

THE CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF THE FIT  
BODY IN SOUTH KOREA: FOCUS ON ESTABLISHED – OUTSIDER  
FIGURATION OF THE BODY IN THE FITNESS FIELD

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the ways in which the fit body has acted as an established form of capital in Korea. In addressing this question, this research explores the theoretical and methodological links between Bourdieu's and Elias's perspectives. In particular, using the fitness field as the context, this study examines specific types of valued capital and assesses the ways in which figurations between actors are produced and reproduced in ways that reinforce and sometimes disrupt 'established-outsider' (E-O) figurations in other fields (such as the academic field).

In working toward its findings, this work makes use of multiple methods, including historical media analysis, media production study, interviews, and comparison of Gangnam and Gangbuk, to name but a few. This diverse array of approaches allows for a more robust and nuanced look at the E-O figuration of the body (Elias & Scotson, 1994) that grounded the production and reproduction of body capital and habitus in the fitness field.

The findings also reveal that fit bodies are pivotal to the formation of symbolic power in Korean socio-historical contexts. E-O figuration of fitness media production teams influences media texts. Fitness media texts underline the virtue of fit bodies while disguising symbolic violence toward the outsider body. TV producers of fitness programs and star trainers as cultural intermediaries reproduce the belief in the notion of the fit body through media strategies that include storytelling, body models, and intellectualization. Fitness clubs, members, and trainers in Gangnam and Gangbuk are distinguished by their fitness capital, academic capital, and civility. Thus, in contemporary Korean society, fitness is a hidden path that allows for and consolidates the reproduction of Established-Outsider hierarchies; as such, it has a distinctive/civilized mode, a specific form of cultural capital, and undeniable connection to Western fitness culture.

KEY WORDS: body, fitness, power, cultural capital, habitus, Established-Outsider relations.

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## **Introduction: The Birth of Korean Consumer Bodies**

The area of consumption, which had previously been considered minor compared to that of production, has received attention as a new research topic in sociology since the 1980s (Warde, 1990, p. 1; Bocock, 1993, p. 3; Benson, 1994, p. 1; Campbell, 1995, p. 100). There is still a controversy about whether the signs of social changes that began in Western societies are spreading to non-Western societies. Nevertheless, there is a general consensus among scholars that consumerism in the West is diffusing to the non-West (Clamer, 1997). This is also indicated in studies of the culture of consumption in Korea, a culture that can be said to have begun after the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul. This is believed to be the moment when consumption increased quantitatively, and the overall consumption structure changed qualitatively (Baek, 1994a; Jung, 1994; Chang, 2001; Nam, 2007).

In Korea, the body, which had been influenced by the government and standardized in accordance with traditional ethics (Kim, 2003), has become an object of consumption as the nation has embraced postmodernist society (Lim, 2004; Jeong & Park, 2005; Jeong & Kwon, 2007). The craze for body-making in the current consumer society provides people with the illusion that they are freely building their bodies under their own control, and this leads to the formation of self-identity and a sense of accomplishment (Jeong & Kwon, 2007). Even though the idealized bodies shown in the media are rather abnormal, people constantly desire and consume such bodies (Yoon, 2004; Nam & Koh, 2011; Lim & Kim, 2012).

As the body changes from a natural object to a controllable one for modern people, all people come to suffer constantly from a sense of deficiency and deprivation. According to the OECD report (2009), Koreans have the lowest average BMI in the world, but despite this fact, most people in Korea regard themselves as being overweight according to the same survey (Food and Drug Administration, obesity study on consumer behaviour research and efficient use, 2009). According to the YTN (8 July 2004), a Korean broadcasting company, Korean netizens think the standard measurements for the idealized fit body are 180cm and 70kg for males and 165cm and 45kg for females. This result demonstrates Koreans' distorted standards for body size. The appearances of celebrities as represented by the media and the ideal body images

suggested by medical information cause many people who differ from such standards to suffer from a sense of deficiency regarding their current bodies.

These current body issues might appear to be a form of free decision-making and of the pursuit of diversity, but in reality, they are contributing towards standardized bodies. In this situation, new self-evaluation methods for the body have begun functioning, which spread the logic of choice and exclusion between the valuable body and the devalued body. For Koreans, the body now is not something they are born with but a symbolic object that is socially reconstructed, and it should be noted here that not having a fit body leads to discrimination. Therefore, this thesis aims to examine the ways in which fit bodies are central to the production and reproduction of social inequality in terms of the Korean historical context, and its contemporary fitness media, fitness sites, and cultural intermediary fitness experts. The originality of this thesis is as follows:

This thesis is the first socio-cultural research on the current fitness culture of Koreans. This thesis examines how the social and cultural meaning of the fit body in Korean society has been formed at both the macro and micro level, employing an original synthesis of the work of Elias and Bourdieu. Specifically, it examines the issue of the Korean body as symbolic capital in the context of its social and historical relevance, focusing on issues of Koreans' *Hakbeol* (academic) capital and body habitus. Further, it evaluates the manner in which the body forms the foundation of social reproduction in Korean society. In particular, this thesis provides a multidimensional and in-depth analysis of the body habitus, by researching the relationship between groups with differing economic and cultural capital (e.g. Gangnam and Gangbuk). Additionally, while existing media studies have been separated into studies on producers and texts, this thesis presents a multidimensional analysis on fitness media. In summation, this thesis analyses the interdependencies between media production methods, textual representations and cultural intermediaries in the process of forming the cultural values of the ideal Korean body image.

## **1. The Context for the Research: Korean Consumer Body Culture**

### *1.1 Korean Consumer Culture*

Korean consumption patterns and practices were significant factors in the country's rapid increase in wealth. According to Dunning (1992, World Research Institute), the entry point into a consumption society stands at PCI (Per Capita Income) \$7,500 minimum per year, which would indicate that Korean society made this transition to a consumption society in about 1993 (Song & Kim, 1997). The points of entering a consumer society for selected countries are as follows: 1976 for the United States (\$7,989), 1977 for West Germany (\$8,420), 1978 for France (\$8,932) and Australia (\$7,923), and 1979 for England (\$7,572). Ten years later, Taiwan (\$7,626) and Singapore followed them, with Korea having entered into a consumption-driven society by 1993 (\$7,811).

The culture of consumption in Korea can be summarized as follows:

Firstly, the current culture of consumption in Korea was formed on the basis of the globally unprecedented radical economic growth that it experienced. Directly after the Korean War (1950-53), South Korea was one of the world's poorest countries with a per capita annual income of \$67. Since then, the economic size of the country has grown by a factor of more than 800, with the current per capita income (2008) nested comfortably at \$27,658 (OECD, 2010).

Secondly, Koreans also have a strong preference for American and Western culture, a taste that was shaped during the Japanese colonial period (1910-45). During World War II (1939-45), Korea was colonized by Japan instead of European countries, which led to Korea's favourable attitude toward the United States and other Western countries. For this reason, Korea adopted American culture first instead of Japanese culture. Although cultural globalization began by opening doors to Japanese culture, Korea has been dominated by America-centric cultures instead of an amalgamation of cultures from various countries.

Thirdly, most studies of the culture of consumption in Korea that were conducted in the 1980s and 1990s focused on the formation of mass consumption. Some of these studies indicated that the consumption patterns in Korea after the mid-1980s in particular showed a series of interesting trends: excessive consumption, a combination of over-consumption, conspicuous consumption, short-sighted consumption, competitive imitative consumption, and impulsive consumption (Kim, 1987; Ryu, 1992).

Fourthly, the culture of mass consumption that began during the 1980s and 1990s precipitated a spike in high-end consumption that continued to develop through the 2000s. Also, the financial crisis of late 1997 brought about drastic changes to the

environment of high-end consumption markets in Korea. The resultant polarization of wealth led to a corresponding polarization of goods consumed. The high-income group began accelerating high-end consumption patterns in this period, whereas the middle class had taken the lead in consumption previously (Nam, 2007). Discussions of the Gangnam and Gangbuk districts are particularly significant when talking about the issue of polarization in the Korean society. Today, Gangnam and Gangbuk<sup>1</sup> are primary indicators of the symbolic space that imposes financial and hierarchical segregation amongst its constituent members. It is not a concept that exists as a geographical truth per se, but rather one that exists as an imagined ideological symbol (D. Lee, 2005).

Thus, the current consumer markets in Korea indicate a trend of polarization of consuming goods – that is, low-end versus high-end goods – due to a decrease in consumption potential amongst members of the middle class and the high-income group's seemingly insurmountable lead in consumption. Given the characteristics of Korean consumer culture, Korean body-making culture can be seen as difficult to define through simple categorization. Therefore, a sophisticated multi-dimensional approach is needed for research on cultural production and consumption of the fit body in Korea, which involves the consideration of various factors such as economic conditions, Korean historical contexts, influence of Western culture, and unique Korean habitus and capital.

## *1.2 Korean Body Culture*

Since the 1990s, studies of the body in the area of cultural/social science in Korea have been informed primarily by the theories of Foucault and Bourdieu (Kim, 2012). Studies (Shim, 1993; Lee, 1993; Y. Lee 2000; 2006; Lim, 2002) based on the work of Foucault regard the actions required to make and manage the body currently conducted in Korean society as mere processes through which docile bodies are made under the influence of regulating power, or remain with explaining the bodies made through the body-making industry as commercialized bodies. These limitations have overlooked those implications that are related to individuals' efforts to manage their bodies by failing to point out the concrete and multi-layered context regarding which aspects of power/knowledge and consumption culture make the body or by excessively

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<sup>1</sup> They are divided by Han River in Seoul. South of the river is Gangnam and north is Gangbuk. Seoul's Gangnam development policies created specific areas with high value housing. In addition, high consumption regions are formed.

emphasizing the passiveness of the body concerning the extent to which it can be constructed by external force.

Studies (Jung, 2006; Lim, 2007; Jeong & Kwon, 2007; Jeong & Park, 2005) directed by Bourdieu take notice of the way that the body and consciousness are connected to each other in the aspect of identity crises within modern society, pointing out that body management and ego forging through consumption are fundamentally unstable and will inevitably lead to the loss of fundamental ego regarding the body. Among these studies, there are cases where researchers explain how the necessary goal of healthy or true body consumption culture represents an alternative solution against criticism of consumptive body culture is frequently seen in society.

As the lifestyles, wellbeing and well-built bodies that have appeared in Korean society since the 2000s have continued to exert great influence on society and culture, studies have criticized these lifestyles from both cultural and political viewpoints. The issue of the body has appeared as an important object of study not only in daily life but also in Sociology, Journalism and Mass Communication, Philosophy, Literature, and Anthropology. Representative studies show the social and cultural contexts that have contributed to the craze for idealized, fit bodies, or *momzzang*,<sup>6</sup> in Korea (*momzzang* is a new word formed from a combination of ‘body’ and ‘the best, fittest or muscular’). The themes are numerous: from the historical origin of body making from the viewpoint of genders (Lee, 2011; Park, 2009) to how body management and gender systems define female bodies from the viewpoint of feminism (E. Kim, 2001; Lim, 2004; Song, 2012), sporting bodies (Song, 2006; Lim, 2009; Lim & Lee, 2007), cultural studies on the way the body enters into relationships with modern society (Shim, 2002; Ham, 2006; Lim, 2007a; 2007c), and ways that body discourses are composed in media (Yoon, 2004; Nam & Koh, 2011; Lim & Kim, 2012). As revealed in the above studies, the processes of *momzzang* syndrome are varied, but it is generally consistent in its status as one of the crucial factors that lead to a muscular style being emphasized by the media. The media’s stigmatization strategy on the body deviates from idealized images to foster an ongoing crisis of people’s bodies. However, since most of the studies conducted thus far dealt with only general phenomena or focused on theoretical descriptions or statistical analyses, more empirical and in-depth studies can be said to be necessary (Oh & Na, 2002).

Based on these literature reviews, it appears as if the state of research on Korean bodies is still in its nascent stages of development. Unfortunately, there is a severe lack

of corresponding sociological analysis that deals with how Korean consumer bodies began to first manifest themselves in Korea. Moreover, a proper study of consumer bodies in Korea has not been able to find solid academic footing as of late. Additionally, most studies deal with general phenomena or emphasize theoretical perspectives, so there is a need for more experienced and in-depth research on the particulars behind Korean body discourse. In this context, qualitative research that targets people who are in the process of transforming their bodies and participating in exercise is greatly needed.

### *1.3 Korean Fitness Culture*

Since the 1970s, domestic commercial health clubs as well as YMCAs have begun to gradually emerge in Korea. Starting in the 1980s, executive health club membership programs took shape as a way to prevent the lack of exercise evident due to development of mechanically-oriented jobs that were associated with the increase in national income (Shim et al., 2006). Korean fitness culture originated from the upper and middle classes alongside the flow of globalization and Western influences. In the past, fitness culture was synonymous with high culture, and therefore it was produced and consumed exclusively by the upper and middle classes.

The current fitness market in Korea has also developed under the influences of domestic economic conditions like the conducting five-day workweek at the national level (July, 2004) and an increase in expenditure on leisure (Institute of Hana Financial Management, 2008). Additionally, the emergence of Da-yeon Jeong, the *momzzang* woman, the well-being boom, and entertainers' representation of *momzzang* in the media in late 2003 all contributed toward making Korean people more enthusiastic about fitness. Each broadcasting company started to include programs about fitness or bodybuilding within their daily schedule. Personal trainers capable of perfecting entertainers' bodies became famous stars, thus cementing their positions as celebrities and creating a serious demand for their services within popular society. The market size for Korea's fitness centres has continually expanded after overcoming a serious economic crisis in 1997 (IMF). Commercial health clubs (fitness centres) numbered 3,220 units in 1998, 4,707 units in 2002, 5,270 units in 2003, 5,701 units in 2004, and 6,449 units in 2011, demonstrating an acute increase (Ministry of Culture, Sports & Tourism, 2006, 2011) in common consumption of fitness culture.

