

Snowboarding Bodies: Dressing for Distinction

The social significance of consumption has been an important feature of discussions about social relations for over a century.¹ For instance, Thorstein Veblen proposed in 1899 that social classes use commodities as markers of social position and cultural style.² In the early twentieth century, Georg Simmel presented a significant perspective on the use of consumption and fashion within everyday life and as an expression and marker of social “individuality.”³ More recently, in his renowned text, *Distinction*, French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu thoroughly examines the social significance of consumption, and more generally, all practices for “distinguishing oneself.”⁴ As these and many more recent texts illustrate, the meaning of acts of consumption change within different social, cultural, economic and political contexts.⁵ In contemporary Western consumer culture the significance of material objects for identity creation has changed quantitatively and qualitatively.⁶

Consumption has become a major form of identity construction in contemporary Western society, and within this context the body and its clothing – as a symbol of status, a system of social marking, and a site of distinctions – have become increasingly central.

On almost any crowded urban street one will see pierced, tattooed, dieted, tanned, jewelled, trained, or perhaps surgically or medically enhanced bodies. Bernard Rudofsky reminds us that different cultural (e.g., Egyptian) or tribal groups (e.g., Māori) have long inscribed their identities on the bodies of their members.⁷ However, in contrast to pre-modern societies, where traditional signs marked the body in ritualised settings, the body is today a phenomenon to be shaped, decorated and trained as an expression of both individual and group identity.⁸ The embodiment of distinctive tastes and styles help people locate themselves, and others, within the contemporary social system.

In many youth subcultures, “style [is] the message and the means of expression.”⁹ Style has become a means of distinguishing group membership, differentiating the poseurs from the core members¹⁰ and there is an increasing concern with style and fashion in creating and performing cultural identities, particularly among youth groups. According to Bryan Turner, “social status involves practices which emphasise and exhibit cultural distinctions and differences... such as dress, speech, outlook and bodily dispositions.”¹¹ He singles out dress as an important symbol of “one’s wealth and political power by indicating one’s superior sense of taste and

distinction.”¹² Similarly, Barnes and Eicher note that “dress serves as a sign that the individual belongs to a certain group, but simultaneously differentiates the same individual from all others: it includes and excludes.”¹³ Clothing constitutes an important symbolic marker of membership in contemporary society, and more specifically, of the snowboarding culture.

In this article I explore the symbolic values attached to bodily forms via clothing practices, through an examination of the cultural tastes and styles of dress used by snowboarders to distinguish themselves both from non-snowboarders and from one another.¹⁴ Snowboarding offers a salient case study of contemporary embodiment. The activity has seen a 240 per cent increase in participation over the past decade.¹⁵ Like many other former and existing youth cultures, snowboarders dress, speak and behave in distinctive ways. Yet, these creative practices continue to confuse people from outside of this cultural group. Analysing the dress practices of snowboarders provides some insights into how contemporary youth, and more specifically snowboarders, both construct and make sense of their continually changing worlds.

The pioneers of snowboarding, which emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s in North America, were predominantly young, white, middle-class males whom one insider labelled as “sort of sporto, pot-smoking skiers.”¹⁶ While there were undoubtedly geographical variations in approach to the sport (for example, snowboarders from the East Coast of the United States were said to be “totally stoked” and “full of intensity” whereas the “California guys were a lot more mellow”¹⁷) commentators in the early years nonetheless frequently referred to a pervasive community spirit based on “a fun, non-judgmental scene that valued personal style.”¹⁸ According to professional boarder Peter Line, when snowboarders were in the minority “every other boarder was your buddy.”¹⁹ During the early years snowboarders focused on learning and developing the activity, and were only concerned with their clothing as far as it kept them dry. Trevor, an early snowboarder, recalls getting “on the bus in Utica, New York to go to the ski hill, wearing wetsuits.”²⁰

Snowboarding quickly developed in opposition to the dominant ski culture. At first glance, the practice of snowboarding might not seem markedly different from skiing. Both activities require participants to bind their feet to Plexiglas appendages, ride a lift up the mountain, and proceed down the same snow-covered slopes, turning to control the speed of descent.²¹ Strong differences existed, however, in the culture and lifestyle of the two activities during the late 1970s, 80s and early 90s. Skiing was an expensive bourgeois sport framed by a strong set of rules of conduct. Participants were mostly white, from middle and upper classes. Early snowboarders were also predominantly white and middle class, but rather than embracing the discipline and control of skiing they embodied freedom, hedonism and irresponsibility.²²

