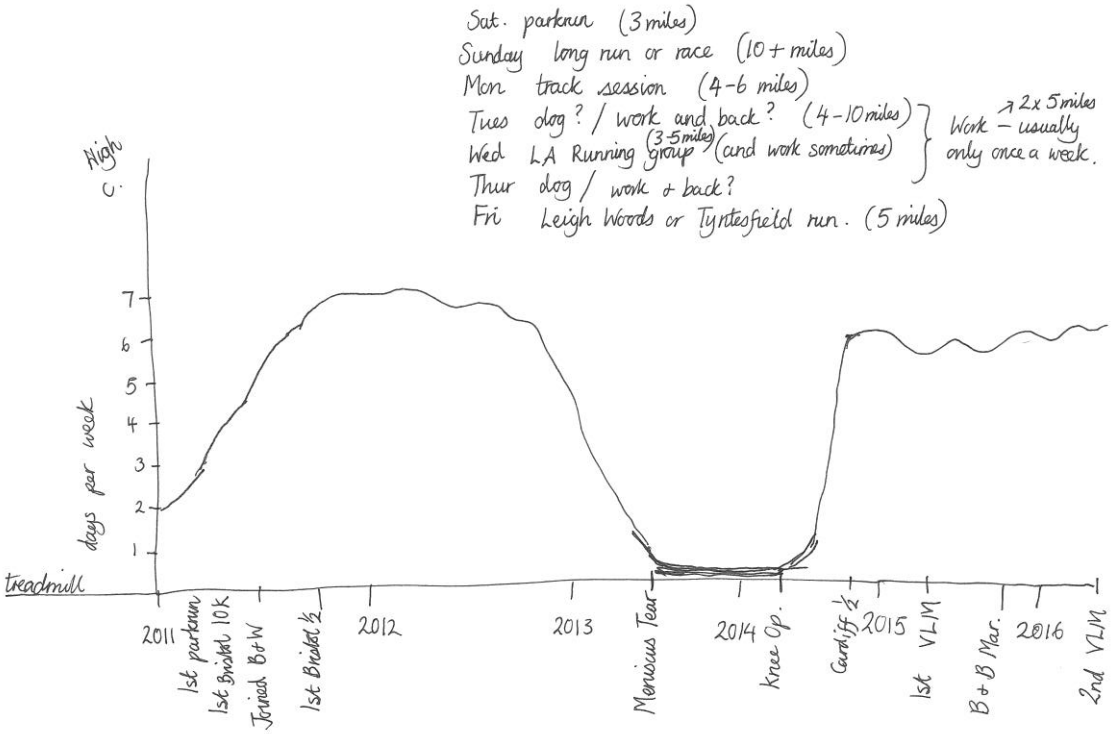

Figure 5.3: Julia's career timeline (runner, 57, Bristol)

Since the beginning of 2011, Julia's outdoor running career has continued to develop on various counts. As she explained this is revealed in: the increasing number of events in which she has taken part; the increasing distances that taking part in many of these events has entailed; and the increase in frequency in how often she'll run, to around six or seven days a week since the end of 2011, discounting the prolonged period of injury.

With respect to taking part in events over her career, Julia highlighted what were, for her, critical moments on her timeline. One was when she moved, or progressed, to take part in a first Parkrun (of 5km), then to do a first 10km race, and then to do a half marathon (21km), all in the same year, 2011. Subsequently, once recovered from the serious leg injury in 2014, Julia

took part in a second half-marathon, before entering successive marathons in the spring and summer of 2015 – the London Marathon (marked 'VLM' on her timeline) and an inaugural Bristol to Bath Marathon (marked 'B&B'). At time of interview she was preparing to run a second London Marathon, which would take place the following month. Looking at events this way tells a story of successive thresholds being crossed, but such an approach also plays down other ways in which Julia's running routine had intensified.

Staying with events, Julia spoke of completing close to 190 Parkruns since taking part in that weekly fixture for the first time in 2011. In addition, the timeline somewhat disguises the fact that her six or seven day-a-week running routine has quite often involved taking part in a local race, typically off-road, on a Sunday. In addition, as expressed in Julia's diary of her typical running week at the top of the timeline, there are further ways in which her running practice has ramped up. Since joining a local running club, Bristol and West Athletics Club, in 2011, she regularly does track training sessions. Then, on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and sometimes Wednesdays, practices that were previously altogether separate from running have become folded into her routine. Instead of walking with her dog, she'll run with it; instead of driving five miles to the school where she teaches once or twice a week, she will now sometimes run to and from work. In contrast, for example, to swimming, the qualities of running in relation to intersecting daily life practices have allowed for this further intensification. Running is now combined with walking the dog, and commuting a particular distance.

Furthermore, and along with her husband who had also taken up running with greater intensity since retiring from work in the past year, Julia has helped create different possibilities for collective running in the city. Together, they established a free-to-take part in running group where they

live on Wednesday evenings, which is targeted at beginner runners. Furthermore, in partnership with the National Trust, Julia leads a free communal run in the grounds of Tyntesfield estate once a month on a Friday. On the three Fridays that this does not take place each month, Julia will run on trails in woodland not far from her house.

As Julia's experience shows, what Stebbins might describe as a 'serious' career is made of a patchwork of different arrangements: events play a role, and there is a clear sense of 'progression'. At the same time, this has involved moving from one form of running (indoors on a treadmill) to a variety of other patterns: alone, with others, in the city, and in the countryside.

Zoe, 40, a part-time General Practitioner who lives in Bristol, has a running career that shares some similarities with Julia's. Like Julia, the running Zoe has done has taken a variety of forms – including treadmill running in gyms, recreational running in various outdoor settings, taking part in events, and, briefly, running with a running club. Yet ebb and flow have featured very differently. While the notion of stages clearly made sense in relation to Julia's account, Zoe's relationship to various forms of running was more opaque.

Zoe drew two fluctuating but separate timelines to represent her careers in outdoor and indoor running (Figures 5.4 and 5.5 below). The horizontal axes of both list different places in which she has lived, selected life-course moments, such as having children and attending medical school as an adult, and also records different forms of running she's done, including taking part in two half-marathons and a full marathon. While initially undecided about the most fitting label and unit for the y-axes, as 'I could be motivated

generally but end up not going', Zoe opted for the approximate number of times she would run in a typical week, although this is not marked on her timelines.

Zoe's outdoor timeline, reproduced in Figure 5.4, begins in 1993, when she would occasionally run with friends while attending university near London. Subsequently, during a two-year move abroad to France with her partner, Zoe continued to run occasionally, and with her partner sometimes joining too. Another move, this time to Madrid for one year in 1999, coincided with a marked increase in how often she'd run. Here, Zoe would run in the mornings where her practice 'wasn't really about timing or distance, but to go on a route in the city'.

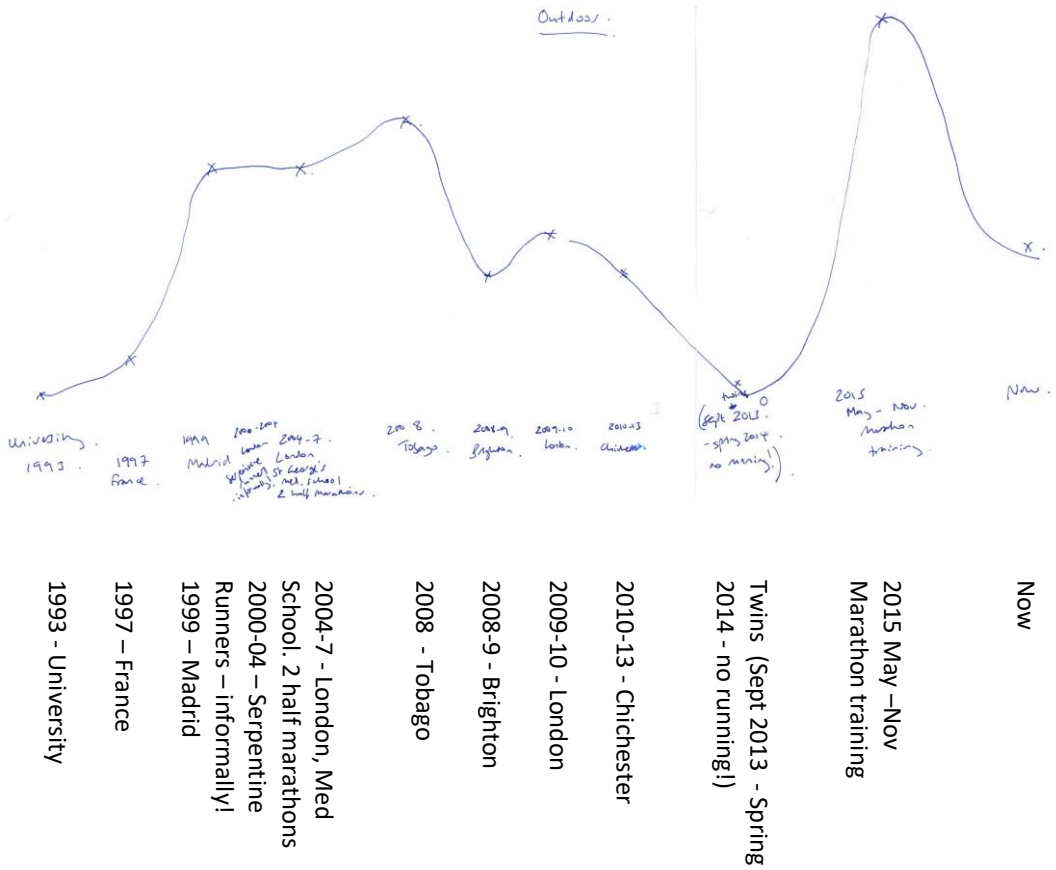

Figure 5.4: Zoe's outdoor running timeline (40, Bristol)

The average number of times per week Zoe ran in Spain was sustained between 2000 and 2008, when she moved to London. There she would regularly go on runs that would involve stitching routes between large parks, such as Hyde Park and St James's Park, and would often go with friends. Although Zoe tried out a London-based running club during this period, this was only a brief trial which in fact confirmed she preferred to run more informally.