In 2010, a survey (Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, 2010b) on actual conditions of national participation in lifetime sports found that walking (29.9%), mountain climbing (12.4%), bodybuilding (11.7%), soccer (8.3%), swimming (4.5%) and cycling (4.3%) were the preferred fitness activities of the public, respectively (p. 72). In terms of locations for bodybuilding (fitness), private/commercial facilities (69.6%) and public sports facilities (18.5%) were found to be preferred with a frequency of 4 times per week and 1 hour and 18 minutes spent per session for the duration of three years with a medium exercise intensity index (79.8%). According to the survey about Koreans' favourite hobbies and sports by Gallup Korea (2009), 'climbing mountains' (11.7%) was the top activity, followed by 'reading' (7.0%) and 'listening to music' (6.9%); and the above three kinds of hobbies were the same as the survey in 2004. 'Exercise/Fitness' (5.9%) ranked fourth, which reflects the recent atmosphere with higher interests about health. In terms of age, people in their 30s and 40s preferred 'Exercise/Fitness' (5.9%), and males preferred it more than females. Therefore, since the general public can easily consume fitness culture in present-day Korea, fitness culture is beginning to assume a role in the everyday lives of many Koreans.

There are a few qualitative studies that have been conducted which relate to fitness culture (E. Kim, 2001; Jeong & Park, 2005). E. Kim's (2001) research focused on the people that work in health clubs. Although the significance of this study is incredible with respect to the topic of fitness, it is nonetheless limited somewhat in that it targets only women. Jeong and Park (2005) carried out participant research in a fitness centre and found that with the emergence of a consumer-capitalist body, the meaning of 'movement' had been drastically changed from a socio-cultural point of view. Exercise has become one of the driving factors behind the construction of the modern body, and its purpose in consumer society shows a marked discrepancy with previous Korean values of health from years past.

In conclusion, the fitness field is an established part of Korean consumer body culture with its distinct mode, forms of capital, and connections to Western fitness culture. Therefore, an applicable study of the field of fitness in Korea is needed, given the homogeneity of the existing research within this discipline.

## **2. The Statement of Research Questions**

The purpose of this research is to explore how the fit body has been constructed as socially worthy and esteemed in Korea within the context of Bourdieu's cultural field (Bourdieu, 1984; 1993; Ferguson, 1998; Smith Maguire, 2008a) and Elias' Established–Outsider (E-O) figuration (Elias & Scotson, 1994) as theoretical frameworks. Fitness as a cultural field is “a network of sites, texts, producers and consumers that generates practice for and meaning of the body” (Smith Maguire, 2008a, p. 5) – and in this field, there exist power relations (Elias & Scotson, 1994; Maguire & Mansfield, 1998; Mansfield, 2005). This thesis will look at established and outsider figuration (E-O) of the body in the fitness field, through an examination of the historical and contemporary context.

Like Smith Maguire (2008a)'s example of the consumption of commercial fitness in New York, commercial fitness in Seoul, Korea has also existed since the 1970s. Since 2004, fitness consumption has increased in Korea, as is evidenced by a spike in the number of personal trainers for fitness consumers as well as the compilation of fitness-related programs by each broadcasting company, quantitative rises in fitness centres and the expansion of the sports and leisure market (Korean Sports White Paper, 2009). Therefore, this thesis will consider fitness as a cultural field in Korean society and examine the historical context under which it emerged (as documented in Korean newspapers), and analyze its contemporary contributing factors such as cadres of fitness experts or ‘cultural intermediaries’ (Bourdieu, 1984; Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2014) of fitness (TV producers and personal trainers), the fitness media (production process and texts), and fitness consumers.

Driven by these main concerns (the birth of consumer bodies, research status, fitness boom), the principal research questions will be:

1. How has the notion of the fit body been produced throughout Korean history?
  - Historically, how has E-O figuration of the body appeared in Korean newspapers?
2. How has the value of the fit body been produced through fitness media (production and text)?

- How has the production process of the fitness program influenced the formation of fitness text focusing on E-O figuration of the body?

3. Who are ‘cultural intermediaries’ of fitness in Korea, and what kind of roles do they play?

- How have TV producers and personal trainers intermediated between producers and consumers of fitness?
- How do they reproduce the belief on the body?
- How do they use their own tastes and experiences in their line of work?

4. Who has the relative power at fitness centres?

- How does E-O figuration of the body appear in fitness centres (Gangnam, Gangbuk, and Gangnam versus Gangbuk)?

Chapters 1 and 2 provide the theoretical background for the discussions in this thesis. In Chapter 1, the complementary relationships between the sociological work of Bourdieu (1984) and Elias (1994; 1969; 1982; 2000; Elias & Scotson, 1994) are explored. Before doing this work, I review both respectively. First, Bourdieu’s main concepts and theoretical issues are discussed: fitness as cultural field, the body as cultural and symbolic capital, and body-making habitus. Next, ‘Established and Outsider power relations’ and ‘civilizing process’ theories are reviewed. Elias’s theory of established-outsider relations is a medium for understanding the production and reproduction of body images (E-O) in unequal and dynamic power relations between and within the dominant and the subordinate in the fitness field (socio-historic context, media, health clubs, cultural intermediaries). Recognizing that both sociologists are concerned with the centrality of body power in relationships, it is emphasized that their conceptualization of power may be useful to advance knowledge about the body relationships in fitness contexts.

Chapter 2 presents a review of the extant literature concerning bodies, class, and fitness. Attention is given to a range of viewpoints that have concentrated on the fit body in understanding aspects of Korean consumer, tastes, and capital, fitness media production and text, and cultural intermediaries of the fit body. The contribution of a Bourdieu-Elias synthesis is highlighted for understanding Korean consumer bodies. In terms of the literature pertinent to this investigation, the review particularly regards the

works of body, fitness, and media concerning bodies and power relations, the production and reproduction of the fit body and habitus, and, the relations between fit bodies, class, and consumer culture.

In addition, the concept of cultural capital – which is one of the core analytic concepts of the thesis as well as a major concept that makes the dimension of class analysis become switched from economic analysis to cultural analysis – will be reviewed in comparison to the concept of economic capital. The speciality of academic capital in Korean society will also be reviewed. This discussion occupies an important position in understanding the mechanism of power and control surrounding the processes of social composition of the body and social management methods.

Currently, there are few published studies analyzing TV program production and texts simultaneously because of access problems. Especially, there is no literature concerning TV fitness program production processes, so I expand my review range here to include cultural and entertainment programs. Also, I review some research dealing with fitness magazines and manuals. Through this, I examine conceptual and theoretical issues of cultural intermediaries.

Chapter 3 presents the research design for the thesis. I discuss methodological issues in research, the quantitative and qualitative debate, figural approach regarding epistemological and ontological concerns, the field of qualitative research, practical issues of the methods I used, and ethical considerations. Next, I explain why I adopted the figural method in order to add value to the research process. With this, I discuss the issues of involvement and detachment. Finally, I describe how I collected research data and the methods I used: newspaper content analysis for historical context (De Oca, 2005), participant observation and interviews for fitness media production as well as textual analysis for fitness-related programs, interviews with cultural intermediaries (producers, star and general trainers) and participant observation and interviews for health clubs and members.

Chapter 4 examines how E-O figuration of the body in the fitness field and habitus has changed during each time period in Korean socio-historic contexts. This research study focuses on the emergence of the modern body in the 19th century, social bodies during the Park Chung-hee Regime, and the muscular syndrome since 2000. This chapter also examines how the advent of the Korean fit body differed from the ideal body of Western society. To this end, De Oca (2005)'s analytic method is applied in

order to understand how discourses about physical fitness, health, and appearance have been presented in Korean newspapers.

Chapter 5 looks at how the fitness media (production process and texts) produces a fitness discourse. In particular, it focuses on how the production process of the fitness media influenced the formation of fitness texts as well as how E-O figuration of the body is represented in the fitness texts. If the production process of media texts is an encoding process, then the inconsistency and tension that occur in the production process can be said to produce a certain discourse (van Zoonen, 1994). Therefore, analyzing the production process in this respect would be highly conducive toward constructing a profound understanding of media texts. To this end, this thesis uses textual analysis.

Chapter 6 inquires into TV producers who are related to body-making programs and personal trainers as to their feelings regarding their roles as cultural intermediaries of fitness (Bourdieu, 1984; Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2014; Y. Kim, 2007; Smith Maguire, 2008b; George, 2008). To this end, this thesis theoretically examines the explanation behind and justification for broadcasting companies' producers and personal trainers playing a role of cultural intermediaries. Then, this thesis looks at how these intermediaries manage to connect consumers and producers in the field of fitness through interviews with them.

Chapter 7 investigates how E-O figuration of the body among clubs, members, and personal trainers in Gangnam and Gangbuk fitness centres has been reproduced in Korean society. For this, first a narrative inquiry analysis is performed in order to understand the differences between the spaces. Then, through interviews and participant observation, members: trainers' power relations are analyzed by considering their distinctive-civilized bodies, their capital and habitus.

In the past, the field of fitness in Korea was an entity unique to the upper classes. However, it has now become something of an essential facet of universal Korean physical culture. Therefore, in order to examine such relations in a more comprehensive and topically pertinent manner, I observe fitness centres in areas where both the established and the outsiders live in an effort to further understand their power relations by interviewing their consumers working in those areas. Through this thesis, the examination of interest in the body that is spreading beyond age, gender, and class in the Korean society provided a method for making a serious multi-level inquiry into the different ways that individuals experience the body along with the unique

interpretations that each Korean constructs regarding their particular status within the E-O construct.

In summary, this thesis examines the cultural production and consumption of the Korean fit body emerging as a unique cultural syndrome. With less research having been conducted on fit bodies in Korea, the significance of this study lies in its examination of the process by which the meaning of the fit body is socially constructed and the point at which it becomes the foundation of social reproduction. Toward that end, it uses an exploratory research methodology to investigate the macro and micro perspectives related to the Korean body discourse. Thus, my thesis uses multiple methods and different sources of data to explore the fit body phenomenon in Korean society.

## **Chapter 1**

### **Established-Outsider Figuration of the Body in the Fitness Field: Bourdieu, Elias, and Their Complementary Usages**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the complementary usages of the theories of Bourdieu and Elias. Both theorists have made contributions to the understanding of the social construction of the body with through concepts like field/figuration, capital/power, and habitus - and recent attempts to explore a possible synthesis between Elias and Bourdieu have been productive (Maguire, 1993; Shilling, 2012; De Jong, 2001; Feng-Bing, 2005; Reed-Danahay, 2005; Paulle et al., 2011; 2012; Dunning & Hughes, 2013; Dépelteau, 2013). This chapter begins by reviewing Bourdieu and Elias's conceptual and theoretical issues. Then, a macro-level perspective of the theoretical framework is presented to show how to integrate and complement their concepts and theories for analyzing research questions. Examining some of the affinities and differences between Bourdieu and Elias, it is emphasized that there exists some crucial interplay between the two perspectives that are of use in understanding field/figuration, habitus, and capital/power.

Despite its original intention to connect structure and behaviours, Bourdieu's theory has been criticized for its structural determinist explanation (Jenkins, 2002; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007; Peterson, 2005). The main reason for this criticism is that the struggle for cultural capital occurs largely within the ruling class and that since habitus is determined by class, it contributes to justifying and reproducing existing class structures. Similarly, Jenkins (2002) criticizes the theory, stating that there is no analysis of how cultural production and consumption challenge the boundaries and content of existing legitimacy domains and how they can collapse or be hindered. Swartz (1977, p. 553-4) presents a view that the model of Bourdieu cannot be applied to all social groups but may be applied to certain social groups (middle and upper classes).

The current critique is about Bourdieu's cultural capital. The argument related to the 'omnivore-univore' thesis is presented by scholars from all around the world (Peterson & Kern, 1996). Bourdieu's cultural capital was aimed at French society in the

1960s, so it is limited in its application to different societies and time periods (Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Choi, 2006). Eliasian sociology has been critiqued in terms of historical perspectives (Giesey, 1987; Gordon, 1994; Deurr, 2006; Le Roy Ladurie, 2001), application to gender studies (Hargreaves, 1994; Horne and Jary, 1987) and the concept of combination (Layder, 1986; Fletcher, 1997), as per the review offered in chapter 3.

In spite of these critiques, the theories and concepts of Elias and Bourdieu are useful in doing research on cultural production, and the consumption of the fit body in Korea will be reviewed based on extant literature. The next section will introduce some of Bourdieu's insights into fitness as a cultural field as well as insights on capital, habitus and cultural intermediaries.

## **1.2 Bourdieu**

### *1.2.1 Fitness as a Cultural Field*

This thesis attempts to approach fitness from the perspective of Bourdieu's conceptualization of the cultural field. The usefulness of a particular field approach has been verified by prior studies (Bourdieu, 1984; 1990; 1993; Ferguson, 1998; Jarvie & Maguire, 1994; Jenkins, 2002; Laberge & Kay, 2002; Smith Maguire, 2008a). This does not separate consumption from production, nor does it explicitly distinguish between culture and economy, but it provides a way for us to research the aspects of fitness field with an 'ecumenical, inquiry-based and multi-method approach' focused on concrete products and practices (Ferguson, 1998, p. 598; Smith Maguire, 2008a, p. 7).

According to Bourdieu (1993), a society is not a disordered aggregate of individuals or groups, nor a hierarchical pyramid of classes, but rather, it consists of a multidimensional locational space putting together countless fields that are interconnected and that influence each other. His theory (1993) is that a society's fields of cultural production consist of a series of institutions, organizations, and actor groups performing specific duties in producing and distributing symbolic goods. In analysis of the fields of cultural production, the following points are considered. First, one must fully consider the major institutions, organizations, and actor groups in the fields of cultural production. Second, one should analyze their respective internal characteristics and types of interaction. Third, one must account for the positions of and mutual influence between the fields of cultural production in the whole social space.