There were a lot of drugs and drinking, and trends blew through pretty quickly.
Everyone had dreadlocks, then everyone had a gun, then everyone was a dj.
Basically, no one was making any money...But no one really needed money,
aside from getting a season pass. Food could be scammed.²³

During the early years, ski resorts banned snowboarders and it wasn't until 1983 that ski-fields began opening to boarders.²⁴ While these bans made participation difficult, it did not stop determined and passionate devotees. In fact these bans helped preserve the peculiar nature and identity of snowboarding. It reinforced the differences that existed between snowboarders and skiers, and has served to preserve their oppositional character.

However, the hedonistic behaviours of snowboarders were not without detractors from within. Some of the older snowboarders, who had worked hard to gain access to the ski-resorts, were afraid that the irresponsible attitudes and behaviours of the younger snowboarders would interfere with continued access.²⁵ *Australian Snowboarder* warned readers not to break rules or resort property: “riding anything and everything without concern for resort structures and equipment or even personal safety...tarnishes snowboarding’s profile irrevocably.”²⁶ But this met with some opposition. One correspondent to *Transworld Snowboarding* scoffed:

What the hell is this shit about manners on the mountain?...what is this the Brady Bunch girls with snowboards? I think we should be able to cut skiers off. All they do is make fun of us anyway. We should be able to cuss and smoke anywhere we want.²⁷

Jake Burton, founder and president of Burton Snowboards, recalls “nobody really wanted us at the resorts. Why would they? The behaviour thing was huge. It was cool to do stupid stuff.” Taking action, Burton helped set up a certification program, explaining, “we had to be like cops.”²⁸

Thus, with the risk of losing access to mountain facilities, many snowboarders curtailed their unruly behaviour, opting instead for symbolic and embodied practices to distinguish themselves from skiers. The most obvious involved clothing. An insider comments on the changes:

...in 1990-91, everything was purple and teal. It was awful. Then some trust fund kids got into the mix with more money. You had kids...wearing anything that showed how different they were from sporto skiers: giant cut off jeans covered in ice, a huge chain wallet, big hooded sweatshirts, backwards baseball caps, and windbreakers...We called it Big Jean Fantasy. The new school was rebelling, super-rebelling against the ski industry, even rebelling against the established snowboard industry.²⁹

The snowboarding ‘look’ developed from a combination of elements derived from skateboarding, urban gangster and punk styles. Snowboard graphics designer Ken Block recalls that while “Gotcha and Billabong and Quiksilver had been making snowboard clothes for a long time...that stuff was like florescent [sic] ski gear for snowboarders...kids wanted to look like skaters, not skiers.”³⁰ In addition, snowboarders exhibited stoicism and strength by wearing clothing that offered no protection from the snow and cold temperatures. Holly, a participant in an early study, notes that male riders adopted this style at the expense of comfort:

I see snowboarders up there who are wearing pants that sag down to their knees and flannels that are just covered in snow...they care more about the way they look than if they are freezing their butt off.³¹

Wearing unconventional and oversized clothing unified snowboarders as an exclusive group and clearly distinguished them from skiers.

Snowboarders embodied the masculine images of the skateboarder, the gangster and the punk, and manipulated these into the stereotypical snowboarder style of the mid 1990s. By aligning themselves with the styles of underclass groups, the mostly white, middle-upper class snowboarder was attempting to make authentic the claim to being marginal, abnormal, and

poor, but most importantly, distinctly different from the upper class skier. This image also helped construct snowboarding as a naturally male endeavour.

Male snowboarders appropriated the fearless, aggressive and heterosexual representation of the urban gangster. The clothing styles and tastes of gangsters such as “dressing all street style, wearing T-shirts on their heads and headbands”, baggy clothing, low riding pants with exposed boxer shorts, gold chains and the listening to Rap and Hip Hop music, continue to heavily influence the snowboarding style.³² In the early stages of the snowboarding culture this image may have intimidated many females. This no longer seems true. Many female riders wear baggy pants, bandanas and, notwithstanding the often extremely sexually degrading language, listen to the same Hip Hop music as their male counterparts. Many female snowboarders contribute to the reproduction of this image by mirroring their snowboarding ‘brothers’ and dressing, talking and behaving like gangsters.