While living in London from 2000-2008, Zoe experienced a number of 'firsts' in her running career. Although she had previously been a member of a gym that included treadmills when in France, she started treadmill running for the first time in 2000, initially at a private gym then later, in 2005, at a council run leisure centre. These moments are marked at the beginning of her indoor timeline, reproduced in Figure 5.5 below.

In 2004, Zoe entered her first running event aged 29, with course mates from medical school. The event was a half marathon in the New Forest, and this was followed by a half marathon in Paris soon after.

Taking part in these half-marathons did not particularly alter how often she would run, whether in the form of significant pre-event training or a notable post-event trough. This is expressed in the trajectories of Zoe's outdoor and indoor career timelines over the period, and her comments on how she would approach taking part: 'as I wasn't really looking at times, I'd just do some training runs and roughly see how far I was going. I didn't ever have a training plan. Or run to a particular speed'. Mixed in with Zoe's relation with events at the time were the simultaneous demands of her medical course. While some other friends invited her to join them in also entering the London Marathon, Zoe opted out: 'I felt like I was too busy to train'.

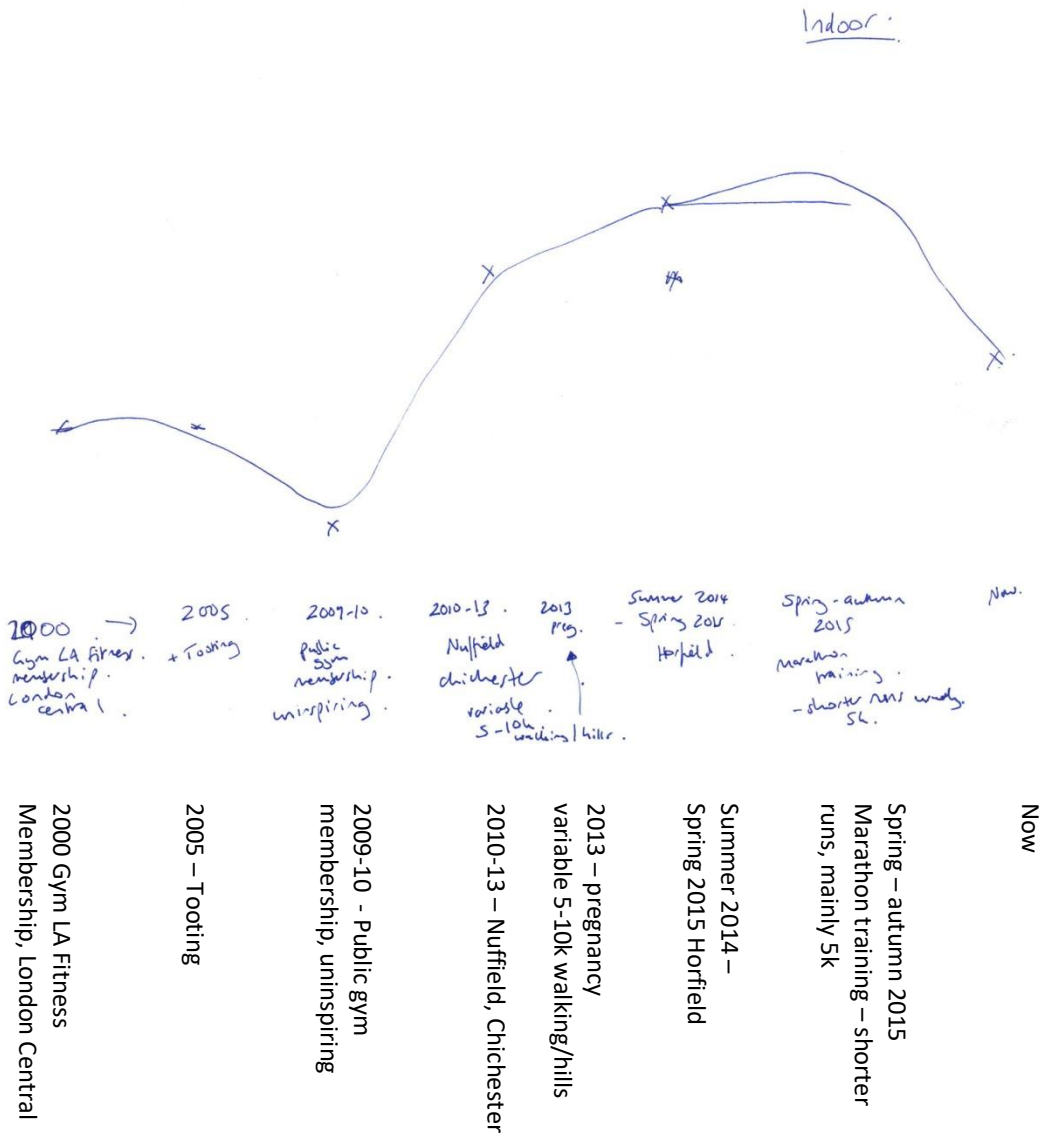

Figure 5.5: Zoe's indoor running timeline (40, Bristol)

Later, in 2008, the number of times per week Zoe would run outdoors increased. This occurred during a year-long stay in Tobago, where she was assigned a medical placement. In addition to juggling the requirements of a new work routine, the terms in which she would run on a day-to-day basis were shaped by the weather, climatic conditions, and natural environment: 'I would run every morning there, pretty much, because it was just so beautiful and along the beach. I'd either go on my own or with a German girl I met down the road. We'd get up and go quite early before we did our placement, when the sun was coming up and it was less hot'.

Upon returning to the UK in late 2008, and stretching up to around March 2015, Zoe and her partner have lived in a variety of places (Brighton, London again, Chichester, Bristol) and had twins in 2013. Amidst these changes, the number of times per week Zoe has run on treadmills has generally increased, while the frequency with which she has run outside has decreased at a roughly complementary rate. Before pregnancy, and to re-start some gentle exercise post-pregnancy, Zoe used treadmills to either jog lightly at a gradient which simulated a gradual hill, or to do walking sessions around five to ten kilometres in distance.

Thereafter, a six-month training period in the lead up to Zoe's participation in a first full marathon in 2015 constitute the largest peaks on both her indoor and outdoor timelines. During this period, Zoe and her partner would train together on routes in large parks in Bristol, including Durdham Downs and Ashton Court. Given the timing of the marathon, the seasonal conditions during the training period suited her: 'I knew the bulk of the training would be in the summer'. Still, the possibility of also training on treadmills remained appealing, and treadmill running was evaluated in relation to the surrounding terrain in Bristol: 'there are just hills. So it gives you a break from it. You can just do a nice, flat treadmill run'. The intensive six-month period contrasted with Zoe's approach to her first two half-marathons some ten years previously.

At the time of interview, which took place three months after the marathon, Zoe's running routine had become less intense. Typically, it involved her running once-a-week, with the setting for the run itself alternating between treadmills in Horfield Leisure Centre and parks in Bristol with her partner.

Discussion

Stebbins's idea that people have careers in 'serious' leisure pursuits, and Lave and Wenger's (1991) analysis of how people embark on demanding and challenging practices as novices and progress through recognisable career stages help make sense of at least some aspects of the 'careers' and timelines that my respondents described. However, both approaches overlook important complications.

One is that patterns of participation, as described, ebb and flow. Careers often involved starting and re-starting, though not necessarily from what could be identified as 'the same point' again and hiatuses could be prolonged. There were various explanations offered for this varied picture of ebb and flow. In some cases, aspects of physical condition and ability were clearly important – as when a hip replacement brought a running career to an end. But there were some more subtle aspects too. The corporeal experience of swimming in different kinds of water over time made a difference to when and where people were prepared to swim (new possibilities appeared), and to how they categorised and conceptualized these 'opportunities', and the types of water involved.

A second complicating feature is that interpretations of significant 'markers' and 'stages' varied. While it was the case that many interviewees progressed through what they described as landmark moments, such as taking part in a first event, for the most part these were not simply left behind as a new threshold came into view. Rather, a diverse range of what might be understood as 'stages' (e.g. involving treadmill running, taking part in Parkruns, running in a park, and training for an event) were typically kept alive as part of people's practice. On this point, it was important to note that 'events' had different roles: featuring as 'exceptional' goals and targets; as

simply part of the practice; or as rather more random moments within an unfolding career.