Empirical studies that have formed the basis for his theory on the cultural field assume a period spanning from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-1970s, and utilize French society as the temporal and spatial backgrounds, and mainly deal with the literature and publication market. Considering the above, a field analysis is appropriate for narrow studies whose focus is confined to specific products and practices within certain time and space frames, rather than extensive relationships between the body and consumption (Smith Maguire, 2008a, p. 7).

In this context, Ferguson (1998) studied how the cultural field of gastronomy was formed in 19<sup>th</sup> century France. Her approach took an economic, institutional and ideological approach regarding the antecedents of the formation of the field. Based on Ferguson's study, Smith Maguire (2008a) researched how the field of fitness was culturally produced and consumed in metropolitan New York. This thesis uses the two models as its basic framework. They provide useful reference points in examining structural factors in fitness's emergence as a cultural field.

First of all, Ferguson (1998, p. 601) asserts that the emergence of a cultural field is enabled by new social and cultural conditions. This prompts the production of new goods, maintains people's social participation, and encourages their universal cultural interest. In other words, the emergence of a field requires the public's interest and participation. On the other hand, external stimuli are necessary for breaks from traditions and institutions (Smith Maguire, 2008a, pp. 5-6). Korean fitness has developed through various stages, including: the emergence of the fitness field, bodybuilding, health clubs, and current fitness clubs (Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, 2009). Before the formation of a consumption society, the Korean field of fitness had the two distinctive purposes of athletes' training exercises and the upper class's gatherings for social life and health (*MK newspaper*, 12 Nov. 1982). Along with the unfolding of a consumer society, the Korean fitness field is being transformed into a space where Koreans' bodies are shaped by new cultural conditions characterized by a decrease in working hours and an increase in leisure, economic growth, and individuals' investment in themselves (Shim, et al., 2006).

Second, a cultural field demands general enthusiasms. In order for a cultural field to exist, a market is needed for consumers and producers who are inclined to believe that the rules and rewards of the field are valid and worthwhile. Namely, a field is composed of actors with such tastes. Not everybody participates in this field. An individual's tastes in a specific field vary in accordance with their habitus. Therefore,

actors are stratified according to their preferences and tastes (Smith Maguire, 2008a, p. 6). While national judo athletes engaged in bodybuilding to enhance physical strength in the 1960s, commercial health clubs emerged from the 1970s, mainly for the upper class and these were operated for their social gatherings and health (J. Lee, 2009). By 2011, health clubs, or fitness centres, have become universalized and are found throughout the nation. Nonetheless, the tastes of participants are different in each health club. For example, there are female fitness groups that prefer women-only health clubs and participant groups who favour diverse fitness programs.

Third, the relative autonomy of a field creates boundaries of spaces for acting. In particular, a field forms a distinctive social space and produces new products and practices (Ferguson, 1998, p.601). The boundaries of spaces are determined by membership fees or entry fees as well as the physical factors of such spaces. They make basic differences between participants and non-participants. On the other hand, within the spaces, hierarchies are formed between ‘elite and non-elite producers and consumers’ (Ferguson, 1998, pp.605-6). In a capitalist nation, fitness consumers should select entry fees and physical spaces in order to enter the field of a commercial health or fitness club. In other words, fitness in Korean society operates within relative autonomy only with respect to the limits imposed by the special relationship between capital and the society. For instance, the fitness club membership price of a five-star hotel in Seoul is an average of ₩50,000,000 to 100,000,000<sup>2</sup>, and the average annual fee for other top clubs averages around ₩5,000,000<sup>3</sup> (ACE membership trading company, 2010, the couple membership criteria). According to a domestic fitness network (<http://club.muji.co.kr>), the average monthly fee differs between Gangnam and Gangbuk. The former is ₩150,000<sup>4</sup> and the latter is ₩60,000 to 70,000<sup>5</sup>, so the cost of two spaces differs by more than a factor of two.

Fourth, actors in a field strive to ameliorate their relative position and intensify management of resources through ‘networks of authority and prestige’. ‘Such networks standardize and institutionalize one field’s stakes, definitions, knowledge, and hierarchy of positions’ (Smith Maguire, 2008a, p. 6). However, they also make field participants share stable channels. They exchange opinions, discuss practices, and confirm common

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<sup>2</sup> ₩30,000 to 60,000

<sup>3</sup> ₩3,000

<sup>4</sup> ₩35 to 40

<sup>5</sup> ₩90

assumptions. Accordingly, fields require “second-order” products of fields—for instance, specific texts (Ferguson, 1998, p. 600). Popular and specialized publications, forms of expertise, qualifications, and distinction are standardized and regulated. Therefore, participation in a field leads to immediate consumption of means or media (Smith Maguire, 2008a, p.6). Fitness consumers approach various resources and obtain diverse information in order to make their body ideal. Fitness-related media exist as a form of channel. In the case of Korea, fitness magazines are not universal in both quantitative and qualitative terms. Therefore, consumption of TV programs that fitness consumers can commonly gain access to is more suitable for them. Fitness-related programs organized by Korean broadcasters are presided over by renowned personal trainers and *momzzang* (fit body) entertainers; whereas ordinary people and entertainers who want to change their bodies participate in these programs. Additionally, interest in making the body more fit in the publishing market as well as on TV programs is a readily identifiable trend. Diet-related books are targeted at women while TV series concerned with constructing the ideally fit body are specifically directed toward men. New parts of the series that deal with toning or slimming the belly, thighs, buttocks, or chest are being published and broadcasted continuously (Chang & Choi, 2005).

Finally, competition between sites and actors is inherent in competitive social arenas. Some participants will excel in their fitness activities and practices, while others will not. Actors will attempt to gain access to and control of specific resources in order to achieve success in the fitness field. Their positions in the field depend on the relative concentration of particular forms of social, cultural and embodied capital (Smith Maguire, 2008a, p. 7). The difference between the novice and the expert in the fitness centres appears to be quite clearly manifested in how they approach the use of certain types of exercise equipment. For beginners, they have a tendency to exercise on the treadmill for a relatively long time because they do not know how to use other lifting machines properly. On the other hand, the established clientele are more likely to use machines focused on enhancing particular body parts for an allocated period of time. Moreover, this established group is comparably more active in that they tend to hire personal trainers in order to perfect their pursuit of the ideally fit body. The established group is also readily identifiable by their fitness outfits; social networks, access to other activity programs, and toned bodies that have been acquired through their extended participation in the fitness system. Every field follows its own internal rules and shares general rules. That is to say, those who have the dominant position in a given field

inevitably adopt defensive and conservative retention strategies to maintain their position, and newcomers who intend to enter the field develop subversion strategies aimed at destroying rules that dominate the field while admitting the field's justice; here exist the dynamics of the field.

### *1.2.2 Class, Capital, and Habitus*

Bourdieu's theory is important because physical activity plays an important role in bridging the gap between socioeconomic classes in any culture (Smith Maguire, 2008a; Stempel, 2005; White & Wilson, 1999; Wilson, 2002). In the study of Stempel (2005), which raised doubts concerning the assertion that classification of the sports of lower classes and upper class was indeed meaningful, it was revealed that in the contemporary social trends in which the distinction between the classes is somewhat unclear, a kind of cultural distancing strategy of the upper classes was emerging that helped them to distinguish their identity or other social status from those of other classes. These authors found that the people in the upper class were using lively cardio sports, medium-level weight training and competitive sports in which violent trends or direct physical control were limited in an effort to draw a sort of boundary line between themselves and the lower classes.

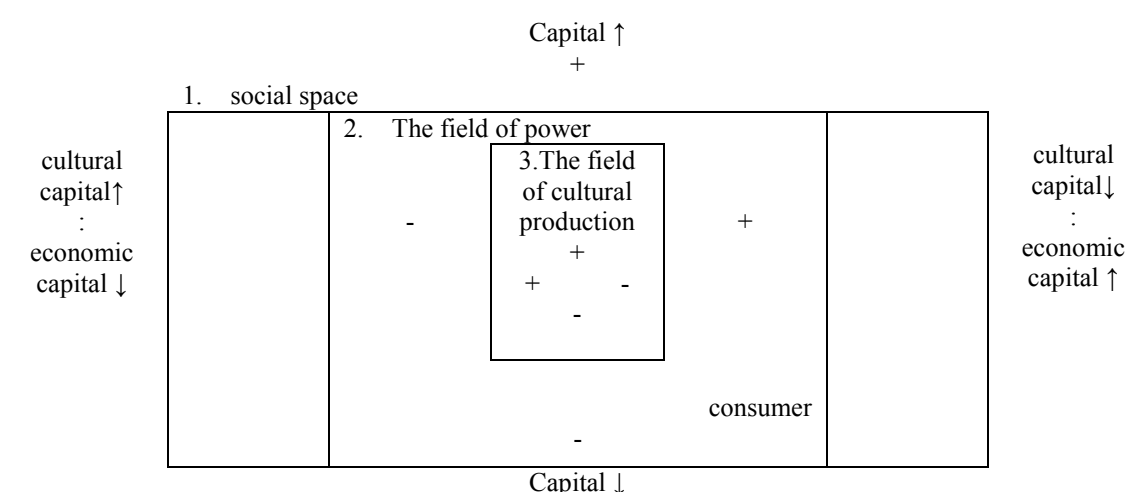
However, studies applying cultural capital theory have not shown consistent results. In the U.S., Bourdieu's theory was supported initially, but has subsequently been criticized. For example, Peterson proposed Omnivore theory to modify the theory of Bourdieu (Peterson & Kern, 1996; Peterson, 2005), although Holt (1998) and Dumais (Dumais, 2002; Dumais & Ward, 2010) advocate that Bourdieu's theory still has high levels of explanatory power in American society.

Cultural capital includes habitus that has been uniquely formed by home training. In other words, seeing artistic works and developing the ability to criticize – along with other qualitative measurements of achievement such as school grades and certificates – are also included as a form of cultural capital. This cultural capital is transferred by family or produced by educational systems, and it exists in three particular forms (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986). First, there is the continuous stage of embodied status that includes one's way of thinking, talking, and interpretation of gestures. This status is characteristic of the external richness forming within the mind, and thus it takes a long time to transfer to others – in addition to being rather difficult to transfer. Secondly, we

have the objectified status that includes books, arts, dictionaries, machines, and tools. Lastly, there is the institutionalized status that is seen as an authorized form of qualification that includes certain types of certifications. Therefore, habitus seems to manifest itself differently depending on the characteristics of cultural capital in the study, and it may have an effect on the relationship between one's dependence on vested rights and the role of outsiders in forming a person's habitus.

Bourdieu never mentioned physical capital directly, instead stating that the role of capitalization can be achieved through bodies. The only related term that he has mentioned is that of accumulated status of cultural capital. This term has been changed from embodied capital to physical capital by the advancing studies of capital analysis within the arena of sports and leisure (Shilling, 2012). Shilling indicates that a body can contribute to the reproduction of social inequality through the vector of material conditions by focusing on the relationship between sports and bodies. He claims that there are two dimensions of physical capital, i.e. production and conversion. Production of physical capital shows that the value of developing one's body and its method can be changed depending on one's social status. Physical capital that has been produced through these stages can later be converted into additional cultural or social capital.

Consumption of cultural goods depends on such material and symbolic production while at the same time influencing such production. Namely, the production and consumption of cultural goods are closely related and serve as the *seminus* for each other. Whereas production is performed by those with a lot of cultural capital in specialized fields, consumption also is largely led by upper and middle class people with a lot of total capital (economic and cultural capital). Bourdieu (1993, pp. 37-46) argues that production and consumption are not intentionally coordinated, but rather they are structurally accorded. For instance, in the field of fitness production, groups with a lot of body capital will produce body shaping, whereas those with a small amount of body capital will produce weight loss. This body shaping is mostly consumed by class segments owning a lot of cultural capital. To explain this with Figure 1.1 (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 38), when production is made at + of 3, social actors located in the left side above 1 are likely to make consumption.



+: dominant, -: subordinate

**Figure 1. 1:** The field of cultural production and the field of power

(Source: Bourdieu, 1993, p. 38)

This thesis considers the field of fitness as a cultural field based on theoretical backgrounds. There are the established and outsider body groups. In each of these fields, capital is developed through recognition and reorganization as dominant values that shape a person's habitus. The individuals who embody a certain habitus stay consistently dominant in the field, and in doing so force people who do not have embodied capitals to acquire such when they enter into the field of fitness. There are already structural rules dominating the fields, so participants must act within the contextual boundaries of said field. Individual or collective entities may try symbolic struggles to internally confirm their perspectives and interpretations as absolute justification for their actions; thus leading to the creation of an organic hierarchy within the group. Finally, the concept of field study highlights the importance of symbolic dominance during classical differentiation and conflicts it creates. As time progresses, this cycle is repeated and the habitus of the space will be made robust for the long term. Eventually, the traditions of the space will become accepted as virtual law.

### 1.2.3 Cultural Intermediaries

Discussions about cultural intermediaries started from Pierre Bourdieu's *La Distinction*. I will refer back to his text in order to look at what exactly he intended with the concept of cultural intermediaries and what professions he indicated:

The new petite bourgeoisie comes into its own in all the occupations involving presentation and representation (sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, fashion, decoration and so forth) and in all the institutions providing symbolic goods and services. These include the various jobs in medical and social assistance (marriage guidance, sex therapy, dietetics, vocational guidance, paediatric advice, etc.) and in cultural production and organization (youth leaders, play readers, tutors and monitors, radio and TV producers and presenters, magazine journalists), which have expanded considerably in recent years; but also some established occupations,..., that are closer in lifestyle to the cultural intermediaries (1984, p. 359).