The musical forms, philosophies and fashion trends of the male dominated punk movement have long contributed to the snowboarding culture. Male boarders have emulated fashion trends from the punk era to create an identity distinctly different from skiers. For example, Heikki Sorsa of Finland rode in the 2002 Salt Lake City Olympic Half-Pipe Event sporting a Mohawk. Despite the fact that this punk style emerged from a male dominated sub-culture, male and female snowboarders now wear studded belts, safety pins, leather wristbands and body piercings as fashion accessories. The appropriation of clothing styles from the male dominated cultures of the gangster and punk no longer discourage female participation. However, these styles continue to promote the idea that males are better suited to the sport.

The irony is that the images of the gangster and punk were originally attempts to preserve snowboarding as a masculine activity. Yet many female snowboarders are interpreting these images in different ways to men, thus creating hybrid identities based on the mixing and movement of cultures. For example, while many snowboarders imitate the urban gangster by wearing bandanas on their heads, some female snowboarders have adopted the creative practice of crocheting their headbands. Similarly, although the punk-inspired studded belt has become a standardised snowboarding accessory, a number of female snowboarders have reappropriated this style, wearing bright pink studded belts. Interestingly, some male snowboarders have also adopted these practices, in turn wearing crocheted bandanas and pink studded belts. The resulting fusion or creolisation of the punk and gangster with snowboarding identities is not the assimilation of one culture or cultural tradition by another, but the production of something new, a hybrid, and females contributed to the construction of this distinctive snowboarder identity.

The creative snowboarding identity was commodified during the 1990s. When television and corporate sponsors recognised the huge potential in extreme sports – with its rapid growth in popularity in the late 1980s and 90s – as a means to tap into the young-male market, snowboarding underwent rapid commercialisation. Snowboarder David Alden explains that: “sponsors quickly learned all they had to do was dress up in Day-Glo and catch somebody on camera saying, “Gnarly air, dude”, and they were guaranteed 15 seconds on the evening news. We all knew that the sponsors and the media had no idea what the sport was about, but if dressing up like clowns and posing for MTV meant a few days free-riding, most of us were in”.³³ Companies utilised the alternative, hedonistic and youthful image of the snowboarder to sell

products ranging from chewing gum, to vehicles, to hair dye. In 1999 snowboarding became the fastest growing sport in the U.S. and by 2001 over 7.2 million Americans were enjoying this winter activity.³⁴

No longer an activity best suited for “13-18 year olds with raging hormones” who liked skateboarding and surfing, snowboarding attracted an influx of participants from different social classes (both upper and lower) as well as females and minority groups such as Asians, Hispanics, and African-Americans.³⁵ They challenged the affluent, young, white male hegemony in snowboarding.

The rapid commercialisation and popularisation of snowboarding during the late 1990s fuelled many struggles within the culture. Divisions developed between insiders and newcomers, and between different sub-groups. Core participants include those snowboarders, male and female, whose commitment to the sport is such that it organises their whole lives. For these participants snowboarding has become what Robert Stebbins terms “serious leisure” and their lifestyle, behaviour and appearance reflect their status within the culture.³⁶ Among the core participants a hierarchy exists that privileges physical prowess, authenticity, attitude, commitment, equipment and clothing. Various identities exist within this core group. Some prefer big mountain riding which may involve dropping off rocks, riding down chutes, and steep and deep snowboarding in powder and amongst trees; others prefer the half-pipe, or jibbing and ride terrain parks on jumps and rails. In contrast to core boarders, less committed snowboarders including novices, poseurs or weekend warriors have lower cultural status.³⁷ It is important to note that the snowboarding hierarchy is not divided by gender, and core female boarders share many of the same values and identities with core males.³⁸ The most highly ranked participants are the professionals and then amateurs; with both categories including male and female snowboarders.³⁹

Notwithstanding the diversity of the snowboarding population, a middle-class “habitus” clearly endures.⁴⁰ According to Bourdieu, middle-class pursuits “demand a high investment of cultural capital in the activity itself, in preparing, maintaining, and using equipment, and especially, perhaps in verbalizing the experiences.”⁴¹ While many snowboarders downplay the financial resources required to participate, economic capital is a prerequisite.⁴² Snowboarding has not always been an expensive endeavour. In the 1980s and early 90s, according to Ben, all you needed was “a couple of hundred bucks” to become “an instant snowboarder.”⁴³ In contemporary snowboard culture that figure has magnified ten-fold.⁴⁴ But irrespective of how much one spends, no one can ‘buy’ insider status. As *New Zealand Snowboarder* puts it, respect has “got to be earned, usually with a lot of blood, sweat and tears.”⁴⁵

