

Pavlidis, Adele (2016, forthcoming) *Affective and Pleasured Bodies: feminist joys through sport and leisure*. in Silk, M., Andrews, D. & Thorpe, H. (Eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Physical Cultural Studies*, Routledge: London

Adele Pavlidis (authors final approved version – prepublication) Preprint  
'extract' of full chapter, some changes may be made to the final version

This chapter starts with an extended quote from a participant interviewed in 2011 about her involvement with roller derby in Australia. June<sup>1</sup>, in her early 30s, worked as a naturopath. She had recently gone through a breakup with her boyfriend and shared some of the ways roller derby affected her:

It's just that it gave me that *strength*, I was feeling quite *broken* at the time that I started,

I've always had the ability to pick myself up and dust myself off, but it's like a different kind of a *strength* cause you are part of a team, you feel *connected* to something, its outside of my friendship world and outside of everything else I do,

it constantly *challenges* you, which I guess any sport must do but I've just never been part of a team sport,

I feel like I am a strong person, but it just helped resurrect me at a time when I needed it most, you know, so I feel it has been *healing* in that respect,

and even having that double identity, it's quite *fun*, you get to sort of disappear into something else, whatever you call yourself, you can sort of play this role of this kick arse, *strong* person, whatever you create for yourself, and you can just disappear into that

In Nancy Finley's widely cited 2010 article on roller derby she concludes by stating, 'Women can now kick ass, but it might not bring the society any closer to societal support of child care or equal pay, or sports that do not glorify bruises.' (p. 384). But what if we take a different view?

Roller derby enabled June to be a 'kick arse, strong person'. Physical Cultural Studies (PCS) provides a framework where June's (and many other's, including my own) experiences of sport can be taken seriously, and considered, independent to whether they might make major impacts on structural inequalities. PCS is a framework that enables the taken-for-granted notions of sport and physical activity to be questioned and rewritten. This rewriting of sport creates, as Andrews states, 'potentially empowering forms of knowledge and understanding' that can 'illuminate, and intervene into, sites of physical cultural injustice and inequity' (2008, p. 54). The text above highlights just one example where taken-for-granted notions of sport can be questioned. For June, roller derby allowed her a relation to her body that privileged her strength, her resilience, her connections to other women, and *her pleasure*.

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<sup>1</sup> All names used in this chapter have been changed to protect the privacy of research participants

Feminist Emma Goldman has been misquoted as stating the now famous phrase, ‘If I can’t dance I don’t want to be in your revolution’. Goldman ([1934]2011) later wrote, ‘that a Cause which stood for a beautiful ideal, [...] for release and freedom from conventions and prejudice, should demand denial of life and joy. [...] If it meant that, I did not want it. I want freedom, the right to self-expression, everybody’s right to beautiful, radiant things’ (in Sweeney, 2015, 27). This centering, of the affective and pleasurable body in feminist politics, is a vital one. And it speaks to the importance of sport and leisure, wellbeing and health, play and recreation, as keys to workable strategies for living (with sexual difference) in the twenty first century. PCS provides a framework for understanding bodies as affective, and, perhaps more importantly, pleasurable.

Understanding bodies as pleasurable speaks towards a type of feminist joy – women’s bodies, often sites of control and desire by men – can now be spoken of, seen, and indeed experienced, as pleasurable. Not *for* men, but for women themselves – *autoeroticism*. Through sport and physical cultures women can experience pleasure for their own purposes. Irigaray (1993) wrote of feminine *jouissance*, a formless, fluid, expansiveness. And so, in this short chapter I argue that physical cultural studies is a framework that can interrogate and support a type of feminist joy. This is not to say that all aspects of physical cultures are joyful. But this is more to the point. Physical cultures, such as sport, leisure, dance, for example, are often spaces of control and discipline, as well as joy and pleasure (see for example Pavlidis and Fullagar, 2014a). In my own research, women in roller derby thought of themselves, and experienced their bodies as tough, strong and even mean. Feeling, and even being the cause of pain, was all part of the experience (Pavlidis and Fullagar, 2014b). Roller derby is not a space where happiness is conditional on a relationship of care and reciprocity (Ahmed, 2010b), although it sometimes is this too. Rather, in derby, and I would argue, in other physically demanding sport, women can be ‘happy’ regardless of (and sometimes because of) their affects on others. For example, she might experience her increased fitness as pleasurable, or her toned thighs and buttocks as pleasurable, or her speed on the track, or her position of leadership, or her strength and skill at knocking down the opposing team members. Or even pleasure at being part of a team exclusively of women (Donnelly, 2012), where men are not particularly welcome (see Pavlidis and Connor, 2015 for a discussion of men in the sport).