Third, and perhaps especially important, 'careers' in running and swimming, such as they are, proved to be inseparable from other kinds of 'careers' – in paid employment, and also in family life. These were interwoven in ways that neither Stebbins or Lave and Wenger take into account. In other words, in order to understand how participation in singular practices of running and swimming unfolded, it was important to understand how these activities connected with others (Schatkzi 1996; Shove et al. 2012; Hui et al. 2017) and, in particular, how forms of leisure were situated alongside patterns of part or full time work.

In combination, these insights argue for a still more 'embedded' analysis of participation, and for a better understanding of how connections between multiple co-existing practices are 'made' and broken over time.

Chapter six: Conclusion

My aim in this final chapter is to draw out and reflect upon what the thesis has shown about how participation in running and swimming is sustained and how it changes.

Starting points and propositions

In Chapter one I began by introducing some of the ways in which questions of participation have been framed and approached. I explained that various policy groups and organisations have an interest in the social processes through which participation in recreational sport and exercise changes, including the non-departmental public body, Sport England. What I described as 'dominant' approaches to participation vary in terms of what they take to be central units of explanation and analysis: these include the mindsets of individuals; the social groups to which people belong; and the existence of relevant forms of provision (of facilities/equipment) on the grounds that this matters for rates and forms of participation.

In relation to these starting positions, the thesis and the empirical research on which it is based have informed a different style of analysis and led to a series of also distinctive conclusions. I began by arguing that encouraging or extending participation is not simply a matter of persuading individuals to take up sports. Drawing on aspects of social theories of practice, I noted that infrastructures and materials are also important for the uptake of such practices, and for subsequent careers in practice. Policy makers of all forms have a hand in shaping these forms of provisioning.

This insight set the scene for the next key step, which was to develop a further, more detailed analysis of the mutual shaping of materials and practices. This is absent from many policy documents, although it is clearly

'there' in that resources have been invested, for example, in swimming pools. At the same time, it is obvious that provision of infrastructures are not, of themselves, enough to ensure that careers in practice develop. Crucially, many other 'materials' are implicated in the conduct of practices (from shoes to wetsuits, along with the weather); and, further, these combinations change over time and as 'careers' develop. Chapters three to five interrogate and examine different aspects of this proposition. The central findings of these chapters are discussed below.

Findings and insights

First, decisions about investment and the provisioning of infrastructure often lack an account of what the 'doing' of specific activities actually involves. In practice, running and swimming vary in different locations, which have contrasting 'built/natural structures' depending on their geography and specific history. Furthermore, within any one place (such as Lancaster or Bristol), multiple kinds of running and swimming might be done (e.g. indoor, outdoor, on road, trail and fell). That there are different types of running and swimming itself raises questions about what 'provisioning' involves, yet this aspect is overlooked (or rather conflated) in Sport England survey data.

As my interviews helped to demonstrate, doing things like running and swimming, indoors and outdoors, depend on integrations of a variety of material features. As noted above, this includes 'infrastructure', which may typically be publicly provided; but it also includes elements of 'nature' like the weather; and various clothing and equipment such as running shoes. Inspired by the work of Maller et al. (2016) and Ingold (2007b; 2007a), I developed a provisional typology of material relations (in Table 1.1, Chapter one). This distinguished between four main types of material explored in the

study: natural/built structures (e.g. parks and swimming pools); natural and artificial phenomenon (e.g. seasonal conditions; indoor climates); clothing and equipment (e.g. running clothing); and the body (in various 'conditions' such as being free from injury).

This helped inform and guide other aspects of the research, and allowed me to a) take these multiple material relations seriously and b) develop new ideas about the various ways in which these are integrated in practices of running and swimming as these evolve. The research design, which included interviews with people involved in urban/rural and indoor/outdoor running and swimming in two study sites enabled me to explore these relationships in depth.

The thesis emphasises that at a minimum, conceptualizing the 'material' dimensions of these kinds of practices depends on attending to a broad range of material relations. This range and complexity is not adequately represented in accounts such as those developed by Gibson (on affordances), or even by Ingold (who deals with flow, but fails to capture either the multiplicity of relations or the extent to which these unfold and change over time, and as forms of participation develop). In highlighting these relations, my analysis provides new insight into how different kinds of 'material' combine, and into how these combinations change.

In other words, the thesis argues that understanding changing forms and patterns of participation in running and swimming depends on branching out from a narrow focus on provisioning (e.g. of swimming pools, or facilities for running) to recognise that a wide range of materials are implicated in running and swimming.

I take these ideas further with the argument that a deeper understanding of how these materials are shaping of, *and are also shaped by participation*, depends on analyzing such relations at different scales. Conjunctions of materials shape the characteristics of running and swimming as 'practice entities', that is, as recognised practices that have longer term histories of their own. Such conjunctions are also intertwined in specific instances of enacting these practices, and as such how they feature in participants' careers. By writing about the longer term development of running and swimming, indoors and out, and by charting the forms of provision involved *alongside* detailed analysis of contemporary experiences, I have sought to make these interconnections clear and to demonstrate how longer term trajectories are defined by the experiences and practices of those who go running and swimming.

I have taken different approaches to this challenge. In Chapter three, I focused on the development of running and swimming (treating these as recognisable and essentially shared, but still variable practices), in order to provide a first take on the complex relationship between provisioning and participation, and to explore the processes through which a selection of materials had come to be part of different forms of these practices. As I explained, it is difficult to reach any solid conclusions about how contemporary trends in participation relate to long-term shifts in what running and swimming involve. For example, Chart 1.1 (p.13) showed a downward trend in adult participation in swimming between 2005/6 to 2015/16. The historical analysis indicates that this could relate to a sharp fall in the number of school pools in England, Scotland and Wales between 1970 and 2008 – from at least 4000-5000 school pools to 978 – (Gordon and Inglis 2009: 13 and 235). As a result, a recent cohort of young adults

across the country are likely to have less experience swimming at school upon turning 16 than older cohorts.

One of the reasons why it is difficult to be conclusive about these relations is that so much else is at stake. In drawing attention to the many other changing material relations that comprise running and swimming, indoors and out, I suggest that policy makers have a variety of other, less direct, roles that can come together and combine in ways that shape these practices, and how they develop. Often these influences are indirect, or not simply inspired by the ambition of promoting running or swimming.

As I explained, traces of seemingly unrelated decisions made sometimes decades ago permeate the present, such as those concerning the provisioning of public parks, the mass roll out of public baths and, in the case of outdoor swimming, the development of technologies for underwater navy swimmers. While organisations such as Sport England have a specific remit to increase mass uptake in sport and exercise, my point is that such interventions do not work in the abstract, but only when 'fed' into existing complexes of ideas, infrastructure, and objects. Moreover these complexes are themselves dynamic (e.g. whilst the study was underway new Parkrun events in Lancaster and Bristol became relevant).

These findings informed the next step of my analysis which focused on what happens when such conjunctions of materials and forms of provisioning come together, not in general, but in the lives of those with whom I spoke. How are, in fact, specific materials (including materials of all four types introduced above) integrated and taken up in practice? And how does the 'doing' of practice shape the affordances of the materials that are themselves being integrated?

To tackle these issues I moved from a focus on secondary sources to zoom into my respondents' accounts of specific runs and swims, focussing on how diverse kinds of material feature and combine, and how these combinations figured in go-along interviews with runners and swimmers, and in their retrospective accounts of specific past performances of these practices (within their biographical accounts).

My analysis of these instances and processes was informed by ideas about the relation between specific materials when mobilised in the immediacy of doing. I drew on Gibson's concept of affordance (Gibson 1986) and on the rather different approach of Ingold, who pays more attention to dynamic processes, and who includes bodies and 'environments' such as the weather in his analysis of the 'world of materials' (Ingold 2007b; Ingold 2007a; Ingold 2010: S124).

Together, this conjunction of ideas and empirical material generated new questions and insights regarding the materiality of practice. As set out in Chapter four, and building on my analysis, one especially important step is to recognise that the affordances of materials are dynamic, and that such affordances change during performances of practice. For instance, and in detail, the experience of swimming changes as other swimmers enter and exit the pool, as does the experience of running when nice views or polluted air come and go. In effect, the affordances of pools and running routes shift and change as running and swimming goes on. This coming and going of affordance plays a role in shaping when, where and how runs and swims are performed. As the interviews showed, individuals modify and plan their running routes to take account of the different 'affordances' of changing conditions (weather, seasons), or longer term ambitions (distance, duration). Similarly, swimmers time their trips to the pool in response to the

temporally fluctuating affordances of the environment: is the pool likely to be empty or crowded, etc.

A key insight, developed in this thesis, is that such strategies are in turn connected to the career trajectories of the participants (e.g. having enough knowledge of the built environment, developed through previous runs on 'bad routes'), and to the broader range of practices a participant is part of (for example a recently retired swimmer adjusts his schedule to the conditions of the pool; others have to fit swimming in alongside other commitments).