A clear social hierarchy has been established based on numerous qualities, some of which include geographical divisions, commitment, bodily disposition, style, equipment, ability and clothing. Cody Dresser, managing editor of *Transworld Snowboarding* believes that snowboarding has “outgrown” all notions of a homogeneous culture.⁴⁶ Editor of *Transworld Snowboarding* Andy Blumberg observes these changes:

Once united we seem today divided, excluding and ignoring those not hip to what’s the new hype this season. It almost pains some snowboarders to acknowledge others on the chair next to them; they stare forward, through their goggles up the hill, consciously silent. They clown style, equipment, and ability.⁴⁷

The clothing practices adopted by snowboarders contribute not only to the construction of identity and difference, but also to this social hierarchy. While the distinctive clothing tastes of the gangster and punk clearly distinguished core snowboarders from skiers and the mainstream in the late 1990s, this alternative snowboarder look became fashionable during the late 1990s. No longer did these clothing styles perform the function of producing and reproducing clear social boundaries between insiders and outsiders. Thus, in an effort to regain authenticity, core snowboarders moved away from the traditional rebellions of piercing and tattooing and towards a more conservative and ironically mainstream stance, with less visual signification, and more technically functional clothing.

Since the masses took to the slopes, snowboarding fashions have changed significantly. More than twenty companies – including Sessions, 686, Bonfire, Westbeach, NFA, Nikita, Burton, Volcom – provide snowboarding specific clothing. To meet snowboarders' multi-performance needs (or rather the desire to cash in on the snow dollar) manufacturers now offer a wide variety of clothing ranges. For example, Burton's 2004 catalogue offers men's, women's, and youth's outerwear lines, totalling 266 items of clothing, including jackets, pants, beanies, sweatshirts, vests, thermal undergarments, casual pants and tops, and t-shirts; with each type of clothing being available in a range of colour options. Burton obviously recognises the importance of clothing as a marker of identity. Snowboard clothing carries status based on understanding the nuances of the culture. To the initiated member, decoding a combination of t-shirt graphics and other visual signifiers is an automatic process.⁴⁸ For example, while Volcom appeals to nonconformist youth, the older more conservative snowboarder might prefer quality rather than the latest fashion, and thus wear Helly Hansen outerwear. The owners and managers of these companies work hard to maintain an authentic image.⁴⁹ Brands such as Burton, or Volcom, have more cultural status than Rip Curl or Helly Hansen.

Companies that once entered the industry to cater for the predominantly male boarder are now broadening their product lines and tapping into the female market. Roxy Snow, Cold as Ice, Betty Rides, Monix and Nikita produce clothing primarily for women. This might be read as a sign that the industry is ready to not only include women, but also to cater to their needs in both fashion and function.⁵⁰ However, *Transworld Snowboarding* journalist Tracey Fong calls the "stereotypical girlie" fashions of pastel pinks, baby blues, glam fabrics and fake fur being promoted by some (not all) of these companies a "disturbing trend".⁵¹ An unintended consequence of such clothing is that it clearly separates the 'girls' from the 'men.' Thus male snowboarders are protected from the challenges posed by the female snowboarder, and they continue to appear as an exclusive group.

With the increasing number of participants, turnover rates in fashion trends have accelerated. According to Mike Featherstone "the constant supply of new, fashionably desirable goods" has produced a "paperchase effect in which those above will have to invest in new (informational) goods in order to re-establish the original social distance."⁵² In this context, knowledge of the snowboarding culture becomes critical: cultural insiders need knowledge of new goods, their social and cultural value, and how to use them appropriately. Snowboarding magazines and videos then play key roles in communicating these new culturally and socially valuable styles and tastes. For example, *Transworld Snowboarding* recently informed readers that "goggle tans are no longer considered a status symbol in snowboarding."⁵³