Roller derby and other physical cultures, I argue, embraces the killjoy, and the joyful; both positions pleasurable and affective – and, arguably, powerful. Roller derby is a space where feminist killjoys – those that point out moments of sexism, express anger about things, talk about ‘unhappy topics’, and ‘disturb the fantasy that happiness can be found in certain places’ (Ahmed, 2010a) – are welcome and embraced. Scowling is encouraged, swearing is acceptable, and women are always ‘active’ (unless injured) participants. But it is also a space of joy; a place where bodies can be affective and pleasurable. It is a space where women can revel in their toned bodies, where they can wear skimpy clothing, and present themselves to others in ways they want. They can *enjoy* themselves, their bodies in particular. They can enjoy the way their body looks, what it can do, and how it feels. In my own work I have explored *both* a critical and productive account of derby. Issues of exclusion, bullying, and power relations of discipline and control (Pavlidis and Fullagar, 2012, Pavlidis and Fullagar, 2014a); as well as focusing on feelings of love, belonging and empowerment experienced

through the sport (Pavlidis and Fullagar, 2014a). Yet these experiences did not always come about in rational or logical ways.

PCS is a framework where the politics of passion and affect can be negotiated as it enables a refusal of ontological-epistemological divides. This is imperative. For to privilege affective and pleasurable bodies is not to negate questions of marginalization, nor is it an embrace of 'the perfect' neoliberal feminine subject competing for the perfect balance between successful sexuality and domesticity (McRobbie, 2015). Yet at the same time this approach does not assume women's desire for competition, for fitness, for vitality and health is wrong, because it is not. As Longhurst notes in her personal reflections of losing weight and becoming 'slim', 'the process of transforming oneself opens up possibilities for new capacities and for reflecting on a newly emerging self' (2011, p. 883). Physically active leisure, such as roller derby and other action sport present opportunities for women to experience pleasure in a myriad of ways. PCS allows for analysis and exploration of this pleasure, as well as a critical response.

In my research into the experiences of women who played roller derby I spent over a year skating, training, playing in games (bouts) and spending time with women all over Australia involved in the sport. What became clear throughout the research was the women's acknowledgement – and even privileging – of their affective and pleasured bodies. The ways roller derby made them *feel* was of prime importance. But what can this tell us about roller derby? About sport more generally? How can we, as scholars working in the area of sport and physical culture, understand the affective and pleasurable experiences of our participants (and ourselves)? In my own work, reflecting on the insights and theoretical innovations of others before me, I have found that the affective experiences of pleasure (and also of pain, see Pavlidis and Fullagar, 2015) are central to understanding individual and cultural change. This necessarily short chapter outlines the 'turn to affect' in sport and physical cultures, and then demonstrates how this 'turn' can make representable (via writing) individual and cultural transformation.

### **Alternative sport and the 'affective turn'**

The role of emotion in sport is not a new concern for scholars. In a 1959 article in the journal *Social Forces* Donald and Havighurst report on interviews with 434 men and women from New Zealand and the United States about the meanings people gave to their participation in sport and leisure. The results highlighted meanings related to enjoyment, achievement, belonging, creativity, and self-respect (Donald and Havighurst, 1959). Since then, and more than likely before, scholars have been fascinated with the pleasure and allure of sports, particularly those that involve some form of risk or danger. Primarily, these studies have made assumptions about the inherent good of leisure and sport – these functional perspectives have been and are still part of our popular discourse in society. However there have been some alternative perspectives of note.

Most famous are Elias and Dunning's work, together and individually, in their seminal text, *Quest for Excitement* (1986). In this edited collection, and elsewhere, Elias and Dunning (1986) articulate a theory of the individual as restrained, held back, and sometimes in tension; 'the public and even private level of emotional control has

become high by comparison with that of less highly differentiated societies' (p. 65). This tension, they argue, needs a counter-measure; and it is in sport where it is primarily found. They write, 'in advanced industrial societies, leisure activities form an enclave for the socially approved arousal of moderate excitement behavior in public' (p. 65). Boldly, Dunning argued that sport plays a reinforcing role, secondary to class, in regards to the production and reproduction of masculine identity (Dunning, 1986, 282).