As part of this analysis, and as explored in Chapter four, it is evident that the body is itself a dynamic part of these situations and that it transforms as runs and swims unfold and as people become fitter, or in some way 'better' (or worse) at running and swimming. The point here is that constantly changing bodies are partly produced by their interactions with a variety of other materials, such as landscapes, treadmills, and wetsuits. In cases where these interactions foreground the body in ways interviewees viewed as problematic – overheating, or experiencing pain – the body itself might temporarily or permanently intervene in the 'world of materials' as integrated in the practices of running or swimming.

While Ingold insists on the importance of analyzing these and other dynamic interrelations (as part of a broader project of understanding the experience of engaging in a world of materials), my analysis complicates his account. It does so in revealing that that not only does the particularity of an instance of practice (the moment of doing) need to be in view, but, crucially, the positioning of that moment in a practitioner's career. For example, bodies are not simply dynamic through the course of a run or swim (in

which they get warmer/colder and develop aches or pain), but also over the course of a career. Participants are fit/less fit, trained/less trained, and ageing, and their previous practice performances cumulate – knowledge of running routes is gained and swimming in cold water affects what it is possible for the body to endure.

In order to make sense of longer-term patterns of participation with these issues in mind, I investigated and analyzed biography interviews and career timelines (Chapter five). While interviewees had very different experiences depending on when and where they first started running and swimming recreationally, and on how their 'careers' had developed, a common feature shared by almost all those with whom I spoke was that participation ebbed and flowed.

To help make sense of these patterns I made use of Stebbins's account of what he describes as 'Serious Leisure'. Stebbins coined the term 'Serious Leisure' to represent and capture the importance accorded to certain leisure activities in the everyday lives of the people he interviewed and observed (Elkington and Stebbins 2014: 34). His ideas about commitment and dedication resonated with some aspects of my own research, but offered little by way of a detailed explanation of how participation changes as careers develop.

To elaborate on this aspect I turned to the work of Lave and Wenger, who are much more explicitly concerned with how people move through 'careers' in practices, and with how practices, themselves, are ordered by successive stages or thresholds (Lave and Wenger 1991). Though dealing with different practices (such as midwifery and tailoring), Lave and Wenger provide important insight into how newcomers to a practice become old

hands and how experience builds. Although useful, their study focuses on what one might think of as trajectories of 'progression'. Whilst Lave and Wenger's analysis helps explain why some practitioners fall by the wayside, or fail to cross the threshold to the next 'level' of performance, it does not engage with the possibility that there might be significant peaks and troughs in participation, or that 'careers' might be punctuated by long gaps or periods of disaffection. When looking to make sense of these findings, there had therefore been a limit in drawing on these conceptual resources.

In light of my research, my understanding of 'materialized careers' in running and swimming is one which emphasizes a parallel set of dynamic phenomenon. On one side, details 'within' the practices I examined, including precisely how diverse kinds of materials feature and interact in different forms of runs and swims, and the cumulative effects of this, helps with understanding how one performance links to another across a career. On the other side, and consistent with other recent writing informed by social theories of practice, I have argued that whether or not runs and swims occur are also inextricable from the dynamics of the broader collection of daily life practices people do (Hui et al. 2018). In the remaining paragraphs in this section I elaborate on this dual contribution and how it developed through my research.

My interview data showed that patterns of 'ebb' and 'flow' were widespread, and of defining significance for both the notion of a 'career' and for how different careers (and with them different material-practice combinations) were formed and how they also faded. In this thesis, I have sought to understand these uneven patterns with reference to the fact that patterns of participation (here in running or swimming) are interlinked, and that how people run and swim depends on how these activities relate to the many

other practices of which their daily lives are constituted (Schatkzi 1996; Shove et al. 2012; Hui et al. 2017).

This is not just a theoretical point. In my empirical data, the relevance of intersecting practices was never far from view. Interviewees repeatedly explained that fluctuations in participation in running and swimming were directly related to other changes of varying influence and duration, such as having children, shifting from full-time to part-time work, going to college, or spending decades doing physically demanding work.

At the same time, the practicalities of doing running or swimming, and the nature of these practices as enacted in peoples' lives were also part of this story, and were in themselves important for understanding ebb and flow. As several respondents described, taking part in events often involved pre-event training followed by a post-event slump. However, the manner in which these more and less intense periods of participation were carved out was not predictable. As described, much depended on how periods (for instance of more intense training) would fit with other daily life practices, but it was also the case that there was considerable variety in the kinds of events in which people took part. Accordingly, there was no singular model and no one agreed interpretation of what would constitute successive rungs or stages in a 'career', not in Lave and Wenger's (1991) terms, and not as defined by Stebbins either.

Although 'careers' were defined by uneven patterns of ebb and flow, and although forms of participation fluctuate in ways that 'conventional' analyses generally fail to recognise, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that skills and experiences do accumulate, and that these forms of accumulation are, in turn, important for what people can, and are willing to

do next. As demonstrated in Chapters four and five, the cumulative effects of multiple interactions between bodies and the other materials involved in running and swimming cut across, but are also part of, the trajectories of peak and trough that were described.

This worked in different ways. For some of the individuals involved, embodied experiences transformed not only their own physical condition, but also their understandings and interpretations of the environments in which they ran or swam. For example, the embodied experiences of swimming in different kinds of water were re-evaluated as experience grew, and as new possibilities opened up in terms of where future swims might take place. A key insight is that these ongoing re-evaluations are not attributable to any one aspect of the practice, viewed in isolation. All are important, meaning that questions about when, where, how, and how often running and swimming go on do not concern the condition of the body alone, nor different kinds of water alone, nor an abstract notion of knowledge or know-how alone. It is the combination that is important, and it is this realisation that helps explain why material arrangements that were possible or preferred earlier in a career could change later on.

Contributions and conclusions

In emphasising these connections and conjunctions this thesis makes a distinctive contribution to a range of different debates. In this final section I highlight the most important of these, reflect on what these ideas bring to sports policy and other discussions of participation, and suggest how the research could be taken further.

This thesis has made a contribution to the conceptualization and analysis of the roles of 'materials' broadly defined, in constituting and transforming

forms of running and swimming. One distinctive feature is that I have taken account of a range of seemingly 'external' features, like weather and the body, not usually included in studies of practice. This has allowed me to develop a more all round, 'relational' account of material-practice interaction, and to recognise that material relations and configurations are inherently dynamic. As described, such relations form and reform and come and go and act on each other during the course of specific runs and swims. This complicates otherwise simple accounts of the mere existence of materials, or their 'lack' as defining features of the 'doing' of a practice.

A second contribution, though one that is somewhat less developed, is to explore methodological strategies and forms of research design that enable the simultaneous analysis of the interlinking of generic trends and personal experiences. I have sought to combine go-along interviews, interviewee produced career timelines, together with more descriptive representations of the histories of running and swimming in general, and in Lancaster and Bristol in particular, paying special attention to the deliberate or unintended forms of provisioning involved. These strategies, together with the decision to investigate careers in running and swimming as these evolve over a life time, and to tie this into the study and analysis of specific runs or swims have made it possible to develop lines of enquiry and arrive at new insights. I have been able to document complex situations like the re-purposing of parks (for Parkrun); and shifts in public and private provision – from lidos to indoor pools and gyms – and I have talked with people who use some of these facilities on a regular basis. This method has also allowed me to situate and explain longer run patterns of ebb and flow in running and swimming careers as these relate to the positioning of these practices alongside others (such as family commitments and work) as these evolve together over time.

Third, and following from the point above, this thesis has shown how practice careers are in recursive relation with practice performances and entities (Shove et al. 2012). As my discussion of the role of 'events' demonstrated, the ways in which 'careers' are marked and conceptualized for some interviewees is not separable from the existence of these punctuating moments. In following and taking part in events, these participants are both responding to and contributing to a more extensive 'mushrooming' of more or less formalised 'events' for runners and swimmers. This analysis raises further questions: for example, about how issues of age and 'cohort' play out alongside broader trends, including the development of events, but also the opening and then closing of lidos, the power of major events (such as the Olympics as well as Parkrun), as well as changing forms of public and private sector institutionalisation.

Fourth, and perhaps most significant, this thesis represents a novel integration of accounts of careers and participation together with analyses of material culture and practice. This combination of ideas highlights new opportunities and lines of enquiry in several directions at once. For example, insofar as they do mention 'materials', Lave and Wenger (1991) largely focus on the use of tools, artifacts, and technologies over the course of practitioner's careers. Similarly, studies of materiality rarely pay attention to the multiplicity of 'material' relations involved (weather, body, shoe, track); or to the fluctuating status of these relations at different time scales: during the course of a run or swim, and over a lifetime of participation.

Finally, and although not designed as an intervention in contemporary policy, this thesis has a number of implications for the ways in which participation is conceptualized by organisations and departments charged

with the task of promoting sports and physical activity, and for the kinds of research that might be undertaken in support of these initiatives.

In very practical terms, my thesis raises a number of questions about the kind of data that is collected in this field, and about how it might be interpreted. As is now obvious, running and swimming take many different forms. However, current methods of data collection make it difficult to grasp the detail of these practices, or to see how patterns of participation change within established categories and headings. For example, with reference to data collected on running in Sport England surveys, the organisation clarifies that: 'Marathon and half marathon are included with 'Road Running', as is running in a park/local area' (Sport England 2014: 293). This makes it impossible to 'see' how different careers develop within this category.