Snowboarders turn over styles at an unprecedented rate.⁵⁴ This is not a new phenomenon; historically, the middle-classes have always maintained their “fascination with the latest trend, which they proceed to interpret, reinterpret, and reformulate.”⁵⁵ The fundamental reason, however, remains the same: distinction. Ironically, the homogeneity of the contemporary snowboarder’s visual appearance, especially among the young, core and elite, can be observed in any snowboard magazine or mountain resort. As *Transworld Snowboarding* notes, “everyone looks the same in snowboard clothing.”⁵⁶ Indeed even young skiers are adopting the same clothing styles as the snowboarder.⁵⁷ As a result, many core members are reappropriating unconventional clothing to reinforce difference; tight jeans (inspired by the punk culture) were the fashion while writing this article.⁵⁸ But professional snowboarder JP Solberg questions this trend, asking “why anybody would go snowboarding in jeans so tight they don’t even come over your boots.”⁵⁹ Once again snowboarding style is becoming “more individualised”, and with boarders demanding apparel that says, “hey, I’m a snowboarder”, designers are getting creative.⁶⁰ For example, Burton has recently produced the “Night Op Jacket” which has a headlamp-like lighting system on the hood.⁶¹ Not all participants welcome the effects of these trends. As these correspondents to *Transworld Snowboarding* testify:

I was cut off and laughed at, clowned, and left to ride the lift alone by those who wouldn’t ride with just anybody. It seems it’s no longer about riding, but how tight your button-up looks with your bandana hanging off your tattered jeans. I’ve been riding for six years and have never felt such dismay.⁶²

I get pretty pissed when ?friends? are always dissn’ on my old Kemper 165 and neon-green and purple jacket. Gone are the days when people were cool to one another because they were all snowboarders. Judge people by how they ride, not how they look.⁶³

Similarly, professional snowboarder Bjorn Leines complains:

Now the vibe is like being in high school – what gear are you runnin’? Which clique do you hang with? That’s not what it’s supposed to be about.⁶⁴

The concept of taste helps explain how the social division between skiing and snowboarding became embodied. And it is also through the expression of taste that snowboarders maintain similarities or differences between themselves. Bourdieu explains:

Like every sort of taste, it unites and separates... it unites all those who are the product of similar conditions while distinguishing them from others. And it distinguishes in an essential way, since taste is the basis of all that one has – people and things – and all that one is for others, whereby one classifies oneself and is classified by others.⁶⁵

In short, taste is one of the key signifiers and elements of social identity.⁶⁶ Bryan Turner also identifies taste, the practical dimension of lifestyle, as a primary means of separating groups. He sees social groups distinguishing themselves from their competitors by their superior bodily gestures, speech, and deportment.⁶⁷ The embodiment of taste, via clothing practices, has been a crucial feature of social stratification and identity formation in snowboarding culture. Willis, James, Canaan and Hurd argue that “most young people’s lives are... full of expressions, signs and symbols through which individuals and groups seek creatively to establish their

presence, identity and meaning.”⁶⁸ Ultimately, this article illustrates the significance of the body as a symbol of status for the construction of snowboarding identities. I have examined how snowboarders distinguish themselves from non-snowboarders, and each other, by means of embodying the visual signifier of clothing. But the larger issue is how these embodied practices contribute to the construction and reconstruction of social groups and cultural hierarchies.

The popularisation of snowboarding diminished snowboarding’s distinctive value. Core snowboarders reacted to these challenges and embodied creative dress practices as a means to symbolically police the boundaries between inclusion and exclusion. Distinctions, expressed as the embodiment of tastes and styles, contribute not only to the construction of identity and difference, but also to the existing social order by clearly distinguishing the insiders from the outsiders. For example, although the snowboarding culture has become increasingly divided, the bonds between core snowboarders remain strong. Professional snowboarder Romain De Marchi explains:

More random people are becoming snowboarders...it’s kind of a fashionable thing to do for these new people – not the same way it used to be. You know – fun, friends, and boards. But all the *real* snowboarders, they still have the passion and know the *soul* of snowboarding (my emphasis added).⁶⁹

Shilling argues that “the body is centrally implicated in questions of self-identity, the construction and maintenance of social inequalities, and the constitution and development of societies.”⁷⁰ The body now plays a central role in producing and reproducing social groups and establishing cultural hierarchies, and the distinctive dress practices of the snowboarder present an important case study for gaining insight into how contemporary youth both construct and understand their worlds.