Bourdieu (1984) explained that the new petite bourgeoisies were exemplified by the new cultural intermediaries such as the leaders of cultural activities. The meanings of the concept of cultural intermediaries that have been presented so far in the academic field are as follows (Featherstone, 1991b; Mcfall, 2002; Negus, 2000; 2002; Wright, 2005; Smith Maguire, 2008a; 2008b; Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2014; Lee, 2010).

First, this concept provides a framework through which we may systematically understand different actors that sit between cultural producers and consumers. This denies a single linear perspective about relationships between producers and consumers in cultural analysis. Rather, countless cultural intermediaries intervene between production and consumption and perform connections between them in a particular way. Such intermediation is also related to the field of reproduction with regards to power relationships and inequality. Secondly, the emergence of this concept triggered a transition from a perspective that emphasized the determination of culture by economic constraints or the economy to one that is concerned with how exactly changes in culture can lead to changes in the economy. In other words, Bourdieu's analysis of cultural intermediaries has drawn attention to the relationship between cultural practice and economic practice, as opposed to separating them and dealing with them piece by piece. This theory is estimated to play an important role in reviving the viewpoint of cultural economy within the academic community.

Bourdieu's analysis has also opened interest in groups of the population that encourage new cultural tastes and lifestyles in the post-modern society. These groups are mostly comprised of newly emerged members of the middle class that are seeking to actively disseminate their own values – values such as identity, appearance, pursuit of

new experiences, and new attitudes toward life. Such activities have greatly contributed to the spread of post-modern consumption culture.

However, Nixon (1997, pp. 216-7) argues that Bourdieu's analysis of cultural intermediaries has an excessively homogeneous form. He posits instead that variants of identity such as these groups' organizational culture and their gender or ethnicity within said culture should be considered, and that their values or lifestyles cannot be regarded as exclusively conservative. Here, Nixon and du Gay (2002) stress that although Bourdieu uses the term "new cultural intermediaries", it is questionable how historically new professions related to journalism, broadcasting, and advertisement truly fit his novel nomenclature given how much their scope and effective audience have increased. Because of this, extended research into the roles and influences of these new cultural intermediaries is necessary as opposed to quibbling over the novelty or growth of this group. In a similar context, McFall (2002) has raised a question about whether advertisement producers can be called new cultural intermediaries by incorporating a historical illumination of English broadcasting producers into her analysis.

Negus (2002) and Wright (2005) pay due attention to the fact that the professions of cultural intermediaries are not confined to the new petite bourgeoisie but cover both the bourgeois and the working classes. Negus challenges the notion which asserts that cultural intermediaries receded from a definition in which culture exists as the sum of lifestyles. In light of this dissention, Negus seeks to refer only to meaningful and symbolic products, thus leading to the inclusion of only specific professions in the group of the aforementioned new cultural intermediaries.

Hesmondhalgh (2006) does not agree that the scope of cultural intermediaries should be expanded to professions of other classes who engage in cultural areas with a wide-ranging meaning. He argues that such expansion was borne from the confusion of considering the new petite bourgeoisie and cultural intermediaries as being one and the same (Hesmondhalgh, 2006, pp. 226-7). According to him, Bourdieu's sociology has a very narrow scope in that his cultural intermediaries practically indicate critics and are not to be used as a tool for encompassing and analyzing different professions that perform different kinds of intermediation between production and consumption. Despite such criticism, however, the usefulness of the concept of cultural intermediaries in the academic world is recognized, and the focus is being placed on concrete empirical research in consideration of the reality of minute differences and differentiation between professions within the cultural industry.

In the next section, some of Elias's insights into Established and Outsider (E-O) figuration, the civilizing process, and E-O figuration of the body and the pronoun model will be reviewed.

### **1.3 Elias**

#### *1.3.1 Established and Outsider Figuration*

In this thesis, the fitness centre is examined as a primary site for the cultural field. There is a body power relationship between established and outsider entities here. To achieve this goal, it is very useful to borrow a theory proposed by Elias and Scotson (1994) regarding established people and the outsiders.

In the late 1950s, which was the era being studied, three groups lived in different areas at Winston Parva near Leicester in the U.K. What were referred to as 'the old families' lived in Zone 1 (middle class) and Zone 2 (laborers), while the despised group in the society lived in Zone 3 (laborers). The major groups living in Zones 2 (the village), and 3 (the estate) were laborers, and there existed substantial differences with respect to the terms of their residency. Elias and Scotson (1994) regarded residents as either established or outsiders. The long-residency people were regarded as established (Zone1 and Zone2) while the newcomers were regarded as outsiders (Zone3). The established group (Zone1 and Zone2) shifted blame to outsiders through the use of negative labels and images, thereby allowing them to see themselves as an ideal group. The outsiders also internalized the bad images expressed by the established. Through various interactions, the established group's evaluation led them to believe that they are in better shape and more respected than the outsiders. That is a position ideology of the long-residency family. Elias and Scotson (1994) confirmed that the level of self-restraint and self-control for long-residency established groups is higher than for the outsiders. The high degree of self-control, mutual control and conformity were essential to maintaining the charisma of the group. Elias asserted that the social forces acting upon people with high degrees of self-control and self-restraint are dependent upon the central feature of the process of civilization. The compatibility of the long-residency family was observed well in this process. The long-residency family is obsessed with their own value systems and belief systems and their faith as a group is so rigid that they could not realize that most of the residents in Zone1 were quite rigid. This rigidity of community trust is one side of the coin and it shows the obsessions that this group has

with its own station.

This research on the relational power between established groups and outsiders within the context of the fitness centre offers the following points. First, the people who exercise at the fitness centre will operate in an interdependent manner within this social space. There will be unequal power relations. Secondly, gossip about people's bodies will convey the image of an outsider as people continuously internalize these conversations. As pointed out by Elias and Scotson, these 'socio-dynamics of stigmatization' (Elias & Scotson, 1994, p. xix) will construct and reconstruct 'We-ideals' and 'They-images.' The gossip networks between established and outsider groups will play a significant role for We/They ideals. Finally, there will be civilizing processes such as 'higher degree of self-restraint,' and 'more firmly regulated behaviour' (Elias & Scotson, 1994, p. 153).

Based on this theory, E-O figuration is formed by focusing on numerous forces within the fields of sports, fitness and civilization process. The mutual dependence produces no small degree of structural tension, conflict and struggle. Power relations between the established and the outsider are of utmost importance as well (Maguire and Mansfield, 1998; Mansfield, 2005; Liston, 2005; Dunning, 1999; Velija, 2011).

Especially, Maguire and Mansfield (1998) assert that the power, gender and identity of a woman's body are constructed through aerobics, and the dance studio was used for researching this interrelationship, accompanied by interviews with the participants. Mansfield (2005) approached the relationship between established and outsider females in the fitness centre in terms of the feminist and figural points of view, and to achieve this goal, the researcher entered the field as a participant and observer in order to have a better ethnographic perspective. In these studies, two methods of involvement and detachment were used. Through this, and by considering the historical experience in terms of more general insight and perspective, both a 'They-perspective' that took a more objective viewpoint, and a more subjective 'We-perspective' were useful.

In a fitness field, a relationship between the established and the outsiders is an interdependent and dynamic process. They form a flow influencing each other, amid which they create power relations and proceed with a kind of power game. Therefore, changes come from the two groups' intentions to maintain or expand their own power. However, they do not pursue the logic of a zero-sum game that extinguishes each other's existence. This is because one is the basis for the other's existence.

### 1.3.2 *The Civilizing Process*

In his major book *The Civilizing Process* (1969; 1982; 2000), Norbert Elias integrates individuals' histories into a long-term social history. Through this work, he traces the psychological and social origins of modern European civilization. The concept of civilization, as presented by Elias, changes in a historical sense. In other words, the civilizing process refers to a series of certain changes in people's personality structures that started from around the late Middle Ages. Such complicated changes include universal tendencies of increased self-control in interpersonal relationships and heightened standards of shame and embarrassment. He went beyond simply accepting civilization as a static concept as contrasted with barbarism or expressing the West's superiority. By examining the process under which standards of what formed civilization change through the flow of history, he shows that the process of social development in a more comprehensive respect is connected with the formation of the concept of civilization.

Elias (2000) defines the civilizing process in two dimensions. First, in a psychogenetic dimension, it means diverse socio-psychological processes of change including refinement of external etiquette, a tendency to keep all physiological functions in secrecy, increase in behaviours with a long-term perspective and prediction, restraint of impulse and emotions, development of superego, and conversion from external compulsion to internal control. Second, in a socio-genetic dimension, it refers to macro phenomena such as changes in the way people form relationships with each other, social differentiation and the process of state formation. In this context, the premise of the theory of the civilizing process is that a society's long-term development and humans' social behaviours and emotions are closely related (Mennell & Goudsblom, 1988).

This thesis regards the point at which the Korean body was modernized as the moment in which *Danballyeong* (an ordinance prohibiting topknots) was proclaimed in 1895. Under Japanese colonial rule, the nation ordered people to get haircuts under the pretext of hygiene, which brought about changes in clothing that went well with short hair. Upper class women kept company with other women by frequenting boutiques and pursued a modernized body for fashion, while an un-modernized body in the lower classes led to unemployment. Later, while going through the Korean War and the American military government period, Korea presented a strong image of manhood for

the modernization of the nation. The popularization of TV enabled people to watch Hollywood movies, piquing their interest in a Western body shape. In the 1960s, the Bodybuilding Association was formed for physical training of national Judo athletes under the umbrella of the Judo Association. Bodybuilding began as something more popular with the lower classes, while health clubs were created by the upper class and served the purpose of facilitating social gatherings and improving health. Before the 1990s, the high membership costs of entry to fitness clubs, made fitness an activity not everyone could afford. There were some clubs providing service at low costs, but fitness did not establish itself as a universal sport. As the nation transitioned into becoming a consumption society after the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, people started to have interest in their health and leisure, a pursuit facilitated by decreased labour hours. From the advent of the second consumption society, namely when the nation was bailed out by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Korea's consumption structure was reorganized. The well-being and *Momzzang* booms which struck the nation from the early 2000s acted as an opportunity for Koreans to reconsider their own bodies, and as a result people increasingly visited fitness clubs. Koreans' changes in their bodies are a process of historical transformation. From this process's perspective, control at the state level results in individuals' internalization processes.

The application of the theory of Elias is conducted primarily in the field of sociology of sport in Korea— for example, there are studies done on domestic sports and their relationship to the civilization process (Park, 2007; Park & Kim, 2005; Song, 2004; Kim, 1999) The usefulness of Elias' theory has potentially huge ramifications for current and future research in sports, sociology, sociology of health and illness, historical sociology, etc. For example, Elias's analysis of court society provides significant implications regarding the analysis of organizational culture as well as discourse concerning power relations within the organization. The long-term approaches to development of Elias and its consequent fluctuations can be applied usefully in order to develop a more comprehensive understanding of difficult concepts such as progressive or evolutionary capital. In addition, the established-outsider relation would be useful for analysis on multiculturalism, racism, and particularly cultural identity as a result of a recent uptick in immigration (van Krieken, 2001).

Elias's concept of civilization can be identified as a transition process from coercive external control into voluntary self-regulation (2000, pp. 312-36). Elias discusses the course of the civilization of the body through the control of physical

violence in *The Court Society* (1969). The monopoly of physical violence by the nation has changed the method of social control with respect to personal behaviour. It shows that power creates cultures. Therefore, this thesis depends on Elias's theory of the civilizing project as its theoretical framework in order to look at how Koreans' bodies have changed in historical terms and how fitness has emerged, unfolded, and developed in this process.

### *1.3.3 E–O Figuration of the Body and the Pronoun Model*

The concept of the figuration is a tool for expressing the plural existence of human beings sociologically (Elias, 1970). Elias preferred the concept of plural humanity to singular humanity, which he defends through the pronoun model (Elias, 1970). A figuration is like an aspect of a game – and in this game, the relations among I and they or we and them have been preformed and accordingly stratified. Elias used the concept of emotive cohesions or bonds to illustrate this figuration – for example, the village group believed that they were more civilized than the estate. The estate was referred to as Rat Alley by the village (Elias & Scotson, 1994). The established group also mentioned that the outsider group was less restrained in their leisure time. For example, they cited an instance in which the outsider group started a disturbance in the local pub, demonizing them as incapable of controlling their alcohol and using proper language. In this case, group charisma was linked with excessive figuration of the we ideal (Elias, 1978, p. 119), and it is quite clear that such a concept of self-identity and images of humans is not reconcilable with the available data concerning this subject. People's images of themselves (I images) and of others (We images and They images) have historically taken shape as a result of gradual integration and modification within the collective ethos and ideologies of various independent groups (Mennell, 1994).

Elias (1978, p. 124) explained that the pronouns are relational and functional; they express a position relative either to the speaker at the moment or relative to the whole intercommunicating group. For Elias, human persons should not be thought of as simply experiencing the process of formative identity; as individuals involved in the process of exercise are at once part of a larger society of active individuals (Mansfield, 2005). People who have the fit body cannot be treated separately from people who have non-fit bodies. Therefore, the concept of the individual I is formed as a result of relations with you (singular), he, she, we, you (plural) and they in

communication. The pronoun I‘ can only be understood considering all other pronouns‘ references and perspectives.

According to Billing (1995), the media contribute to the formation of national ideology with the usage of nationalized pronouns, discrimination within international and domestic news events, and mark-less nation-specific frames. Elias (1996) showed German habitus, personality, social construct, behaviours, and how German I/we images had been presented throughout history and patterns of social development. These assets of citizens have been accumulated, internalized, and pervaded into the habitus, which can be accurately described as the second nature of German citizens.