Survey methods, as currently adopted, also tend to obscure what seem to be significant fluctuations, over time, in patterns of participation – such as building up to an event and falling away after it. Other strategies would be needed to capture these dynamics and to evaluate the effects of the accumulative 'doing' of runs in various environments. This argues for more differentiated forms of surveys, and for other more qualitative methods of enquiry.

The observation that 'careers' in running and swimming start and stop has other consequences when thinking about and designing different forms of policy intervention. It is, for instance, evident that specific developments (the arrival of Parkrun, the opening or closing of a specific swimming pool) take place at a specific moment, and thus 'arrive' or have effect in very different ways in the multiple, and multiply fluctuating careers of actual,

potential, or past runners and swimmers in the area. Whilst such interventions are likely to have some impact, observed changes in participation – in the popularity of running or of outdoor swimming – are expressions of how forms of investment (or cut back) figure not in isolation but as enmeshed in, and as caught up in all these other dynamics. Just as important, it is now clear that 'these other dynamics' cannot be reduced to matters of personal enthusiasm, or will power. In doing running and swimming, people are caught up in the trajectories of practices that have 'lives' that extend beyond those of the practitioners involved, but that are also defined by events in those lives (beyond the realm of sport).

In exploring these themes and connections this thesis has implications for research and policy beyond the realm of running and swimming. In analyzing dynamic connections between materials, careers, and practices, it points towards new ways of conceptualizing and promoting 'active lifestyles'. In these practical arenas, and in terms of social theory, my thesis provides a guide to others interested in discovering and learning about the material dynamics of unfolding careers, and about how relations between practices, materials (of all forms), and the lives of practitioners evolve together.

As these concluding remarks indicate, my research has implications beyond the study of indoor and outdoor running and swimming. My study contributes to and is to an extent embedded within various more extensive lines of enquiry that have to do with people's participation not only in sport, but also in a range of other so-called healthy practices, and indeed in practices in general.

More specifically, my research draws attention to the ways in which the careers of different but related practices intersect and shape each other – suggesting that more attention needs to be paid to fluctuating connections between practices, as they unfold in different times and spaces, and in the course of practitioners' careers, broadly defined. For example, the framework and nuanced understandings of careers and materials in practice which the thesis provides, might inform studies of programmes aimed at specific career stages such as the NHS 'Couch to 5k' programme. In this instance, the framing and implementation of such a programme could be contrasted to the real careers analyzed in the thesis, to consider if any improvements to such interventions might be made.

A related but more specific theme has to do with the representation and monitoring, including self-monitoring, of practices over time including, for instance, the role of new instruments that enable participants' to 'see' previously obscure aspects of performance. In the area of sports these include a range of monitoring devices, but similar forms of feedback and reflexive knowing are also relevant in various areas of health (e.g. blood pressure or heat rate monitoring). The framework developed in the thesis provides a way to conceptualize and research the implications of such new devices in practice – rather than simply viewing them as stand-alone interventions.

These examples represent aspects of changing 'materiality', but there are other lines of enquiry to explore as well. I have, for instance, noted the changing technologies of running and swimming (such as shoes and wetsuits), and how these have figured in mediating and in some cases transforming the practices involved. The insights arising from my discussion of these processes might apply as well to future work dealing with other

forms of social-technical transformations in practice. For example, it would be interesting to explore such detailed material-practice intersections in unrelated contexts – for example, in relation to cooking (de Certeau et al. 1998), the changing character of office work (Cass 2018), or online shopping (Jones 2017).

Finally, one distinctive contribution of this thesis has been its attention to the 'wider' realm of materiality, including to topics of terrain, weather and conditions on the ground. Turning the focus of attention around, further research might start with such 'conditions' – and explore the ways in which these are folded into different areas of social practice. For example, in a context of urbanisation and growing concerns around air quality in major cities such as London, the framework developed in the thesis might be drawn upon in a future research project. For instance, specific sites might be selected to enable a study of the implications of air pollution for participation in a variety of outdoor exercise practices, potentially offering new insights for agendas concerning liveable cities, sustainability, and health.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Project information sheet

Lancaster University

Running and swimming biographies: experiences and trajectories in Bristol and Lancaster

Thank you for showing interest in my interview project on running and swimming in Bristol, Lancaster and their surrounding areas. Before you decide whether or not to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the interview project?
The interview project is divided into two parts. The purpose of the first is to gain insight into the experience of doing a frequent or familiar run or swim, whilst the second aims to find about personal histories in running or swimming over the life course.

The interviews form an important part of a PhD project, which researches when, where and how running and swimming are done in Bristol, Lancaster and their surrounding areas, and how this has changed. In approaching these questions, the project takes a particular interest in the different things and materials implicated and experienced in indoor and outdoor versions of running and swimming, such as the built and natural environment, the seasons, clothing and equipment, and different conditions of the body (e.g. levels of fitness and injury, at different ages). The interviews will be complemented by separate research into local and broader histories of indoor and outdoor running and swimming.

Who am I looking for?
I am looking to interview adults who have some experience of running or swimming in indoor or outdoor environments in Bristol, Lancaster and their surrounding areas. I'm interested in interviewing a wide range of people, and the level of experience or ability people have with running or swimming is not important.

What will the two-part interview entail?
Experience of a particular run or swim
These interviews will take place, as far as possible, just before, during and soon after a participant does a frequent or familiar run or swim. Accordingly, the location will be up to the participant. The idea is that I will also take part in the run or swim. If you are not comfortable with me accompanying you then we could meet for an interview before or afterwards.

For runs, the length of the interview will be determined by the length of the frequent/familiar route, and what is comfortable for me. The safety of participants and myself is paramount, and if talking and running proves too tiring then we could talk before and after it instead. For indoor treadmill runs, interviews during a run will only take place where I have obtained consent from the relevant gym to allow this.

For frequent/familiar swims, the interviews will take place just before, and as soon as comfortably possible after they take place. For indoor swims, the interviews might take place in a nearby café for example. Between these interviews, the idea is that I will also take part in the swim. The safety of participants and myself will be paramount for this: we will both have complete discretion in stopping the swim early and shall take due care and attention at all times. This is particularly important for outdoor swims where external assistance may not be available.

The interviews themselves will consist of open questions where participants will be asked to talk about the experience of their run or swim in detail, and how it varies at different times of day/week and across the seasons.

Biographies in running and swimming
These parts of the interview will take **about 60 minutes**, and will preferably take place on the same day as an interview on the experience of a particular run or swim. They may take place in a café, the participant's home, or another location of their choosing.

Participants will be asked to talk about their history with running and swimming, including how they got into it, the different types they have done, and what it has been like to run and swim in the different places they have lived. They will also be asked about their experience of running and swimming in different weather conditions, seasons, and with different conditions of their body (e.g. levels of fitness and injury, at different ages). Participants will also be asked to draw and annotate timelines of their personal history in running or swimming to date (materials for this will be supplied, and some example templates will be shown on the day).

If we find there is too much to talk about, I might ask if you are willing to meet again for an hour to continue our discussions. This is completely optional, and if you want to end your participation in the research rather than continue then that is fine. You may also be invited to produce a photo diary of some outdoor runs and swims too. In these instances, interviewees will be made aware that the photos may feature in the thesis, in which case separate consent for their use will be requested.

To make detailed analysis of the interviews on personal histories and the current experiences of a run or swim possible, they will be audio recorded where this is feasible.

What will happen to the interview material?
The audio recordings of the interviews will be treated with care and confidentiality. First, they will be transcribed by myself. They will then be stored on an encrypted,

password protected hard-drive and will only be accessible to myself and my 2 PhD supervisors.

Below you will find an example consent form, which I will ask you to sign before the interview begins. In signing the consent form you are agreeing that the interview can be used in the ways that I have just outlined.

What are the possible risks and benefits of taking part?
The interviews are about your current experience and history with running or swimming. You might consider some of these topics, or particular aspects of these topics, too personal. Please be aware you can decline to answer any question if it makes you uncomfortable and can withdraw from the interview at any time.

I expect that the experience of taking part will be enjoyable, but as is always the case when talking about one's past life, some sad experiences may be recalled. Please be aware that you can stop the interview at any time if you find it unexpectedly difficult.

Having said that, remembering past times can be rewarding and enjoyable. There are no immediate benefits for those participating in the interviews, though a summary report of the thesis upon completion will be available upon request.

If you have any questions relating to the interview, please feel free to ask me. There will be a chance to ask questions when I contact you to arrange the interview, and you can also get in touch by email: j.gillett@lancaster.ac.uk. The interview project has been ethically approved by Lancaster University and I will make every effort to make participation a rewarding and enjoyable experience. In case you do have a complaint that you cannot discuss with me, you can contact my PhD supervisors at Lancaster University (Elizabeth Shove: e.shove@lancaster.ac.uk | 01524 510013; or Nicola Spurling: n.spurling@lancaster.ac.uk | 01524 510296) or the Head of Sociology at Lancaster University (Bronislaw Szerszynski: sociology@lancaster.ac.uk | 01524 594178).

How to proceed
If you would like to take part in the interview project please get in touch by email: j.gillett@lancaster.ac.uk or phone: 01524 510593.