Relatedly, Lyng (1990) developed the concept of 'edgework' to account for people's allure towards risky or dangerous physical activities. He writes, 'activities that can be subsumed under the edgework concept have one central feature in common: they all involve a clearly observable threat to one's physical or mental well-being or one's sense of an ordered self' (Lyng, 1990, p. 857). Fear, giving way to exhilaration and omnipotence, are central emotions said to be produced through these experiences (p. 860). This work, by both Elias and Dunning, and Lyng, represent key ideas in the sociology of sport in regard to emotions and affect. Their work has been taken up and used, critiqued, evaluated and deployed for a range of uses. But centrally to both is their focus on the cultural and social aspects of experience, rather than the psychological.

Emotions are usually understood as *subjective* affective states. For example, a beating heart (affect) might be interpreted as fear, or excitement depending on the context. Or the warmth of a blushing face (affect) might signify pride or shame, though neither exclusively (Probyn, 2005). Affect, on the other hand, as Woodward writes, 'refers to the two-way relationship whereby something...or someone, affects and is affected by someone...else' (p. 143). Emotion and affect are often used interchangeably, and regardless of the varied definitions they are certainly interrelated. Woodward, in her work advancing the psychosocial approach to research discusses the ways this framework focuses on the relationally between people's affects and sense of their selves, and the social worlds they inhabit (and that inhabit them): 'the dilemma of the space between inside and outside' (Woodward, 2015, p. 17).

Post-structural researchers have refused this inside/outside distinction, instead finding new ways of thinking about emotion, affect and the social. Elsbeth Probyn's work has been explicit in addressing this distinction and refocusing the debates. About shame Probyn wrote, 'by denying or denigrating it or trying to eradicate it (as in the countless self-help books against various strains of shame), we impoverish ourselves and our attempts to understand human life' (2005, p. 3).

In sport sociology there has been a tendency to focus on displeasure – on the 'problem' – rather than on the pleasures and joys embodied through the practice, however there are exceptions that have moved the discipline forward. Douglas Booth is most notable for his 1995 paper on ambiguities in pleasure and discipline in the context of the development of professional surfing. As a sport often associated with 'freedom', the development of professional surfing raises a range of provocative and useful questions in thinking about emotions and affect in sport. Influenced by Booth's work are researchers such as Clifton Evers (2009) who have made significant advances in the ways gender, sport and affect can be thought about in relation to the embodied movement of sport. Booth and Evers, along with others (for example, Laviolette, 2010; Saville, 2008) advocate for the centrality of emotion and affect in

sport research and the importance of interdisciplinary approaches to these ends. As Thorpe and Wheaton (2013) recognise, ‘affect and sensation, and power and politics, are not mutually exclusive’ (p. 347).

More recently, Pringle, Rinehart and Caudwell published *Sport and the Social Significance of Pleasure* (2015) where pleasure and the politics of sport are explored in length. In refocusing our attention through PCS on pleasurable bodies, a powerful shift is possible. Probyn wrote, ‘desire is a profoundly upsetting force. It may totally rearrange what we think we want: desire skews plans, setting forth unthought-of possibilities’ (1996, p. 43). The interdisciplinary of PCS supports an analysis of pleasure as productive, and, much like in leisure, as valuable in its own right.

Affective and pleasurable bodies in physical cultures are both textual and visceral – both the body image, and the body without image (Featherstone, 2010, 195) – both represented and ‘felt’. Both the body image (how others see us) and the body without image (our affects) are implicated in the joy (or not) experienced. This could be read cynically – as the ultimate goal of consumer culture achieved:

The ultimate power to change lives, not just to look and be looked at, but a body in movement, an affective body which is noticed and commands respect; a body which has the power to affect others; which possesses social force in the urban milieu and the spaces of sociability. This is the self- improvement road which leads to not just bodily and self-transformation, but style and lifestyle transformation too (Featherstone, 2010, 196).

But, and this is a noteworthy but, the style and lifestyle transformations in many physical cultures are not commercial – although there are some commercial aspects. Nor are these physical cultures controlled by a few profit driven entities – indeed, sports such as skateboarding, roller derby, and snowboarding actively refuse formal incorporation to varying degrees (or among some pockets of participants). The affective body that is noticed and commands respect in physical cultures such as roller derby also values the capacity to affect – notably to push over/down/out of the way opposing players for the goal of winning.