One person is not only an I‘ but also a part of the we‘ group. His/her identity is based on the relations among gender, class, age, sexuality, religion, geographic region or ethnicity (Poulton, 2004, p. 438). Especially, the I/WE image‘ is potentially related to the nation (Anderson, 2006; Elias, 1996; Maguire & Poulton, 1999). In this context, research has mainly focused on sporting events and games, national identities, habitus, E-O relations, and I/we imagery (Poulton, 2004; Maguire et al., 1999a; Maguire et al., 1999b; Maguire & Poulton, 1999). The discussion surrounding E-O relationship (Elias & Scotson, 1994) as presented in the media has been dealt with by previous research (Poulton, 2004; Maguire et al., 1999a; Maguire et al., 1999b; Maguire & Poulton, 1999). Maguire et al. (1999a) analyzed natures and conventions of reported content from English and German media among reports from the 1996 European Football Championships (Euro 96). This study shows how the national identity and identity politics of each country can be built and reproduced. In a similar context, Maguire and Poulton (1999) researched how each European country built its national identity per media discussions based on invented traditions‘ and national habitus codes‘. Therefore, this thesis examines the relations of the E-O fitness figuration including their class, age, and gender in the past and present within Korean media and fitness consumers. Through this process, we can understand the role of the Korean media in choosing who has the fit and non-fit bodies, and address the power dynamics between them.

#### **1.4 Theoretical Framework: E-O Figuration of the Body in the Fitness Field**

This study’s basic two axes are predicated upon the theories of Bourdieu and Elias. Elias and Bourdieu provide these with their field-theoretic, power-centred, and habitus based approaches‘ (Paulle et al., 2011, p. 166). Bourdieu and Elias have tried to

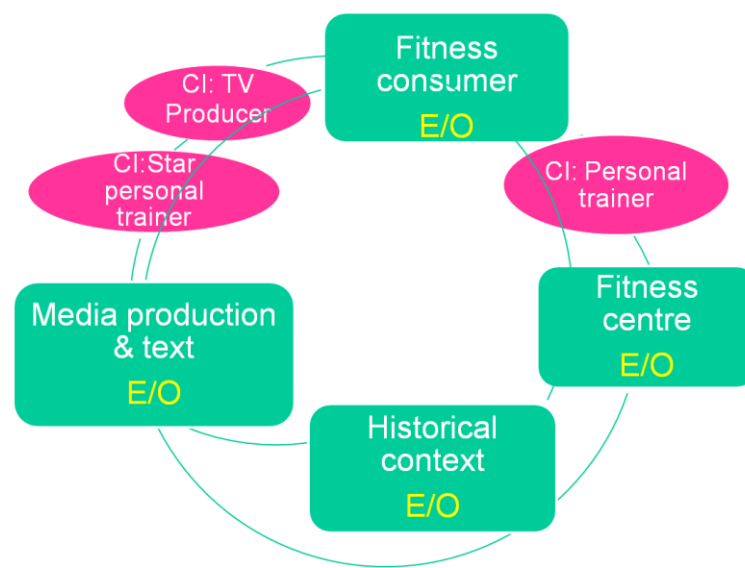
overcome binary opposition in dualisms such as individual-society, agent-structure, and objectivism-subjectivism by integrating macro and micro perspectives (Maguire, 1993; Shilling, 2012; De Jong, 2001; Paulle et al., 2012; Dunning & Hughes, 2013). Currently, relational and Eliasian sociologists have discussed the complementary usage of the two theories and the respective affinities of their main concepts: ‘\_field-figuration’, ‘\_capital/power’, and ‘\_habitus’ (Paulle et al., 2012; Dunning & Hughes, 2013; Feng-Bing, 2005; Dépelteau & Landini, 2013; Reed-Danahay, 2005). For Elias, figuration is ‘\_webs of interdependence’ (Elias, 1978, p. 15). His concept is similar to Bourdieu’s field ‘\_systems of relations’ (1989, p. 16) and ‘\_a network or a configuration’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 92). However, in Elias’s figuration, ‘\_emotional bonds’ have been taken into consideration and the concept of figuration concerns complex human interdependencies (Feng-Bing, 2005; Connolly, 2004). Its difference is evidenced more clearly in Elias’s words:

As well as interpersonal there will be bonds connecting people to the symbols of larger units, to coats of arms, to flags and to emotionally charged concepts (Elias, 1978, p. 137).

The differences of ‘\_social capital/social exclusion’ and ‘\_body capital/ body power’ can be considered as not conceptual, but terminological (Paulle et al., 2012). They suggest game models (Elias, 1978; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 98-100) and emphasize the social classes and habitus. For both sociologists, habitus is a strategic concept to binary opposition of micro versus macro (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Elias, 1978). They have conceptual similarities (Dépelteau, 2013; Paulle et al., 2012; Dunning & Hughes, 2013). Bourdieu (1989, p. 18) defines habitus as ‘\_mental structures’ and ‘\_second nature.’ In Bourdieu’s *Distinction* and Elias’s *Civilizing Process*, habitus manifests itself in human bodies, appearances, and verbal and non-verbal communications. Dépelteau (2013, p. 278) pointed out that Elias’ concept of habitus is not biological, but social: ‘\_In *The Germans* and *The Civilizing Process*, Elias connected this concept to social classes and larger figurations, thanks to the notions of national habitus and civilized societies.’ Mennell (1992, p. 30) also has discussed ‘\_that level of personality characteristics which individuals share in common with fellow members of their social groups.’ In addition, habitus is an historical and procedural concept (Elias, 1969; Bourdieu, 1984). Dépelteau (2013, p. 275) contends that Bourdieu’s work,

‘specifically his focus on social inequalities, domination, and symbolic violence’, can be helpful for overcoming Eliasian conceptual limitations. Elias’ figurational approach can help the criticism about Bourdieu’s (co) deterministic method and the problem related to actors (Paulle et al., 2012; Dunning & Hughes, 2013; Maguire, 1993; Shilling, 1993; De Jong, 2001).

In this thesis, the fitness field is a cobweb with connecting historical contexts, fitness media (production and text), fitness centres, fitness consumers and cultural intermediaries making practices for and sense of the body (see Fig. 1.2).



**Figure 1. 2:** E-O Figuration of the Body in the Fitness Field

There are power relations that exist between the established body group and the outsider body group, and certain forms of capital shape their respective statuses (social, cultural, and embodied).

According to Elias and Scotson (1994), the established groups tends to consider a disagreeable aspect of a disorderly minority of the outsider group to be representative of the whole group (group infamy), while identifying their self-portrait as a whole with that of the best minority in their own group (group charisma). The presence of an outsider in the established group is perceived to be an attack on the established group’s ‘we-image’ and ‘we-ideal.’ Accordingly, the established group rejects any outsider and wages a counterattack by means of stigmatization. The clue to this issue lies in the concept of figuration, which is a type of mutual reliance among them. The core of the

figuration is an unequal power and resulting tension. As discussed above, a power inequality exists between the established and the outsider body groups in the fitness field as well. Here, the established group develops new strategies of action to preserve their civilized status and maintain their distinctiveness from the outsider group, embarking on socially stigmatizing the outsider group in the fitness field. Such attempts at differentiation are associated with Bourdieu's argument.

Bourdieu (1984, pp. 171-2) defines people's patterns of behaviour, or the principle or the classification system of practices revealing distinctiveness and differentiation in a society to be *'habitus'*. Habitus is the sum total of a certain member's way of thinking, emotional structure, and behaviour patterns and is different according to each ethnicity and each era (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 170; Jin, 2007, p. 11). As a result of a habitus that is formed and practiced as such, society is structured with multiple kinds of classes such as social class, gender and age.

The habitus most clearly shows up in individual tastes. Taste can be explained with respect to such questions as what music someone listen to, what foods they eat, what they do during their spare time and what sports they enjoy. Further, taste can serve as an indicator of a person's class. The issue of taste is personal, and at the same time reflects an objective social order or a class order. It is the expression of taste that the upper-class people rely on to separate themselves from the lower or the middle classes (Bourdieu, 1984).

In this study, TV producers and trainers are considered as cultural intermediaries of the fit body who are responsible for drawing the connections between body consumers and producers. As taste-makers of fitness in Korean society, they reproduce the belief in the fit body and its symbolic power. The established group with the fit body appearing on fitness-related TV programs present a positive *'we-image'* whereas the outsider group with the non-fit body is presented to have a negative *'they-image'*. People belonging to the same social class share a habitus and a taste. Meanwhile, if the habitus and differences of taste revealed in the habitus are nothing but criteria to divide classes, they are probably far from special concerns. Critically, the established group occupying the dominant position uses the habitus as a medium to exercise symbolic violence against the outsider group, and further to justify their dominance and maintain the order of domination based on symbolic violence (Cushion & Jones, 2006, p. 144).

One of Bourdieu and Elias's common denominators is symbolic violence between the established and the outsiders. Bourdieu suggested the concept of symbolic

violence as a form of domination. As the analyses of marriage in the Arab region (Bourdieu, 2001) and collective tastes in modern consumer society can be seen, Bourdieu's basic problem is focused on how social order has been maintained in the world – that is, to seize and appraise the sum of relations of which society consists. According to Elias and Scotson (1994)'s work, the 'rough' impression of the estate people was not true. However, the image of the group (Zone 3) remained unchanged because it was firmly planted in the village people and continued to be passed down to the next generation. A symbolic violence occurs in this process. Elias did not use the terminology symbolic violence, but the discussion about violence is one of the main points in his writings. The established group can stigmatize the outsider based on their priorities in a power ratio, thus excluding them from their resources. For example, the village people exclude the estate from chances to participate in leisure activities both intentionally and unintentionally. Top families of the first zone and the second zone went to St. Michael's Church and they were members of organizations linked to the church. They give the lowest hierarchy position to the third zone: 'They are different.' In the cases of 'Evergreens' the Old People's club and 'Winston Parva Prize Temperance Band', the village people's ties are strengthened; but the estate people ignore or hate them. The established exclude the outsiders through their social networks.

The issues of symbolic power and violence happen in the fitness field. Fitness capital can be considered as one element of cultural capital. It can be a power resource in the fitness field (Smith Maguire, 2008a). Fitness capital includes body status, fitness knowledge and workout technique. Consumption activities such as joining executive fitness centres or general health clubs are revealed for their positive impact on social and economic hierarchies. This cultural consumption is more complex in capitalist society today in that it succeeds in bringing about differentiation. In consumer fitness culture, there are habitus clues for identifying certain social-economic hierarchies (Smith Maguire, 2008a; Mansfield, 2005; Maguire & Mansfield, 1998; Jarvie & Maguire, 1994; Coakley, 2009).

In the 'Civilizing Process', the civilized upper class lifestyle that cannot keep up with people of the lower classes had been developed and sophisticated increasingly in the relationship between social classes. As revealed in Bourdieu's food culture (1984), whether one uses all or only one of an available assortment of cutleries is a matter of personal preference. The important thing is that each individual's distinctive tastes reveal their habitus. All human beings are primates and thus we have common primate

characteristics. But a human's thinking about specific issues, feelings about a particular case, or responses to a specific stimulus are different in accordance with their ethnicity and temporal context. The human body has consistent social and historical layers as the basis of an innate human nature. Bourdieu described the desire to differentiate more structurally. Even if a taste looks like a pure, neutral, and personal phenomenon, it still reflects a person's social class position (Bourdieu, 1984). Eventually social classes become dependent on non-material and material assets because tastes are earned and thus tendencies are acquired in each individual's life. Thus, the concept of habitus was introduced in order to recognize the relationship between these social conditions and preferences.

## **1.5 Conclusion**

The main aim of this chapter has been to demonstrate the significance of Bourdieu and Elias's works in understanding the E-O figuration of the fit body in the fitness field. The review of literature in this chapter illustrated that a range of theoretical insights are being employed in proposing questions about field/figuration, capital/power and habitus. This chapter also presented an overview of the contribution of several sociologists who have developed Bourdieu and Elias-driven perspectives in addressing questions about E-O figuration of the body in the fitness field.

The complementary usage of the two theorists' works will be used to examine South Korean body issues. Attention will be paid to Korean historical context, fitness media, fitness consumers and cultural intermediaries in an attempt to reveal the way in which the media reinforces the notions of E-O figuration of the body in the fitness field. Given this, the next chapter identifies and explains how a synthesis of Bourdieu and Elias's concepts and theories has been useful in shedding light on issues of the Korean fit body within the parameters of this thesis.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Literature Review: Bodies, Class and Fitness**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Chapter 2 reviews the empirical literature related to bodies, class and fitness, informed by diverse theoretical angles. This chapter begins with an overview of body issues in Korea, and outlines some of the perspectives that have been utilized in seeking to understand the Established-Outsider figuration of the body in the fitness field. The second part of this chapter addresses class issues related to the body, especially *Hakbeol* (academic) capital, and deals with the arguments concerning class, capital, consumer culture and tastes, in both Western and Korean societies. Finally, the third part examines aspects of fitness culture such as media production, program texts, and cultural intermediaries.

#### **2.2 An Overview of the Body Issues in Korea**

This section introduces the Western and Korean research backgrounds in relation to how the body has become an important subject in social science. It will examine the achievements of existing research and identify some of the limitations associated with the process by which studies of the body came to establish an independent area in Korean society.

Western theories of the body were introduced into Korean society from the early 1990s onwards. In the journal *Culture Science*, theoretical discussions on the body were actively initiated with the publication of an article by Featherstone (1991a). From then on, scholars started to follow more socially constructive approaches; developing an interest in social methods that view the body as a definable social product. At the time, most of the domestic discussions of the body were informed by Western theorists – including Foucault. However, these were mostly theoretical reviews as part of an effort to combine with Korean society, and had not yet expanded to empirical studies. For example, the application of Foucault's conceptualization of discourse to the body has been significant in studying the body in Korean society from its introduction until today.