Thank you very much.

Yours sincerely,
Joe Gillett

PhD Student
DEMAND Centre, Lancaster University
Tel: 01524 510593
Email: j.gillett@lancaster.ac.uk

Consent form

I have been invited to participate in research about running and swimming in Bristol, Lancaster and their surrounding areas.

I have read the Information Sheet. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to take part in an interview for this study, and to the uses of the interview that are outlined in the section 'what will happen to the interview material?'.

Print Name of Participant_____

Signature of Participant _____

Date _____
Day/month/year

Appendix 2: Go-along interview guides

Treadmill runs

- Do you usually run at this time? What is like running here at different times of the week/year?
- When did you start running on these treadmills?
- What do you like about running here? (maybe e.g. watching a TV programme at a particular time, music, it not being busy); what do you dislike?
- How does it differ to other running that you do?
- Does the temperature in the room matter? Does it play a role in the kind of running you do? Has your view on this changed?
- Is the clothing you wear for treadmill running the same as what you wear for outdoor running (if you do that)?
- Do you like the fact that the machine automatically monitors your run? (where relevant).

Outdoor runs

- So what lies ahead for us today?
- How did you find out about this run?
- How did it become one of your frequent runs?
- Where were you running before you found this route?
- Did you feel like coming out today?
- Would you be wearing different stuff if it was hotter/colder/rainy/dry?
- What do you like about this run? And not like?
- How is it different to other runs that you do? (e.g. distance, paths, scenery, lighting,
  remoteness, number of people around)
- [Ask about different things as the particular run unfolds, e.g surfaces, weather conditions]
- Do you run here at night [day]?

Pool swims

- What kind of swim do you have planned today/ what would you normally do? (e.g. duration, number of lengths, kinds of stroke)
- How was your swim? What did you like/dislike about it?
- What's it like swimming here compared to other places around here?
- How do you find swimming here at different times of the day, week, and year?

- Do you prefer swimming here with more/less people around?
- What did your swim involve? E.g. largely swimming a certain stroke (e.g. front crawl) E.g. swimming with floats to train for something/work on technique?
- Did you measure how long you swam for? E.g. by time, or number of lengths?
- How often do you go swimming? Weekly routine? How dependent are you on this particular place is the routine e.g. if you go away with work/ on holiday do you maintain your swimming routine? Examples?
- Is the detail of your swim (e.g. 10 breast stroke, 40 front crawl) always the same or does it vary, how and why?
- Do you swim alone? Come with friends? Swim with a clubs? (do they take their children for lessons etc].Does your swim combine with other things in the leisure centre i.e. what happens either side of the swim? Gym? Aerobics class? Sauna? Hot food after?

Outdoor swims

- Are there particular things you like about swimming in this place?
- How do find the water? Are there times when you prefer swimming here?
- Is the water always like this (temperature, height, speed of flow, reeds, waterbirds) How does it vary at other times? How about the water quality? What difference does this make to the swim?
- How did you find out about this particular swimming spot? When did you first come here? How did you know it was ok to swim here (e.g. in terms of safety, public/private property etc.?
- How do you find swimming here at different times of the day, week and year? And in different years (e.g. water might be very low in hot/dry summers, too high/colder after bad winters etc.)
- Do you prefer swimming with more/less people around?
- Do you always wear… just a swimming costume… a wetsuit etc. – (do, for example, patterns of wearing/ not wearing wetsuits vary? How do they make that decision?
- Does you use of equipment – e.g. floats - vary between different swimming spots? How come
- Swim alone? With a club etc. with at least 1or 2 other people? With someone in a boat/ on the shore?
- How does it combine with other activities (e.g. running? cycling? sunbathing? barbecues? trips nearby?).

Appendix 3: Biography interview guide – running

How does running fit into everyday life?

At present

- Do you have a regular running routine?
- When do you run during the week?
- What time of day do you run?
- Do you run alone/ with others/ both?
- How does your running fit with other activities that you do? E.g. a work routine, or a weekly/ monthly routine of exercise
- Do you run on treadmills/ outside?

Other time scales

- What have these arrangements been like over the past month/season/year/ 5 years/ longer?

When you run outdoors where do you go?

At present

- Where do you run when you run in Bristol/Lancaster/surrounding area? How did you end up running there?
- Do you have routes that you repeat? How come?
- Where do you usually start and end runs? How do you travel to these places?
- Do you have favourite routes? What do you like about them?
- Are there certain places you don't like running in? But do anyway?
- Does it matter what the weather is like?
- Do you run ever run in the surrounding areas of Lancaster and Bristol? How come? What about parks in urban areas?

Other time scales

- Do your routes change across the year?
- [ask similar questions as above, but in relation to other places they have lived, including within other parts of Bristol / Lancaster]
- What would an ideal run/ or set of runs look like for you? What might ideal weather conditions be?

When you run indoors where do you do it? *[if applicable]*

At present

- Where do you run when you run in Bristol/Lancaster/surrounding areas?
- How did you end up running there?
- Is that the only gym/option? Have you tried treadmill running in other places? What do you think of those?

Other timescales

- Where have you ran on treadmills in the past year?
- Have you lived/worked in other parts of Lancaster and Bristol? Did you do treadmill running then?

Activity: career timeline in running

Please draw and annotate a timeline representing your life history in running [provide paper]. It would be helpful if you could include:

- [things that have been significant in the interview so far]
- The different places you have lived since starting running
- Different clothing/ equipment that has featured at various points
- The different types of running (e.g. indoor, outdoor, events, night time, winter) you have done
- Your 'commitment' to different types of running over time [potentially show an example template, ask for both indoor and outdoor]

Clothing and equipment

- Can you remember what you wore at that time? [e.g. using timeline] Has the clothing you wear and equipment you use for running changed since you started?
- Are there certain things you like/ dislike/ need/ don't need/want?
- What clothing and equipment for running have you obtained in the past year? What is the most recent thing you have obtained? [Ask for detail about why and how they use it]
- Does the clothing and equipment you use change much during the course of the year?

Different forms of running

- Are there things you particularly like/dislike about some types of running that don't feature in others? Has your view on this changed over time? [perhaps refer to timeline] For example:
- Running alone or with other people?
- Taking part in events?

Learning to run

- What were your early experiences of running like?
- Please tell me about how you learned to run, and how learning to run may have changed over time for you?
- Do you monitor your running? (e.g. in terms of timing/ distance etc.) If so, how do you do this?
- Does the way you run matter? Is technique/ gait/ style important for you?
- What's it like when you feel weak, strong, fit, unfit, are recovering from injury?
- Has running changed how you feel about your body/ your perceptions of your body?
- What would be the three (four, five) pieces of advice you would give to someone who was about to start running?
- How did you come to realise that those aspects were the most important?

Running in relation to other practices / coordinating with others

- Do your family and friends run? Do you run with them?

- Does running play a role in what and when you eat?
- Do you sometimes use private/public transport to go and come back for a run? How come? Has this changed over the past year/ 5 years / since starting?
- Has running changed when you wash and do the laundry?
- What do you do when you can't run but want to, e.g. through injury?
- If your running routine gets disrupted, what do you do?

Organisations/ institutions implicated in running

- Do you run in a club? What do you think about them? Have you considered joining one?
- Have you come across initiatives that promote exercise (e.g. Change4Life). What do you think about them?
- Did you run at school? How did you find that?
- Are particular clothing/ equipment manufacturers important for your experience of running?
- How do you find out about new places to run?

General trends/ future of running

- What do you think about general trends in running?
- What do you think running will be like in Bristol/Lancaster/surrounding area in the future? How about more generally?
- How do you see your future with running?

This has been very helpful, thanks very much for your time.

Appendix 4: Biography interview guide – swimming

How does swimming fit into everyday life?
At present

- Do you have a regular swimming routine?
- When do you swim during the week?
- What time of day do you swim?
- Do you swim alone/ with others/ both?
- How does your swimming fit with other activities that you do? E.g. a work routine, or a weekly/ monthly routine of exercise
- Do you swim indoors/outdoors?

Other time scales

- What have these arrangements been like over the past month/season/year/ 5 years / longer?

When you swim outdoors where do you go? [if applicable]
At present

- Where do you swim when you swim in Bristol/Lancaster/surrounding areas? How did you end up swimming there?
- Do you have favourite swims/ places to swim? What do you like about them?
- Are there swims that you repeat? How come?
- What about other options? Have you tried swimming in other places around here? What do you think of those?
- What about lidos/lakes/the sea/rivers? What do you think of those?
- How do you get to and from your swims?
- Are there certain places you won't swim in? What might represent the borderline?

Other timescales

- Where have you swam outdoors in the past year/ 5 years?
- Have you lived/worked in other parts of Lancaster and Bristol? Did you swim then? Where did you go?
- What might an ideal outdoor swim look like for you?

When you swim in indoor pools where do you go? [if applicable]
At present

- When you swim in pools in Bristol/Lancaster/surrounding areas where do you go?
- How did you end up swimming there?
- Is that the only pool/option? Have you tried swimming in other places? What do you think of those?

Other timescales

- Where have you swam indoors in the past year?

- Have you lived/worked in other parts of Lancaster and Bristol? Did you swim then?