- 1 See Garry Crawford, *Consuming Sport: Fans, Sport and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 4.
- 2 Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of Leisure Class* (1st ed. 1925) (London: Unwin Books, 1970).
- 3 Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money* (London: Routledge, 1990, orig. 1907).
- 4 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1984).
- 5 See for example, Crawford, *Consuming Sport*, 8. Crawford argues that consumption should not be seen as an end product and outcome of processes of production, but rather as an active process, which can involve the production of meanings and further consumable texts and can also play a significant role in the user’s construction of identity. Within this article I draw upon Crawford’s understanding of consumption.
- 6 Belinda Wheaton, “Just Do It: Consumption, Commitment, and Identity in the Windsurfing Subculture,” *Sociology of Sport Journal* 17, no. 3(2000): 254-274; Alan Warde, “Consumption, Identity-Formation and Uncertainty”, *Sociology* 28 (1994): 877-98.
- 7 Bernard Rudofsky, *The Unfashionable Human Body* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1986). For example, jewellery, make-up and wigs were an integral part of ancient Egyptian culture, worn for both decorative and symbolic purposes. Men, women and children, kings, queens and common people alike wore jewellery. The wealthy adorned themselves with magnificent bracelets, pendants, necklaces, rings, armlets, earrings, diadems, head ornaments, pectoral ornaments and collars of gold. See P. W Thomas, “Jewellery History” <<http://fashion-era.com/jewellery.htm>> (May 10, 2004). Another example includes the Moko, Mataora and even the Mata-kiore facials

of Māori. These tattoos contain ancestral/tribal messages pertaining to the wearer. Their messages narrate a wearer's family, sub-tribal and tribal affiliations and their placing within these social structures. See M. Kopua, "More about Moko" <http://www.tamoko.org.nz/artists/uruora/moko.html> (May 10, 2004).

- 8 See Chris Shilling, *The Body and Social Theory* (London: Sage, 1993).
- 9 Kathryn Fox, "Real Punks and Pretenders: The Social Organization of a Counter-Culture," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 16, no. 3 (1987): 345.
- 10 See Peter Donnelly and Kevin Young, "The Construction and Confirmation of Identity in Sport Subcultures," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 5 (1988): 223-240; Fox, "Real punks and pretenders"; Kathleen Lowney, "Teenage Satanism as Oppositional Youth Culture," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 23, no. 4 (1995): 453-484.
- 11 Bryan Turner, *Status*. (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1988), 66.
- 12 Turner, *Status*, 68.
- 13 Ruth Barnes and Joanne Eicher (eds), *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning* (New York: Berg, 1992), 1.
- 14 Having spent eight consecutive winters snowboarding in New Zealand and North America, I am a cultural insider. But to increase the likelihood that the 'embodied boarder' was being understood from various points of view and ways of knowing I utilised multiple methods of data collection. Snowboard magazines and websites have been an important source for this study, encompassing as they do dominant ideas, statements and knowledge at specific junctures in snowboard culture. Previous cultural experience enabled me to complete a participant observation phase focused on a snowboarding community centred in Queenstown, New Zealand, over three months during the 2003 winter season. Observations were made in natural settings both on and off the snow, including lift lines, chair lifts, resort lodges, snowboard competitions, prize-givings, bars, cafés, local hangouts, and snowboard shops. The main aim of the participant observation phase was to refine and develop the analytical themes that had emerged in the study of documentary and visual sources, as well as to potentially produce new areas of inquiry.
- 15 "Fox Sports Net launches 54321," March, 2004 <<http://www.sgmag.com/skate/foxlaunch/>> (June 7, 2004).
- 16 Susanna Howe, (*SICK*) *A Cultural History of Snowboarding* (New York: St. Martins Griffin, 1998), 24.
- 17 Jason Ford, cited in Howe, (*SICK*), 24.
- 18 Howe, (*SICK*), 23.
- 19 Peter Line, cited in Chris Coyle, "Ten Years Thinking Outside the Box: Peter Line," *Transworld Snowboarding*, March 2004, p. 115
- 20 Howe, (*SICK*), 24.
- 21 Rebecca Heino, "What is so Punk about Snowboarding," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 24, no. 2(2000): 176-191.
- 22 Duncan Humphreys, "Snowboarders: Bodies out of Control and in Conflict," *Sporting Traditions*, 13, no. 1(1996), 9.
- 23 Albert, cited in Howe, (*SICK*), 86.
- 24 Some ski-resorts still only allow skiers, eg. Alta, Utah, USA.
- 25 Howe, (*SICK*), 41.
- 26 "For passion or profit?" *Australian Snowboarder*, Winter 1994, p. 19.
- 27 "Letter to the editor," *Transworld Snowboarding*, May 1995, p. 28.
- 28 Jake Burton cited in Howe, (*SICK*), 38.