Also, Foucault's conceptualization of neoliberal Governmentality has been used in analyzing body makeover shows in Korean research (Nam & Koh, 2011; Lim & Kim, 2012).

Since then, along with Bourdieu's *La Distinction* (translated by Choi, Jong Chul, 1995), Korea's problems of capital and taste have become an important issue for research. Some studies (Kang, 1995; Hyun, 1996) showed that the body was an important concept by introducing and criticizing Western discussions that consider the body from power and capital point of view as well as philosophically comparing Western and non-Western views on the body. However, these theoretical reviews were not manifested as actual empirical research at the time.

As the work of scholars such as Turner (1996, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn.) and Shilling (1993) was introduced to Korea (translated by Lim, In-sook, 2002 and 1999), the concept of the body project has started to be discussed as a background for research. In the late 1990s, analyses of real domestic circumstances were attempted. Especially, as the female beauty industry grew, concrete domestic analyses started to focus on women's bodies. Most of the discussions of women's body management share a stance that women's efforts to manage their bodies and appearances are induced not by their own will but by the effects of broader social structures, and that women's bodies are an embodiment of patriarchal authority (Kim, 1996; Lee, 1996; Seong, 1997). These studies of the image of Korean women conclude that women's body management is a way of reproducing gender power relationships in an elaborate manner from the past to the present.

Shilling's concept of a body project follows social constructivist views of the body. At the same time, it focuses on the fact that people selectively accept social value and transform it to make it a foundation of ego identity rather than unilateral social pressure. Besides, this emphasizes that the body exists at the centre of all things. Lim (2002) and Jung (2006) consider the body as a project since appearance is linked to competitiveness in Korean society. Body management in modern society became a project that also revealed a problem. The body that people want is an illusion that society has constructed and is a difficult standard to be reached by ordinary people. In addition, that illusion can make people consider themselves as overweight even though they are of a normal weight (Jeong & Kwon, 2007). Obsession over the body is not an aberration or disease of an individual but is caused by social, cultural, and economic structures (Jeong & Park, 2005). However, the research that considered the body as a project resulted in an excessive focus on self-identity as a result – which was different

from Shilling's intention to understand the relationship between the body and social discourse without ignoring the body as material. They were only interested in how to acquire some kind of identity through changes in the body or how to manage the body in the pursuit of some kind of identity.

One of the reasons why people cannot be free from discourse on body is the combined role and nature of media discourse. According to Foucault (1980), discourse is a tool of knowledge/power and composes the individual. He says all points where power is exercised are points where knowledge is formed, and knowledge is only a rule that is made by people who hold intellectual hegemony (K. Lee, 2007). Therefore, people cannot be free from it. In fact, people recognize the importance of discourse on the body in media as they consider the standards on the body provided by media as a standard of evaluation from established and outsiders.

In the Korean media, making a woman's body is one of the most popular subjects of all. Research on discourse on women's body-making influenced by media clarifies that women's body-making phenomena are strengthened by the media (Nam & Koh, 2011; Lim & Kim, 2012), in that women have been shown to try to lose weight to embody the idealistic body that the society wants (Baek & Son, 2002; Yoon 2004).

Do men manage their bodies? While the study of women's bodies has been continuous since the early 1990s, the study of men's bodies only started in 2000 as managing appearance became an increasingly important subject in Korean society (Lim, 2005; 2007b; Baek & Kim, 2006). According to Lim (2005; 2007b) and Baek and Kim (2006), Korean dominant masculinity has changed since the late 1990s, as images of men with feminine characteristics, moderate muscle and softer appearances have increased. This shows that the established Korean image of masculinity is breaking, as is evidenced by appearance management and muscle building. It can therefore be seen that fitness should not be considered solely as a pursuit of ideal masculinity, but should be approached from broader aesthetic and practical dimensions.

Later, further studies on the body led to the increased appearance management of middle-aged and elderly people. Indeed, recent discussions have proposed that efforts made towards beauty and appearance management are not the exclusive property of young women in the West and in Korea. According to interviews conducted with Western middle-aged and elderly women, a similar interest in weight control and appearance management was evident in these populations as well (Clarke & Griffin, 2007; 2008; Muise & Desmarais, 2010; Slevin, 2010). Although there have been some

studies conducted on the appearance management of middle-aged and elderly women recently in Korean society (Song, 2012), most studies on appearance and the body until now have been conducted on young women. However, recent studies are expanding their subjects to include men and both middle-aged and elderly women. Their appearance directivity should be analyzed from different context from young women. While the existing studies mostly approached from gender point of view, gender and age should be considered together for newly-recruited subjects and it is important to continue seeking to expand the scope of academic research.

Finally, it is necessary to think about what kind of social implications the appearance-oriented phenomenon may have - regardless of gender or age. In academia, lookism<sup>6</sup> is being researched mainly in the field of cultural studies and economics. The concept of lookism has become accommodated into cultural studies concerning gender roles and expectations, prejudices or biases of beauty, and cultural stereotypes associated with appearances (Hakim, 2010; Bordo, 1993; Lim, 2004; 2007). In Economics, lookism has been applied to understanding differences in income levels according to people's appearance or employee productivity relationships, taking into account the appearance of a co-worker as measured by others (Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994; Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998; Kim et al., 2012). Today, the body has become more uniform, and in so doing there is a lack of acknowledgment about the diversity of the body.

The goal of this thesis is to overcome the reductionism associated with using a single theoretical frame by approaching Korea's body making phenomenon through various theoretical stances. This thesis understands the individual's way of experiencing his or her body from a microscopic dimension, and will also consider various social influences from a macro view. Therefore, the E-O figuration of the body in the fitness field – which is this thesis's theoretical framework – will be useful when examining the cultural production and consumption of the Korean's body from macroscopic and microscopic points of view. In the next section, I will review empirical literature related to Korean consumers and tastes.

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<sup>6</sup> The concept of lookism was introduced to the world through an article about the fat acceptance movement in *The Washington Post* in 1978. This term was first used by people who participated in the movement to point out problems related to 'discrimination due to appearance.' It has the meaning of prejudice or discrimination on the grounds of a person's appearance, Oxford Dictionaries Online <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/lookism>). William Safire published a column related to lookism in *The New York Times* (August 27, 2000) and mentioned it as emerging kind of discrimination similar to the more commonly accepted race, gender, and religion-based discrimination.

### **2.3 Korean Consumer and Tastes**

In Korea, studies of the culture of consumption began to be conducted in the late 1980s. However, in the 1990s, some studies began attempting to determine the changes in the Korean culture of consumption and the corresponding middle-class lifestyles that caused these changes based on the concepts of cultural and social capital. Most of these studies were conducted from the perspective of political economy – but nonetheless, a great deal of studies still examined cultural capital and tastes (Hyeon, 1994; Jeong, 1996), an empirical breakdown of lifestyles by class which focused on class and consumption structures within these classes (Baek, 1994a; Shin, 2005), a study of the effects of cultural and economic capital on consumption patterns (Chang, 2001; Cho, 2005; Hong, 2005), and a study of overall lifestyles (Kim, 2001; Nam, 2007). Those studies observed the differences in consumption patterns by class and analyzed the relative effects of cultural and economic capital.

Most studies surrounding the Korean culture of consumption tend to classify Korean society by class and stratum, focusing entirely upon the middle class (Kim, 1982; Yeon et al., 1990; Cho, 1994). Furthermore, an additional study explained the differences in tastes in consumption by class by analyzing the identity and distinctive characteristics of each class' consumption (Ham et al., 2001). The consumption culture of the Korean middle class has changed historically along with the broader changes that have taken place in Korean society. Along with the growth of the Korean middle class, lifestyles of the middle class have changed more diversely compared to the past as leisure has become more important in comparison to basic food, clothing, and shelter satisfaction related activities. This change in lifestyle is also segmenting people's tastes (Yang, 2009).

Previous class studies in Korea that have been conducted separately from studies in the sector of consumption can be divided into several directions as follows: firstly, there were discussions on how to grasp the structural position of the middle class and how the quantitative scale and internal structure of the middle class changes in a situation where the modern economy was being restructured (Hong & Koo, 1993; Kim et al., 1986). Secondly, there were discussions on whether the middle class consisted of heterogeneous groups or whether a singular monolith that is homogeneous and cohesive should be understood as a homogeneous group. Thirdly, if the middle class consisted of

diverse heterogeneous groups, there exists the question of how these groups should be distinguished from one another (Cho, 1994).

The area of consumption that stands in contrast to cultural elements and production activities has acted as an important stage in producing boundaries between social classes: as a result of such, most previous consumption studies in Korea have been concentrated on overall characteristics of consumption culture and thus did not reveal meaningful differences in consumption practices between different social groups. In particular, previous class studies that examined inequality in workplaces (Shin, 1994) did not mention the characteristics of consumption tastes by class sect and other unique forms of lifestyles. These problems are pointed out in Cultural Capital Theory (Hyeon, 1996; Hyeon et al., 1998) that introduces Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. Although these studies highlighted the necessity for research on social inequality to move away from existing economic class analyses and focus instead on cultural theories (Jeong, 1996), they could not go beyond theoretical interest to progress into empirical studies of society. Therefore, these studies did not agonize over unique characteristics of Korean society that are markedly different from those of the West (France) that had been analysed but instead paid attention to only theoretical sectors.

As outcomes of empirical studies on some classes and consumption styles in Korean society, an analysis of differences in leisure culture among classes (Yang, 1997; 2005) and a study of consumption styles by class that switched interest in the area of production to the area of consumption (Baek, 1994a) can be referred to. The study conducted by Yang (1997; 2005) is limited to leisure culture and the study conducted by Baek (1994a) shows a limitation in that it merely showed differences in consumption expenditures of households and differences in the ratios of holding durable consumption goods without revealing the diverse aspects of consumption styles.

In discussing physical culture, Chang (2001) noted that the sports preferred by the upper class are similar to those in the West in many ways, whereas leisure activities preferred by the working class are different from those in the West. On the other hand, it was revealed that people in the upper class prefer reading, sports, and cultural events; all of which are more active forms of leisure activities aimed at self-realization or self-development. In addition, Ham et al. (2001) examined leisure consumption patterns in relation to social class, and their results revealed that sports were highly preferred by the middle and upper classes, but not as well received by the lower classes whose tastes were geared more toward practicality.

Despite that, the area of consumption has acted as an important stage in reproducing boundaries between social classes as examined thus far; although studies of the characteristics of consumption by class sect are still at an elementary level. In addition, although interest in the consumption sector has increased since the 1990s, most studies have just concentrated on the overall characteristics of consumption culture. Since previous class studies have concentrated on inequality between classes in terms of economy, class studies and consumption studies have been evolving separately. In this respect, this thesis is considered to make an important theoretical contribution to divining the characteristics of Korean society in that its intention is to study consumption and classes in relation to each other. This tendency should be carefully reviewed when analyzing the middle class consumption culture; as this class has a concentrated population of high income and high educational background. In the next section, literature on *Hakbeol* capital will be reviewed.

## **2.4 *Hakbeol* (academic) Capital**

Considering the fact that the Korean middle class has been formed on the basis of education (Hong, 2005), analyzing their academic capital is central to the production and reproduction of social inequality. In the Cultural Reproduction Theory (Bourdieu, 1977; 1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bowles & Gintis, 1976), asserting class reproduction through cultural capital theory ostensibly appears to be neutral from the inverse relationships between classes. However, it is believed that the educational acts actually carried out in schools contribute towards reproducing the structures for the power relationships and symbolic relationships between social classes. Thus, the differences in initial cultural capital created during the socialization processes in homes do not diminish through educational processes but instead become reinforced (Aschaffenburg and Mass, 1977, p. 573). As a result, as the differences of the initial cultural capitals systematically transform into educational qualifications, individuals are disposed toward social hierarchical positions similar to those of their parents. The present hierarchical, social, and cultural inequalities are then reproduced into the next generation.

However, in some studies that oppose the cultural reproduction theory, it is asserted that as the parents of lower classes that do not possess cultural capital, they show more enthusiasm for their children's education in order to overcome education

inferiority complexes, and that academic achievements are higher among the student groups with parents with low-level education (De Graff et al., 2000; Kalminjin and Kraaykamp, 1996). Thus, the belief that the parents' cultural capital does not directly affect children's academic achievements can be considered as a type of cultural mobility theory; one that holds that when cultural capital between parents and children does not match, cultural capital can intervene and alleviate the effects of the parents' social classes. However, the confrontation of these two theories can be seen as a problem that can be resolved through empirical studies on different societies, and not merely as a theoretical problem.

Due to these differences, in reality, the level of parental support towards their children's education varies according to social class. In general, the middle-class (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 50), whose social status is immediately elevated and the future is different from the past according to schooling, is known as the class segment that most actively supports children's education. The middle class tends to be very responsive to the fact that academic qualifications function as social identifications. They have thus moved up the social ladder because of academic qualifications achieved through their own efforts, rather than inherited assets. It can therefore be said that this class may feel most vulnerable to the phenomenon in which the relative scarcity of college graduates is declining. This class' awareness of the crisis arising from the phenomenon of academic inflation has resulted in increased investments in their children's education with the aim of passing their social status within the class structure forwards to their children.

Bourdieu takes notice of the fact that the cultural difference occurring through these economical classes has a structure that reproduces through generations; a structure that is not limited to one generation. Within this structure, human beings are divided into classes according to status, and these classes are converted into dominance-subordinance relationships, or established group-outsider relationships.