Natural phenomena

- Do you like swimming at certain times of the year and not others? Has this changed? What might represent the borderline?
- Do you have ideal conditions for swimming? E.g. the weather and water temperature

Activity: career timeline in swimming

Please draw and annotate a timeline representing your history in swimming [provide paper]. It would be really helpful if you could include, for example:

- [things that have been significant in the interview so far]
- The different places you have lived since starting swimming
- Different clothing/ equipment that has featured at various points
- The different types of swimming (e.g. indoor, lakes, the sea, rivers) you have done at different times
- Your 'commitment' to different types of swimming over time [potentially show an example template, ask for both indoor and outdoor]

Clothing and equipment

- When you first went (outdoor) swimming, can you remember what you wore? Can you remember what you wore at that time? [e.g. using timeline]
- Has the clothing you wear and equipment you use for swimming changed since you started?
- Are there certain things you like/ dislike/ need/ don't need/want?
- What clothing and equipment for swimming have you obtained in the past year? What is the most recent thing you have obtained? [Ask for detail about why and how they use it]
- Does the clothing and equipment you use change much during the course of the year?

Different forms of swimming

- Are there things you particularly like/dislike about some types of swimming that don't feature in others? Has your view on this changed over time [refer to timeline]. For example:
- Swimming alone or with other people?
- Taking part in events?

Learning to swim

- What were your early experiences of swimming like?
- Please tell me about how you learned to swim, and how learning to swim may have changed over time for you? [Learning to swim different strokes]
- Does the way you swim matter? Is, for example, technique and style important? What stroke did you prefer and why?

- What's it like when you feel weak, strong, fit, unfit, are recovering from injury?
- Has swimming changed how you feel about your body/ your perceptions of your body?
- Is monitoring your swimming important? If so, how do you do this?
- Did you learn to swim indoors or outdoors? What's it like learning to swim in those different environments?

Swimming in relation to other practices / coordinating with others

- Do your family and friends swim? Do you swim with them?
- Does swimming play a role in when you decide what and when you eat?
- Do you use private/public transport to go and come back for a run? How come? Has this changed over the past year/ 5 years / since starting?
- What do you do when you can't swim but want to, e.g. through not having the usual equipment or injury?

Organisations/ institutions implicated in swimming

- Do you swim in a club? What do you think about them? Have you considered joining one?
- Have you come across initiatives that promote exercise (e.g. Change4Life). What do you think about them?
- Did you swim at school? How did you find that?
- How do you find out about new places to (outdoor) swim?

General trends/ future of swimming

- What do you think about general trends in swimming?
- What do you think swimming will be like in Bristol/Lancaster/surrounding area in the future? How about more generally?
- How do you see your future with swimming?

This has been very helpful, thanks very much for your time.

References

Abrams, L. 2016. *Oral History Theory.* 2nd edition. London: Routledge.

Allen Collinson, J. 2008. Running the Routes Together: Corunning and Knowledge in Action. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 37 (1)**,** 38-61.

Altobellli, D. 2008. Wetsuit. In: Luck, M. (ed.) *The encyclopedia of tourism and recreation in marine environments.* Oxford, UK: CABI.

Askwith, R. 2005. *Feet in the clouds: a tale of fell running and obsession.* London: Aurum Press.

Atkinson, M. 2016. The loneliness of the fell runner. In: Wellard, I. (ed.) *Researching Embodied Sport: Exploring Movement Cultures.* London: Routledge. 47-62.

Bacchi, C. 2009. *Analysing Policy: What's the problem represented to be?* New South Wales, Australia: Pearson Education.

BBC News. 2014. *Swimming in Bristol Harbour campaign started by students* [Online]. 03.10.14. Available: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-bristol-29455690 [Accessed Sept 2018].

BBC News. 2016. *Council votes to charge Parkrun for Little Stoke event* [Online]. 12.04.16. Available: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-bristol-36030582 [Accessed Sept 2018].

BBC News. 2017a. *Bristol Half Marathon: Thousands take part in run* [Online]. 17.09.17. Available: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-bristol-41298685 [Accessed Sept 2018].

BBC News. 2017b. *Record numbers take part in Great Bristol 10k* [Online]. 07.05.17. Available: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-england-bristol-39835959/record-numbers-take-part-in-great-bristol-10k [Accessed Sept 2018].

Becker, H. & Geer, B. 2004 [1969]. Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison. In: Seale, C. (ed.) *Social Research Methods: A Reader.* London: Routledge. 246-251.

Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Translated by R. Nice. London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Breedveld, K., Scheerder, J. & Borgers, J. 2015. Running across Europe: The Way Forward. In: Scheerder, J., Breedveld, K. & Borgers, J. (eds.) *Running across Europe: The Rise and Size of One of the Largest Sport Markets.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 241-264.

Breuer, C., Hallman, K. & Wicker, P. 2011. Determinants of sport participation in different sports. *Managing Leisure,* 16**,** 269-286.

Bristol City Council 1985. Sport and Recreation in Bristol: A statement on proposals for future provision of sports and recreation facilities in the City prepared by the Open Spaces and Amenities Committee. Bristol: Bristol City Council.

Bristol City Council. 2016. *History of Ashton Court Mansion* [Online]. Available: http://www.bristol.gov.uk/web/ashton-court-mansion/history-of-ashton-court [Accessed Jan 2018].

Bristol City Council. 2017. *Museums, parks, sports and culture* [Online]. Available: http://www.bristol.gov.uk/museums-parks-sports-culture [Accessed Sept 2018].

Bristol Open Water. 2018. *Bristol Open Water Triathlon Training Centre – Swim Run Cycle* [Online]. Available: https://bristolopenwater.co.uk/ [Accessed Sept 2018].

Cass, N. 2018. Energy-related standards and UK speculative office development. *Building Research & Information,* 46 (6)**,** 615-635.

Cloke, P., Cook, I., Crang, P., Goodwin, M., Painter, J. & Philo, C. 2004. *Practising Human Geography*. London: Sage.
Coalter, F. 2004. Future sports or future challenges to sport? In: *Driving up participation: The challenge for sport. Academic review papers commissioned by Sport England as contextual analysis to inform the preparation of the framework for sport in England.* London: Sport England. 79-86.
Cook, S., Shaw, J. & Simpson, P. 2015. Jography: Exploring Meanings, Experiences and Spatialities of Recreational Road-Running. *Mobilities*, 1-26. DOI: 10.1080/17450101.2015.1034455
Cregan-Reid, V. 2016. *Footnotes: How Running Makes Us Human.* London: Ebury Press.
de Certeau, M., Giard, L. & Mayol, P. 1998. *The Practice of Everyday Life, Volume Two: Living and Cooking.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
de Vaus, D. 2001. *Research Design in Social Research.* London: Sage.
Dillard, J. E. & Bates, D. L. 2011. Leisure motivation revisited: why people recreate. *Managing Leisure,* 16**,** 253-268.
Elkington, S. & Stebbins, R. 2014. *The Serious Leisure Perspective: An Introduction.* London: Routledge.
Flyvbjerg, B. 2001. *Making Social Science Matter: Why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Gibson, J. 1986. *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception.* Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
Giddens, A. 1984. *The Constitution of Society.* Cambridge: Polity Press.
Gordon, I. & Inglis, S. 2009. *Great Lengths: The historic indoor swimming pools of Britain.* Swindon: English Heritage.
Grand View Research 2016. Wetsuits Market Analysis By Product (Wind Sports, Surfing, Scuba Diving, Triathlon) And Segment Forecasts To 2022. San Francisco: Grand View Research, Inc.
Hacking, I. 1986. Making up people. In: Heller, T. C., Sosna, M. & Wellbery, D. E. (eds.) *Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individualism, and the Self in Western Thought.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 222-236.
Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. 2007. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice.* 3rd ed. London: Routledge.
Harvey, A. 2004. *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793-1850.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.
Hitchings, R. & Latham, A. 2016a. Exercise and environment: New qualitative work to link popular practice and public health. *Health & Place,* 46**,** 300-306.
Hitchings, R. & Latham, A. 2016b. Indoor versus outdoor running: Understanding how recreational exercise comes to inhabit environments through practitioner talk. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 41**,** 503–514.
Hitchings, R. & Latham, A. 2017. How 'social' is recreational running? Findings from a qualitative study in London and implications for public health promotion. *Health & Place,* 46**,** 337-343.
Hui, A., Day, R. & Walker, G. (eds.) 2018. *Demanding Energy: Space, Time and Change,* London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Hui, A., Schatzki, T. & Shove, E. 2017. *The Nexus of Practices: Connections, constellations, practitioners.* London: Routledge.
Hui, A. & Walker, G. 2017. Concepts and methodologies for a new relational geography of energy demand: Social practices, doing-places and settings. *Energy Research & Social Science***,** 21-29.
Ingold, T. 2007a. Earth, sky, wind, and weather. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* (N.S.) (2007 special issue)**,** S19-S38.