I have found that the affective experiences of pleasure (and pain) are central to understanding individual and cultural change. Although theories of affect and emotion can appear dense at times, I argue, in line with Atkinson (2010), that PCS can be a form of ‘committed praxis’ (p. 138). PCS in this instance is being used to understand the practice and theory of pleasure in the lives of sporting bodies, and the political potential of such knowledge. This necessarily short chapter now turns to some examples from my research in roller derby to demonstrate the varied ways affective and pleasurable bodies are central to understanding not only the experiences of individual women, but also of cultural and social transformations that are possible as these women engage in their social worlds beyond derby.

### **Representation and affect: feminist joy in roller derby**

June, who was first introduced at the beginning of this chapter, spoke about the ways roller derby has changed her, helped her, healed her and, improved her body image. She articulates the ways her friendships and belonging among her derby peers enabled these transformations in how she feels (affect) and other people’s perceptions of her. The remainder of this chapter will focus on June’s interview responses (transcribed) and serves as a demonstration of the insights garnered from a PCS framework that

privileges affective and pleasurable bodies. My analysis here follows the lead of Sara Ahmed in that my commitment is to making visible, 'not just the textuality of emotions, but also the emotionality of texts' (2004, p. 27). What is presented is a form of narrative analysis (Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2008), where June is a new 'conceptual personae' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994; for more detail on methodology please see Pavlidis and Fullagar, 2014a, 43-52).

My collaborative and solo work has demonstrated the ways women embody multiple relations in roller derby that enable them to *use* the sport as a pathway to alterative ways of living as gendered subjects. June's narrative tells the story of a young woman going through a romantic break-up and taking up roller derby to help her get through. Her story helps demonstrate the relationship between representation and affect. This relation is central to PCS: where the focus of cultural studies has often been on film, television and other texts, PCS brings the body and its affects into a more prominent position.

In several instances June attempts to articulate the affects enabled through her participation in roller derby. As a naturopath, practicing acupuncture and massage, her work colleagues participate in yoga or chi gong to de-stress. But for June, this was not enough. After going through what she described as a 'horrendous' breakup (her ex-boyfriend broke into her house at one stage) she started participating in roller derby:

I was going through a lot and trying to find the strength to get back on track again and that's what derby gave me, it really did, it's like I went to derby and it challenged me and threw me around, and getting pushed and shoved just made me completely forget about everything in my life and then starting to feel that sense of achievement as well...

Being 'pushed and shoved' helped June forget about everything, as well as feel a sense of achievement. This notion is somewhat contradictory. Yet it is this experience that gives June a challenge she can overcome and feel 'success'. She continues:

...It's just given me a bit of gumption, it's not like I wanted to become more aggressive, its more that I just wanted to put my energy into something positive rather than into something negative and I had a lot burning inside of me, like I was really angry at the time and I feel like it's helped level me out... be more calm.

In this interview excerpt June separates aggression from anger. She wants me to know that, 'its not like I wanted to become more aggressive' and that the 'pushing and shoving' that she does in derby is a positive, calming influence in her life. Georgina Roy (2014) discusses the 'hard to describe' affects experienced by herself and her participants in surfing and the ways that post-structural theories of affect enable an analysis that can account for these affects. In my research I too have had the challenge of analyzing and writing those 'hard to describe' affects experienced through physical cultures. Here, June uses language and metaphor to try and describe the transformative capacity of roller derby in her life. Yet she is clear in saying that there was nothing 'wrong' with her – instead, roller derby *added* something more. It was *expansive*.

I'm not like this broken person that derby rescued, its more that it just gave me somewhere to put all my energy ... after derby, you are just bouncing back again, you feel joy cause you are having a lot of fun, you're playing again,

which that's the thing, it's like playing, I mean its hardcore...but we're all laughing and having a great time you know... it teaches you to take hits in life as well, and to just bounce back again.

Roller derby gave this woman, who was tough and strong and working through heartache and anger, a way to be joyful again. She was able to experience pleasure and joy not by negating injustices or ignoring the ongoing marginalization of women. But by enabling the embodiment of resilience – the opportunity to fall, hard, and get back up, over and over and over again. Bodies in roller derby are affective and pleasurable (and painful): they are 'hard to describe', while at the same time perfectly understandable.