The distinct characteristics of Korean society are as follows. Consider the fact that the admission rate of students from District 8, Gangnam, Seoul and children of parents with high-income jobs such as entrepreneurs, medical doctors, lawyers, etc. into the prestigious colleges in 2013 is increasing year after year. The theory that status and privileges are naturally accepted once they enter into society is rapidly becoming reality. In the reproduction of social class, education plays a very important role. Therefore, the cultural capital acquired by education becomes the core concept of the Bourdieu's

theory. Education systems contribute towards the reproduction of social class divisions by strengthening differences of culture and status between classes.

If so, in the case of Korean society, does education act as the most effective means to move up the social ladder? Ostensibly, the education system of Korean society appears to adhere to egalitarian theories that advocate providing more opportunities to all students in comparison to other societies. However, in the studies of Chang (2002; 2004), it was concluded that opportunities are not evenly distributed to students from all classes. It can be said that the dual-process formation, continuously excluding some students from opportunities to receive education while providing opportunities to specific students, is a characteristic of class reproduction processes that is manifested within the Korean education system.

It is clear that highlighting the reproduction of social class structure through cultural exclusion is an important task of sociology in societies of all cultural and historical contexts. In particular, studying how Korean society goes about confronting this social problem of increasing polarization is an important issue that should be given more emphasis. Ahn (1993) has concluded that there are ample opportunities available for moving up the social ladder, but since the early 1990s several studies have suggested that the class structure is gradually consolidating and that opportunities for social movement are rapidly diminishing - and this increasing polarization has become an issue of unparalleled importance in Korean society. Choi (2002b) asserted that the hierarchy/class consolidation through not only economic capital but also cultural capital has been proceeding through women since the early 2000s in Korean society. In addition, in a study where subjects identified their parents' generation and their own generation, she added that the progress of efforts being made to transform the classes based on economic capital into status groups based on cultural capital in the current children's generation is well underway. She also predicted that the role of embodied cultural capital will be further enhanced and that the hierarchy/class structure will also be consolidated (Choi & Choi, 2011). Thus far, academic capital, which is the biggest issue in Korean society's hierarchy problem, has been reviewed. The next section introduces literature on the fitness culture that emphasizes a fit body as key in the production and reproduction of social class.

## 2.5 Fitness Culture

A number of preceding studies from the West have paid attention to fitness as a particular form of physical culture (Crossley, 2006; Frew & McGillivray, 2005; Fusco, 2006; Ginsberg, 2000; McCabe & James, 2009; Spielvogel, 2002, Smith Maguire, 2008a). Among these, Frew and McGillivray (2005) explored the body from the aesthetic and physical asset points of view and studied the politics of health clubs and the body. Fusco (2006), by examining the surveillance, risk, and governing of fitness clubs, studied health. Ginsberg (2000) examined how leisure, health, and beauty within the fitness industry can be defined. Spielvogel (2002), by examining the discipline-power occurring inside fitness club spaces, discussed issues occurring there such as the division of space, exposures, and contradictions. Smith Maguire (2008a) gave attention to the cultural production and consumption of the body in the fitness field: topics such as the logic and health of consumption capital commercialization, cultural pressure towards the fit body, and the surrounding power mechanisms that are raised. These works looked into various ideologies and cultural phenomena that lie behind body discourses and meanings of such places. Hence, I believe that they have played important roles in understanding the culture of modern capitalist society and identifying the exact location of the body.

Most studies in Korea have focused on sports management or marketing and customer management. Recently, literature in the sociology of sports and athletic departments has studied fitness culture with various detailed subjects. However, studies of bodybuilder's body-making (Lee & Kwon, 2007; Lee, 2012; Yang & Won, 2002) have still focused too much on a person's identity, which results in a failure to understand the meaning of project itself. A recent study on female bodybuilding (Lee & Kwon, 2007) escaped from the subject of muscle resistance and focused on the career identity of a female bodybuilder. Fitness-related studies are now being conducted more diversely compared to the past as they study the history of bodybuilding and the meaning of fitness space. Kim (2001) and Jeong & Park (2005) conducted qualitative studies related to social science. These authors pay attention to the fact that a fit body is a product as well as an accomplishment that one gets from effort made for a certain period of time. They show one's effort and process, value of self-conquest, and activeness and autonomy of self. Unlike in the West, fitness-related discussion has not

progressed significantly in Korea. However, it is positive that fitness-related subjects are continuously referred to in many fields of study. This thesis could also contribute to the understanding of Korean fitness culture. In the next sections, I review the empirical research on the body making context: fitness media discourse, media production and cultural intermediaries.

## **2.6 Fitness Media**

As Ferguson (1998, p. 6) noted, the fitness field requires ‘second-order’ fitness-related texts, which act as ‘mechanisms of consumer education’ (Smith Maguire, 2002, p. 450). In the same context, Smith Maguire (2008a) represented the roles of exercise manuals in connecting bodywork and body-related knowledge by explaining the growth of the fitness industry and the boom in fitness publications in the United States.

The media dealing with fitness have formed fitness consumers’ tastes by defining the values of health and appearance. They have also standardized the consumers’ bodies by actively emphasizing images of the fit body. Most studies of the discursive formation of fitness consumers focused on fitness magazines, exercise manuals, and exercise videos (Eskes, et al., 1998; Markula, 1995; 2001, Smith Maguire, 2002; 2006; Jett, 2006). The discursive formation attempts to understand communication events in the epistemological context, and as all human beliefs, attitudes, and values have epistemological contexts, all communication events should be placed within the discursive formation (Cohen, 1998, p. 23).

Smith Maguire (2002, p. 449) emphasized that health and appearance issues are dilemmas for the middle class and explained how fitness manuals culturally produce fitness consumers by providing health-education-oriented values and consumer-oriented values. Toward this end, the study conducted content analysis based on exercise manuals from the late 1970s to the late 1990s in the United States., and indicated that exercise manuals function as a source of calculable rewards and offer body lessons that provide motivations, aimed at the middle class.

In addition, media actively produce standardized body images for males and females, thereby leading many people to measure up to these standards (Eskes, et al., 1998; Markula, 2001; Jette, 2006). For example, one study determined what mechanism through which women's health magazines identify female physical health with beauty and analyzed the power-effects of the identification (Markula, 2001). Also, Eskes, et al.

(1998) conducted a textual analysis of two magazines (*Fitness*, December 1996; *Shape*, September 1996). As a result, a discourse explaining the effects of disciplinary power and bio-power in two primary respects was established. First, the magazines infuse a message that weight loss can bring energy that we have never experienced before. The readers make this possible by before-after contrast effects, which are usually expressed in forms of self-confession or private journals. Second, they infuse a commercial message that a sexy, strong body can be made by following the surprising and easy instructions that these magazines provide. In this discourse, it was indicated that a womanly body requires strength as well as slimness (Markula, 1995). Moreover, it is important to have perfect curves, which can be obtained through the scientific exercise methods and knowledge that the magazines provide, considering that the purpose of exercise is to ‘make yourself look good’, not just to ‘make yourself pleased’ (Eskes, et al., 1998, p. 335-9).

Markula (2001) examined how three major magazines - *Self*, *Shape*, and *the News Weekly* (1994) - link between BID (body image distortion) in women and a medical discourse on female health. This study claimed that the magazines build the socio-cultural standards of womanliness and female BID issues. It also criticized the way that magazines report female BID issues as universal issues and that this leads female readers to perceive their bodies as imperfect instead of raising doubts about the dominant cultural standards of healthy bodies. This ultimately shifts the responsibility onto personal choices. The study concluded that when such medical discourses are linked with BID issues, women cannot help but conform to medical knowledge without resistance due to its influential power.

Jette (2006) examined how the national political goal to make mothers healthy to produce healthy babies is linked with the culture of consumption by analyzing various types of information provided by *Fit for Two*, a regular column in *Oxygen* magazine. This column actively referred to research results from some influential journals introduced in health magazines for pregnant women. Therefore, this column emerged as an expert column in the field of female health by functioning as one of the tools of modern bio-power and finally played a huge role in establishing and providing knowledge about female bodies in relation to reproduction (p.347). The magazine publicized exercise videos as the medium of such knowledge. Ethical and moral codes are implied here, and Markula (2004) also indicated that this performs disciplinary power functions by acting based on religious, legal, and scientific disciplines that

dominate each individual (p.306). In addition, in the magazine, not only medical discourses based on scientific knowledge but also photographs of pregnant women function as a type of disciplinary power by showing bodies with tanned skin and so-called ‘\_S-lines’ (typical features of beauty) despite pregnancy.

Fitness publications in Korea, however, are largely translations of fitness magazines of the United States, so they are not suitable for analysis. It is safe to say that fitness-related TV shows have played a leading role in forming fitness consumers; along with the recent well-being trends, numerous body-making shows where celebrities appear have contributed to a dramatic increase in the membership of fitness centres.

Lim and Kim (2012) critically analyzed the representation of obesity by comparing Korean TV diet survival shows (SBS *BIGsTory* and StoryON *Diet War*) with an American show (*The Biggest Loser*). The researchers point out that the difference between Korean and Western TV body makeover programs is the degree of stigmatization and expression to the outsider bodies. Especially, the abnormality of the female participants in the Korean programs is caricatured by contrasting their bodies with the bodies of female celebrities. Nam and Koh (2011) showed that SBS *Diet King* contained discourses on body as ‘\_health discourse’, ‘\_appearance discourse’, and ‘\_independence discourse’. Social constructivist perspectives shown in these TV body-makeover programs are connected to the power and knowledge systems that are involved in defining the ideal body. A value that a slim body is a beautiful female body strengthens the discourse on the ideal body by combining with medical and scientific discourses (like how obesity is unhealthy and fitness media stories with fit body and the resulting competitiveness of facts in people’s lives). Through physical capital, participants who have outsider body images are reconstructed as the established of the body image.

## **2.7 Fitness Media Production**

Several studies of producers have been conducted in Korea, and there have been a number of cases and analyses of the environment of media production and organizational culture within a distinctly Korean context. K. Lee (2007) explained that studies focusing on producers are useful in that they seek alternatives to most academic studies that are criticized by media producers for being decontextualized because of their uncritical application of foreign theories and cases to the process of media

production in Korea. In this regard, this thesis intends to discuss the process of producing entertainment programs in Korea.

Powerful influences on the textual production of music videos are practices of the music industry following proven formulas (such as standardized characters, narratives including good triumphing over evil, triangle relationships, familiar visual grammar, and use of values that many people can relate to) rather than traditional political power or ruling groups (Yang, 2004). Y. Kim (2007) researched the socio-cultural implications of the process of selecting and broadcasting American dramas through in-depth interviews with broadcasting staff in charge of programming. His argument reveals that the production environment and practices of commercial media not only lead to uniformity of programs but also to the reproduction and reinforcement of certain values.

In terms of methodology, observations and interviews were used in most studies. In order to examine the evolving patterns of historical dramas, O. Lee (2007) conducted in-depth interviews with specialized journalists, critics, and producers; Rho (2009) sought a production system for improving creativity of broadcasting contents through interviews with comedians, writers, and producers of KBS's *Gag Concert* and SBS's *People Seeking Laughter*. In order to explore the defiant capability of meaning-producing practices utilized by media producers, Yeon and Kim (2008) conducted in-depth interviews with the production crew of KBS *Entertainment Weekly* as well as participant observation during planning meetings and unofficial meetings involving producers. Matthews (2009; 2007) determined how the news-making culture of news professionals shapes the production of certain news agendas through non-participant observation of *Newsround* (UK), a BBC news program aimed at children. The news that they think children need was selected based on their criteria of 'popularized, personalized, and simplified'.

## **2.8 Cultural Intermediaries of the Fit Body**

This thesis assumes that broadcasting producers and personal trainers are cultural intermediaries who connect consumers and producers in the the field of fitness. This thesis aims to theoretically examine the basis for how they can be considered as cultural intermediaries. The most compelling argument behind the proposed

consideration of TV producers and personal trainers as cultural intermediaries is that the term's usefulness has been recognized by empirical studies based exclusively on Bourdieu's professional specifications. Smith Maguire and Matthews (2010; 2014) have reviewed the concept's usefulness in the role of those working in the media industry as cultural intermediaries in sufficient detail. A case study by D'Acci (1988) shows letters that the audience sent to the producers of the program *Cagney and Lacey* in order to protect it from the restructuring of CBS broadcasting network. This began a chain of similar protestations in the United States, eventually forcing producers to intermediate between the broadcasting entity and the audience. Y. Kim (2007) shows the role of a producer in Korea who is in charge of compiling broadcasting programs and how his unique responsibilities lend him the identity of a cultural intermediary.

Smith Maguire (2001) showed the influences over fitness consumption in the United States based on interviews with personal trainers. This study defined a personal trainer as a representative and broker of a fitness centre who attracts customers by carrying out frontline service work, motivating clients to consume fitness services, and performing emotional labour. In a similar context, George (2008) also indicated that the job of a personal trainer is understood as specialized and expert service work in the post-industrial labour market. In other words, the work is described as a personalized service that provides each client with emotional labour and certain knowledge through three types of service interaction (instrumental exchanges, motivational relationships, and authoritative consultations). This study conducted participant observations and in-depth interviews with twenty personal trainers. Through these two studies, it can be concluded that personal training in a modern or postmodern society is an occupation with semi-professional characteristics; occupying a space somewhere in between the service field and the education field (Smith Maguire, 2001; George, 2008).

Another study by Spielvogel (2002) sought to understand educational body-making by analyzing various practices in fitness centres. Fitness centre instructors control participants' practices based on their abundant knowledge of exercise and proper workout techniques. For example, they organize exercise programs into warm up, main activity, and cool down regimens in addition to determining the length of cardio exercise for clients. Moreover, they assign overweight, underweight, and obese clients to various sections of the fitness centre based on their scientific knowledge of what programs will work most effectively for those particular clients. In addition, they help shape clients' bodies on the basis of detailed information about each of them though

their correction of undesirable exercising habits or patterns, thereby normalizing their overall exercising practices within the clientele base.