Ingold, T. 2007b. Materials against materiality. *Archaeological Dialogues,* 14 (1)**,** 1-16.
Ingold, T. 2010. Footprints through the weather-world: walking, breathing, knowing. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* (N.S.) (2010 special issue)**,** S121-S139.
Ingold, T. 2011. *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description.* London: Routledge.
Jones, I. 2017. *Exploring online shopping: Evidence to the Commission on Travel Demand Third Meeting* [Online]. Available: http://www.demand.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Jones-exploring-on-line-shopping.pdf [Accessed Sept 2018].
Klemperer, D. & Klemperer, J. 2007. *The Henleaze Lake Story: An Account and the History of Henleaze Swimming Club.* Bristol: Redcliffe Press Ltd.
Latham, A. 2015. The history of a habit: jogging as a palliative to sedentariness in 1960s America. *Cultural Geographies,* 22**,** 103-126.
Lave, J. & Wenger, E. 1991. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Lummis, T. 1987. *Listening to History: The authenticity of oral evidence.* London: Hutchinson.
Maller, C., Nicholls, L. & Strengers, Y. 2016. Understanding the Materiality of Neighbourhoods in 'Healthy Practices': Outdoor Exercise Practices in a New Master-planned Estate. *Urban Policy and Research,* 34 (1)**,** 55-72.
Meller, H. 1976. *Leisure and the Changing City 1870 - 1914.* Oxon: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
Michael, M. 2000. These Boots Are Made for Walking...: Mundane Technology, the Body and Human-Environment Relations. *Body & Society,* 6 (3-4)**,** 107-126.
Morley, J. 2017. Technologies within and beyond practices. In: Hui, A., Schatkzi, T. & Shove, E. (eds.) *The Nexus of Practices: Connections, Constellations, Practitioners.* London: Routledge.
Office for National Statistics. 2016. *Ward Level Mid-Year Population Estimates (Mid-2015)* [Online]. Available: http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/datasets/wardlevelmidyearpopulationestimatesexperimental [Accessed Sept 2018].
Parkrun. 2018a. *About Parkrun UK* [Online]. Available: http://www.parkrun.org.uk/aboutus/ [Accessed Jan 2018].
Parkrun. 2018b. *Our countries* [Online]. Available: http://www.parkrun.com/countries/ [Accessed Jan 2018].
Parr, S. 2011. *The Story of Swimming: A Social History of Bathing in Britain.* Stockport: Dewi Lewis Media.
Polley, M. 1998. *Moving the Goalposts: A History of Sport and Society since 1945.* London: Routledge.
Portelli, A. 2006 [1979]. What Makes Oral History Different In: Perks, R. & Thomson, A. (eds.) *The Oral History Reader.* 2nd edition. ed. 32-42.
Prochaska, J., Norcross, J. & DiClemente, C. 1994. *Changing for Good: A revolutionary six-stage program for overcoming bad habits and moving your life positively forward.* New York: Avon Books.
Ragin, C. 1992. "Casing" and the process of social inquiry. In: Ragin, C. & Becker, H. (eds.) *What Is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 217-226.
Rainey, C. 1998. Wet suit pursuit: Hugh Bradner's development of the first wetsuit. *SIO Reference.* San Diego: Scripps Institution of Oceanography
Reckwitz, A. 2002a. The Status of the 'Material' in Theories of Culture: From 'Social Structure' to 'Artefacts'. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour,* 32 (2)**,** 195 - 217.

Reckwitz, A. 2002b. Toward a Theory of Social Practices: A Development in Culturalist Theorizing. *European Journal of Social Theory,* 5 (2)**,** 243-263.
Reid, H. 2005. *Life in Victorian Bristol.* Bristol: Redcliffe Press.
Rinkinen, J., Jalas, M. & Shove, E. 2015. Object Relations in Accounts of Everyday Life. *Sociology,* 49 (5)**,** 870-885.
Sassatelli, R. 1999. Fitness Gyms and the Local Organization of Experience. *Sociological Research Online,* 4.
Sassatelli, R. 2010. *Fitness Culture: Gyms and the Commercialisation of Discipline and Fun.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Schatkzi, T. 1996. *Social Practices: A Wittgensteinian approach to human activity and the social.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Schatzki, T. 2002. *The Site of the Social: A philosophical account of the constitution of social life and change.* University Park, PA: Pennsylvania University Press.
Schatzki, T. 2010. Materiality and Social Life. *Nature and Culture,* 5 (2)**,** 123-149.
Scheerder, J., Breedveld, K. & Borgers, J. (eds.) 2015a. *Running across Europe: The Rise and Size of One of the Largest Sport Markets,* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Scheerder, J., Breedveld, K. & Borgers, J. 2015b. Who is Doing a Run with the Running Boom? The Growth and Governance of One of Europe's Most Popular Sport Activities. In: Scheerder, J., Breedveld, K. & Borgers, J. (eds.) *Running across Europe: The Rise and Size of One of the Largest Sport Markets.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 1-27.
Shove, E. & Pantzar, M. 2005. Consumers, Producers and Practices: Understanding the invention and reinvention of Nordic walking. *Journal of Consumer Culture,* 5 (1)**,** 43-64.
Shove, E., Pantzar, M. & Watson, M. 2012. *The Dynamics of Social Practice: Everyday Life and How it Changes.* London: Sage.
Shove, E., Watson, M. & Spurling, N. 2015. Conceptualizing connections: Energy demand, infrastructures and social practices. *European Journal of Social Theory,* 18 (3)**,** 274-287.
Smith, J. 2005. *Liquid Assets: The lidos and open air swimming pools of Britain.* Swindon: English Heritage.
Solnit, R. 2001. *Wanderlust: A History of Walking.* London: Verso.
Sport England. 2002. *Participation in sport in Great Britain: trends 1987 to 2002.* London: Sport England.
Sport England. 2004. *Driving up participation: The challenge for sport. Academic review papers commissioned by Sport England as contextual analysis to inform the preparation of the framework for sport in England.* London: Sport England.
Sport England. 2005. *Understanding Participation in Sport: A Systematic Review.* London: Sport England.
Sport England. 2014. *Active People Survey 5-7: Technical Report.* London: Sport England/ TNS BMRB.
Sport England. 2016a. *'Once a week participation in funded sports amongst people aged 16 years and over (April 2015 – March 2016)'* [Online]. Available: http://www.sportengland.org/media/10746/1x30_sport_16plus-factsheet_aps10q2.pdf [Accessed Sept 2018].
Sport England. 2016b. *Towards an Active Nation: Strategy 2016 - 2021.* London: Sport England.
Sports Council. 1973. *Public Indoor Swimming Pools.* London: Sports Council.
Start, D. 2013. *Wild Swimming.* 2nd ed. Bath: Wild Things Publishing.
Stebbins, R. 1982. Serious Leisure: A Conceptual Statement. *The Pacific Sociological Review,* 25 (2)**,** 251-272.

Stebbins, R. 1992. *Amateurs, Professionals, and Serious Leisure.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
Stebbins, R. 2014. *Careers in Serious Leisure: from Dabbler to Devotee in Search of Fulfilment.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Strutt, J. 1876 [1801]. *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England.* London: Chatto and Windus.
Swim England. 2016. *The management of open water swimming events* [Online]. Loughborough: Swim England. Available: http://www.swimming.org/library/213 [Accessed Sept 2018].
Thompson, P. 2000. *The Voice of the Past: Oral History.* 3rd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Throsby, K. 2013. 'If I go in like a cranky sea lion, I come out like a smiling dolphin': Marathon swimming and the unexpected pleasures of being a body in water. *Feminist Review***,** 5-22.
Town and Country Harriers. 2017. *Welcome to TACH* [Online]. Available: http://www.tach.org.uk/ [Accessed Sept 2018].
Turner, T. 2013. *The Sports Shoe: A Social and Cultural History, c.1870-c.1990.* PhD thesis. Birkbeck, University of London.
van Bottenburg, M., Rijnen, B. & van Sterkenburg, J. 2005. *Sport Participation in the European Union: Trends and Differences.* Utrecht: W.J.H. Mulier Instituut.
Wacquant, L. 1995. Pugs at Work: Bodily Capital and Bodily Labour among Professional Boxers. *Body & Society,* 1 (1)**,** 65-93.
Wainwright, S. & Turner, B. 2006. 'Just Crumbling to Bits'? An Exploration of the Body, Ageing, Injury and Career in Classical Ballet Dancers. *Sociology,* 40 (2)**,** 237-255.
Wang, S. & Shove, E. 2014. How Rounders Goes around the World. In: Thrift, N., Tickell, A., Woolgar, S. & Rupp, W. H. (eds.) *Globalization in Practice.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Ward, M. 2016. Swimming in a contained space: Understanding the experience of indoor lap swimmers. *Health & Place,* 46**,** 315-321.
Warde, A. 2013. What sort of a practice is eating? In: Shove, E. & Spurling, N. (eds.) *Sustainable Practices: Social theory and climate change.* London: Routledge. 17-30.
Wellard, I. 2014. *Sport, Fun and Enjoyment: An Embodied Approach.* London: Routledge.
Wenger, E. 1998. *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Wolfenden, J. 1960. *Sport and the Community: The report of the Wolfenden Committee on Sport.* London: The Central Council of Physical Recreation.
Yau, N. 2014. *Where People Run in Major Cities* [Online]. Available: http://flowingdata.com/2014/02/05/where-people-run [Accessed Sept 2018].