In terms of body image, June describes the ways roller derby shapes her body: 'physically, it's great, cause obviously it tones those areas that women worry about the most, cause you are down in derby stance'. June's body image – what can be seen and 'captured' (Featherstone, 2010) – improved through roller derby. As she mentions, her thighs and buttocks toned and were shaped through the sport. June also spoke explicitly about the 'roll out' – where the derby team 'present' themselves to the audience, often in a choreographed manner, to music (Pavlidis, 2012). The roll out is a key moment in derby, where representation, rather than affect, is key. Like other sports where the players run onto the field, the roll out is a chance for the players to 'step into' their role and be admired and celebrated by fans. Whereas on the track June has the capacity to affect others – to push them, shove them, and win/lose – in the roll out she has a different capacity; one of representation. She stated: 'when we had our roll out I suddenly got really emotional, like "oh my god this is so beautiful, I love my team", I just love all the girls, like everyone, I just like, they're just all cool'.

For June roller derby most certainly was a social intervention. On a number of levels the sport worked to connect her with a community of women who supported her needs at the time. In turn, June supported other women. This social intervention provided the conditions for personal transformation. On a meta-level, roller derby is a social intervention that is facilitating cultural transformation – where a full contact sport played predominantly by women is becoming normalized. As Atkinson (2010) noted, 'the merit, hope and future of the PCS movement, as a successor to the sociology of sport, then, lies in its collective call for engagement with real utopias, democracy and social intervention' (p. 137). Highlighting June's story, as someone who used roller derby as a social intervention, is an example of what PCS can make possible. After Atkinson (2010) I argue that, although power may oppress, structures may dominate, identities may be marginalized, and ideologies might conceal, roller derby can change a woman's (or man's) life and bring joy and affective pleasures.

### **Concluding Remarks**

As an emerging field of study, PCS is a framework that can understand multiple knowledge bases and methodological paradigms. The example above tells the story of June, a roller derby skater, who used the sport to, in her words, 'heal', from a relationship breakup. Drawing from transcriptions of in-depth interviews I have created a new 'conceptual personae' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994) to embody June's affective and pleasurable body in roller derby. Enjoying her toned and fit body, and the adoration of fans when she and her team rolled out, were central to her

experiences of joy and pleasure in roller derby. Yet also central were her affective transformations – from anger to joy through the tough embodiment of roller derby.

Through a PCS framework scholars can study the physically active body in relation to the power relations, structures and social forces at play in critical and nuanced ways. In practice, this translates to an opening and expanding of our analysis – in this case an analysis of feminist joy through physical activity. For June, these included: wrestling with the power relations and entanglements of a relationship breakup, juggling financial commitments and leisure (she specifically mentioned the financial burden of roller derby, yet saw its value in her life and worth the loss of income), and negotiating perceptions of women and aggression to maintain a style of femininity acceptable to herself.

In cultural studies, scholars such as Amy Dobson are engaged in critical and important work interrogating the ways girls and young women represent themselves and their femininity online (for example, Dobson, 2011; 2014). Others have taken a broader perspective, examining changing notions of femininity and risk in contemporary society. Anita Harris outlined the ‘can-do girl’ as the ideal contemporary female subject: self-assured, consumer citizens, experiencing success at work (or school) and delaying motherhood (2004, p. 16- 25). This ties in with scholars such as Deborah Lupton and critical work in public health. ‘Taking care of ones health’ and maintaining good health are key priorities in contemporary society – failure to prioritise health is a type of failed citizenship in neoliberal times (for example, Lupton, 1995; 2013). Juxtaposed to this are the young women ‘at risk’. Harris notes, that the ‘at-risk category operates in a particular way in relation to young women, for they are imagined as both passive victims of circumstances beyond their control; and also as willful risk takers who use girlpower to their own (self-) destructive ends’ (2004, p. 26).

PCS, with the physically active body at its center, expands these perspectives. Physically active women are ‘can do girls’ and ‘at risk’ – they are taking responsibility for their health through participation in active leisure, but they are also risking injury and at times their femininity (see for example Thorpe, 2014). They are (becoming) self-assured, as demonstrated by June’s story, and experiencing success in leisure (but not necessarily work). And, central to this chapter, their experience goes beyond these dualisms. They are affective and pleasurable bodies, capable of joy through affect, and representation.

I started this chapter with an extended quote from June. She was ‘at-risk’ in some ways – a victim of domestic violence, and suffering through her breakup. Yet through roller derby, a nontraditional, contact sport, she was able to transform herself and experience joy and strength. This is a powerful story and one that PCS gives us the tools to analyse and present to a broader audience. Understanding bodies as pleasurable, for themselves (not only others, though this too) is key to an affirmative feminist politics where the power relations and social forces influencing men and women can be disentangled in the hope of a more inclusive future. In PCS the refrain might read: ‘If I can’t play, I don’t want to be in your revolution’. And perhaps, more pertinently, it is in playing that revolution is enabled.



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