- 29 Troy Bush cited in Howe, (*SICK*), 85.
- 30 Ken Block cited in Howe, (*SICK*), 95.
- 31 Kristin Anderson, "Snowboarding: The Construction of Gender in an Emerging Sport," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 23, no. 1(1999), 63.
- 32 Nathan Yant, "Marc Frank Montoya Interview," *Transworld Snowboarding*, 2001 <<http://www.transworldsnowboarding.com/snow/magazine/article/0,14304,242627,00.html>> (May 10, 2004).
- 33 David Alden cited in Howe, (*SICK*), 56.
- 34 "Going to extremes – marketing and extreme sport-statistical data included," *American Demographics*, June 2002 <http://articles.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m4021/is_2002_June_1/ai_88679068> (June 7, 2004).
- 35 Kathleen Hughes, "Surfboarding Shifts to the Ski Slopes and Cultures Clash – Snowboarders and their Garb (plus their Agile Antics) irk the Conservative Skiers," *The Wall Street Journal*, 22 March 1988, <<http://global.factiva.com/en/arch/display.asp>> (March 21, 2003).
- 36 Robert Stebbins, *Amateurs, Professionals, and Serious Leisure* (Montreal, London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).
- 37 Rather than demonstrating commitment via participation, poseurs display a "prefabricated version" of a snowboarder by consciously displaying name-brand clothing and equipment. Becky Beal found similar identities in the skateboarding culture with core skateboarders labelling these participants as "rats". See Becky Beal and Lisa Weidman, "Authenticity in the Skateboarding World," in *To the Extreme: Alternative Sports, Inside and Out*, (eds) Robert. E. Rhinehart and Synthia Sydnor (New York: State University Press, 2003): 340.
- 38 See Holly Thorpe, "Jibbing the Gender Order: Females in the Snowboarding Culture," *Sport in Society*, 8, no. 1(2005, forthcoming).
- 39 Sponsorship involves an exchange of goods and services, in which the manufacturer or retailer supplies a select group of snowboarders with free equipment, clothing, stickers etc. Sponsored snowboarders are required to represent their companies, and it is not standardised whether this is in competitions, films or magazines. While both professional and amateur snowboarders are sponsored, only professionals are paid.
- 40 Joanne Kay and Suzanne Laberge explain that, according to Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theory, "classes" do not refer to economic strata but rather to groups of social agents who share the same social conditions of existence, interests, social experience, and value systems, and who tend to define themselves in relation to other groups of agents. I use the expression "class habitus" accordingly. See Kay and Laberge, "The 'new' corporate habitus in adventure racing," *International Review of the Sociology of Sport*, 37, no. 1(2002): 17-36. Bourdieu defines "habitus" as the unconscious dispositions, the classificatory schemes, and taken-for-granted preferences that are evident in the individual's sense of the appropriateness and validity of his/her tastes for cultural goods or practices. See Mike Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism* (London: Sage, 1991), 90.
- 41 Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 220.
- 42 *The American Sports Data* reports that the average mean household income of snowboarders is more than US\$56,000, which is higher than the median income of US\$42,228. See "The changing marketplace, part one," <<http://www.transworldsnowboarding.com/snow/snowbiz/artilce/0,13009,244550,00.html>> (March 23, 2003); DeNavas-Walt and Cleveland, "Money Income in the United States: 2001" <<http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/p60-218.pdf>> (June 7, 2004).
- 43 Ben, cited in Anderson, "Snowboarding," 68.

- 44 During the 2004 winter season lift passes cost between NZ and US \$40-70 per day; season passes can cost between NZ \$300-\$1000. The 2003 *New Zealand Snowboarder* buyers' guide shows snowboards ranging between NZ \$400 and \$1200, boots between NZ \$160 and \$780, bindings between NZ \$160 and \$640. The buyers' guide also shows snowboarding jackets prices ranging between NZ \$299-\$599, pants between NZ \$259-\$499, goggles between NZ \$79.95-\$294.95 and gloves between NZ \$99.95-\$175. Average weekly earnings for NZ males aged 15-19 years are NZ\$251 and for 20-24 years are NZ\$499. Statistics from "Statistics New Zealand - Te Tari Tatau - Income Statistics" <http://www.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/web/prod_serv.nsf/Response/Income+Statistics+Tables> (July 22, 2004) .
- 45 "Onset: Respect," *New Zealand Snowboarder*, May/June 1995, p. 9.
- 46 Cody Dresser, "Mail," *Transworld Snowboarding*, September 2002, p. 28.
- 47 Andy Blumberg, "Launch," *Transworld Snowboarding*, January 2002, p. 16.
- 48 See Howe, (*SICK*).
- 49 See Beal and Weidman, "Authenticity in the Skateboarding World," 337-352. Beal and Weidman identify a number of strategies used in the skateboarding industry to gain authenticity. These include: self-selection, sponsorship of professional and amateur skateboarders, and appealing to skateboarder's values (346). The snowboarding industry adopts similar strategies.
- 50 Some of these companies, such as Nikita, are owned and organised by women. Others are extensions of larger, male-dominated corporations such as Roxy Snow (Quicksilver).
- 51 Tracey Fong, "Soapbox by Tracy Fong, Owner of Deep," 2000 < <http://www.transworldsnowboarding.com/snow/snowbiz/article/0,13009,244140,00.html>> (June 7, 2004).
- 52 Featherstone, *Consumer Culture*, 18.
- 53 Jennifer Sherowski, "Your Mom Thinks Freckles Are Cute," *Transworld Snowboarding*, November 2003, 58. It should be noted that within the snowboarding media there is an ongoing tension between commercial appeal and rebelliousness (this ambivalence is also prevalent in the snowboarding industry and amongst professionals). They are divided between their interests in winning a market by widening their audience and which inclines them to favour popularisation, and the concern for cultural distinction, the only objective basis of their rarity. See Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 229. For an interesting analysis of media issues surrounding alternative sport, also see Belinda Wheaton and Becky Beal, "Keeping it Real: Subcultural Media and the Discourses of Authenticity in Alternative Sport," *International Reviews for the Sociology of Sport*, 38, no. 2(2003): 155-176.
- 54 "Urban Trends Influence Snowboard Apparel Styles," Winter 2004-05. *SIA News* <http://www.thesnowtrade.org/downloads/industry_research/snowboard_apparel_04_05.pdf> (June 7, 2004).
- 55 Douglas Booth and John Loy, "Sport, Status, and Style," *Sport History Review*, 30 (1999): 20.
- 56 Chris Coyle, "The Siege at Summit," *Transworld Snowboarding*, March 2002, p. 128.
- 57 A Sims Snowboards advertisement on the back of the September 2002 issue of *Transworld Snowboarding* sees the humour in this trend. The advertisement shows a skier and snowboarder wearing similar clothing. A pop quiz asks readers "how are these kids alike?" The reader must then "check all that apply", "they both dress like snowboarders", "one rides the 'pipe' and the other rides the 'pole'", "corporate America considers them both 'EXTREME'", or "their snowboards and skis where made by the same company."
- 58 "Urban trends, 2004-05."
- 59 JP Solberg cited in "What Sucks in Snowboarding Right Now?" *Transworld Snowboarding*, March 2004, p. 48.

- 60 "Urban trends, 2004-05."
61 "Urban trends, 2004-05."
62 Cody, cited in "Sensitive in SoCal," *Transworld Snowboarding*, September 2002, p. 28.
63 Charlie, cited in "Antifashion," *Transworld Snowboarding*, December 2002, p. 30.
64 Bjorn Leines cited in "Words to Live By," *Transworld Snowboarding*, March 2004, p. 24.
65 Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 56.
66 Richard Jenkins, *Pierre Bourdieu, revised edition* (London: Routledge, 2002).
67 Turner, *Status*.
68 Willis, James, Canaan and Hurd (1993) cited in Warren Kidd, *Culture and Identity* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 124.
69 Romain De Marchi cited in Joel Muzzey, "Interview: Romain De Marchi," *Transworld Snowboarding*, April 2003, p. 136.
70 Shilling, *The Body and Social Theory*, 204.

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