In Korea, a personal trainer is a new expert within the growth of the fitness industry. The role of and the demand for personal trainers have been emphasized, but academic understanding and discussions of personal training have not been fully established. Studies examining personal trainers began in 2007 but have been very insufficient thus far. For example, most of these were empirical studies dealing with marketing-related topics, such as the quality of personal training services, customer satisfaction, job satisfaction factors, and personal trainers' rates of turnover (Kim, 2014; Lee et al., 2011). Nevertheless, there remain a few qualitative studies that have sought to explain the occupational socialization and the occupational identity of personal trainers in Korea through in-depth interviews (Jung, 2013; Koo et al., 2010).

Another aspect to be considered in this thesis is that of how cultural intermediaries can be understood as emotional service workers. Hochschild (1983) paid attention to labour action in relation to social conditions in capitalist markets regarding the social attention to emotion. She defined emotional labour as encouraging or suppressing one's emotions to make someone else feel better. This requires effort to understand the manner in which these emotions operate (rule of emotion or emotion mode) and how strong or weak these emotions are (strength of emotion) and also maintaining these emotional states over time (maintaining emotion). In this context, emotion has value for profit seeking and has been processed and commercialized for the promotion of surplus value. Illouz (2007) defined the concept of *emotional capitalism*, which means that emotional life follows economic relations and the logic of economic exchange as the discourse and practice associated with emotions constructs economic activity and affect is transformed into an essential aspect of economic activity.

Labour practices are here defined as the movement of the brain and muscles, with the addition of human emotions as the essential factor in post-industrial society. Emotional labour now has important exchange value in economic sectors but its labour value has not been recognized yet. Unlike careers in other sectors, the quality of being interactive itself can become part of the service provided so that the boundary between products, labour process and labourer is now blurred (McDowell & Court, 1994). The trainers learn and execute various organizational rules and regulations to express their emotion in the organization to which they belong (e.g. fitness centres or broadcasting stations). Such controlled emotion is put into products via the action of labour and

increases exchange value in a market, thereby ultimately contributing to raising the product's use value. The input of emotion can be part of labour action and emotion as labour action to control emotion can be an element of product value. Therefore, based on such theoretical grounds, this thesis regards TV producers who are making fitness-related programs and personal trainers as having the role of cultural intermediaries; and will endeavour to examine how these intermediaries have reproduced the belief in the fit body in the fitness field by the use of interviews.

## **2.9 Conclusion**

This chapter has reviewed how the conceptual issues covered in Chapter 1 have been employed in empirical research related to fitness culture, thereby outlining how the key research questions for this thesis have been formulated. Chapter 2 presents a review of the extant literature concerning bodies, class, and fitness. Attention is given to a range of viewpoints that have concentrated on the fit body in understanding aspects of Korean consumers, tastes, capital, fitness media production/text, and cultural intermediaries of the fit body. The contribution of the Bourdieu-Elias synthesis is highlighted for making sense of Korean consumer bodies. In terms of the literature pertinent to this investigation, the review particularly examined works on the body, fitness, and media concerning bodies and power relations; the production and reproduction of the fit body and habitus, and the relations between fit bodies, class, and consumer culture. Also included in Chapter 1 and in this chapter was an exploration of the way the two theorists examined body issues. The analysis of the production and reproduction of Korean bodies in the fitness field will be presented in Chapters 4 to 7. I will explain the methods and methodological basis for my thesis in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Methodology and Method**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

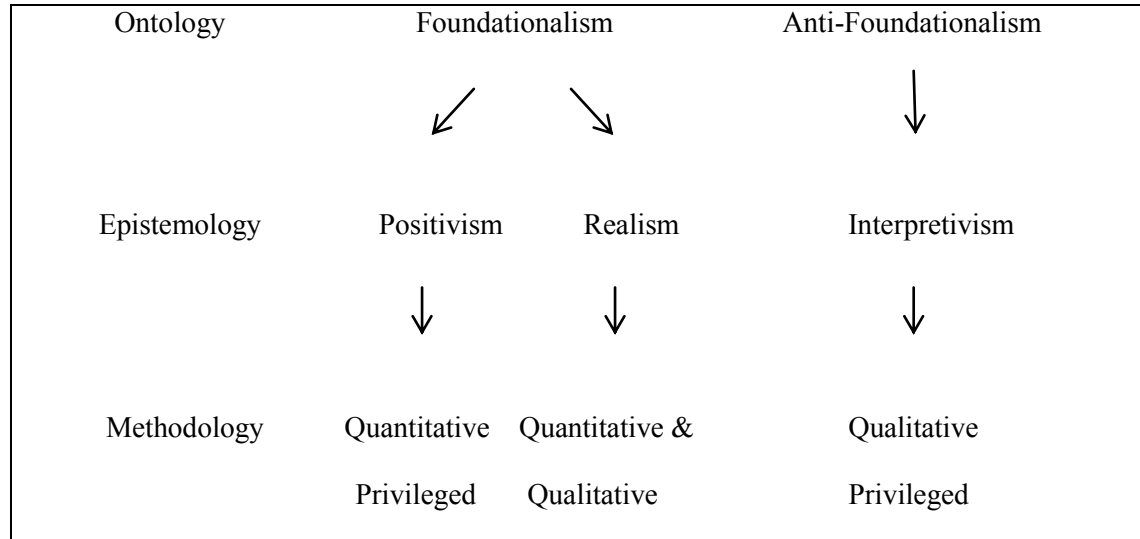
The purpose of this chapter is to set out and justify the methodological structure for this project. Researchers should be positioned on clear methodological standpoints in order to better process their contribution to knowledge (Denscombe, 2002). This research uses a primarily qualitative approach that is complemented by some additional quantitative work. The methodology of figurational sociology, based on the work of Elias, is applied to obtain data in the fieldwork. Its main methodological position will be discussed later in the section concerning the methodological approaches of figurational sociology. However, before this chapter proceeds, it is essential to demonstrate the structure of the research methodology. The meanings of research can be varied and broadly used to collect masses of information, inquiring after esoteric theories and contributing to helpful new products. Moreover, professional research should include a way of academic practice (Walliman, 2011). Research should be structured, organized, and systematic to obtain objective data (Bryman, 2012; May, 2011; Gomm, 2004). Indeed, Creswell (2014) states that the researcher needs to integrate three logically interrelated compositions that are: philosophical worldwide assumptions, research design, and the appropriate methods or procedures for accomplishing a research project.

To follow this important research synthesis, this research is divided into four different sections. First, it debates the philosophical approaches of different methodological paradigms and outlines the position of this study by examining the fundamental concepts of ontology and epistemology. Second, it discusses the dynamic issues of research paradigms, and the broad concepts of qualitative and quantitative approaches to research are examined. Third, the methodology of figurational sociology is discussed in the cases of ‘theory and evidence’, ‘involvement and detachment’, and ‘the adequacy of evidence’ in order to understand how the researcher obtains valuable and practical data in a social setting. Lastly, it discusses this research's use of textual analysis for fitness-related programmes, newspaper content analysis for historical

context, semi-structured interviews with cultural intermediaries, and participant observation for fitness media productions as well as health clubs and their members.

### 3.2 Philosophical Approach of Ontology and Epistemology

It should be pointed out that the relationship between philosophy and the social sciences is a symbiotic one even though these two concepts can be seen as distinct subjects (Benton & Craib, 2011). However, these philosophical backgrounds are broadly concealed in research (Slife & Williams, 1995) and they still remain influential to the practice of research. Therefore, it is essential for these to be acknowledged by researchers when stating their own position (Creswell, 2014). Indeed, different research paradigms provide particular sets of lenses for seeing and building a sense of the world in varied ways (Sparkes, 1992). To be able to assert a clear position for research to be conducted from, it is important to acknowledge its origin within the broader context of philosophical research issues. Furlong & Marsh (2010, p. 186) summarize the relationships among ontology, epistemology, and methodology:



**Figure 3. 1:** Connecting ontology, epistemology, and Methodology

(Source: Furlong & Marsh, 2010, p.186)

To understand the philosophical worldview of research, it is critical to affirm the relationships between the concepts of ontology and epistemology. In short, ontology can be about what people may know and epistemology can be about how people come to know what they know (Grix, 2010). Firstly, the perceptions of ontology: what is out there to know about? What and how can people know about it? (Pawson, 1989). To

extend into more detail on these two concepts, Atkinson (2012, p. 149) clarifies the concept of ontology as follows: ‘it specifies what is real and what are the nature and properties of what is real that we can observe.’ As Figure 3. 1 indicates, ontology is identified in both foundationalism and anti-foundationalism. The former emphasizes the independent relationship between social phenomena and social actors while on the other hand, the latter refers to social phenomena and how their meanings are constantly accomplished by social actors (Grix, 2010).

In other words, the concept of foundationalism indicates that ‘there is a real world out there’ that is external to agents, however, the viewpoint of anti-foundationalism considers ‘there is not a real world’ that exists independently of the meaning which actors attach to their actions (Marsh & Furlong, 2002, p. 19). While researchers are consistently adapting their ontological positions, they need to have an epistemological viewpoint concerning how they come to be able to deduce from the information provided about the world (Furlong & Marsh, 2010, p. 185).

In terms of the notion of epistemology, Blaikie (2000, p. 8) assumes that in the what can be presumed to exist can also be known. In other words, it concerns ‘what is (or should be) regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline’ (Bryman, 2012, p. 27). Epistemological positions can be separated into the three different categories of positivism, critical realism, and interpretivism (Furlong & Marsh, 2010). Of these positions, critical realism indicates that the world is independent of social actors’ knowledge of it (Furlong & Marsh, 2010), while positivism ‘advocates the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the study of social reality and beyond’ (Bryman, 2012, p. 28).

On the other hand, interpretivism ‘is predicated upon the view that a strategy is required that respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural science that requires the social scientist to understand the subjective meaning of social action’ (Bryman, 2012, p. 30). To elaborate, interpretivism holds that it is imperative to remember that ontological social practices and their different meanings are subjectively constructed by people (Robson, 2011), or that the world is socially interrelated (Furlong & Marsh, 2010). Therefore, interpretivist research attempts to collect information about people’s everyday natural activities of words, ideas, and other social behaviours (Thomas, 2009).

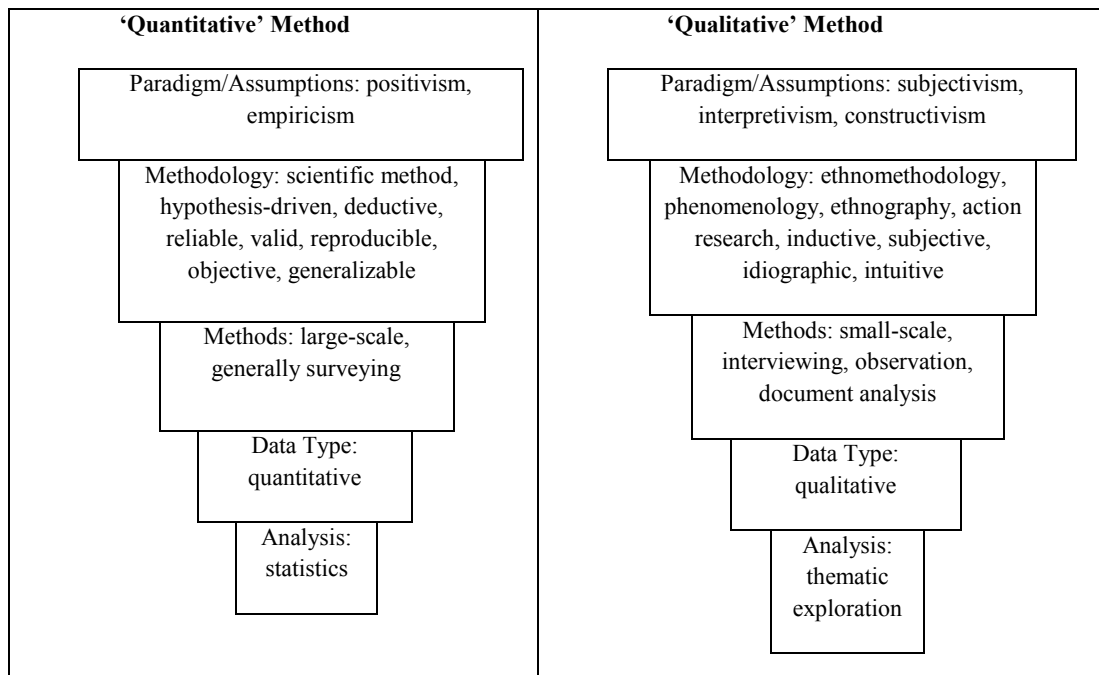
Having discussed these characteristics of ontology and epistemology, it should be noted that the two concepts share some common features (Neuman, 2003, p. 92).

Firstly, scientific research is based on observable phenomena and empirical approaches. Secondly, scientific research is a systematic process. Thirdly, scientific research is a theoretical viewpoint that is capable of explaining particular orders of social phenomena. Fourthly, all scientific research is open to the public – largely because it is self-reflective. Lastly, scientific research should be open-ended. In other words, scientific investigation is not a matter of constancy and it can be changed or progressed.

With the fundamental concepts of ontology and epistemology having been discussed, it is worth addressing how methodology can be divided accordingly into ‘quantitative’ and ‘qualitative’ approaches. While the former dominated research methodology from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the latter has become more popular in social research since the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (Creswell, 2009). Since the 1970s, these two different methods have been discussed in terms of a ‘paradigm war’ that mainly considers which methodological approach is more suitable for examining a social world (Punch, 2005). Many social scientists believed that the best way to conduct social science research is to do so ‘scientifically’ (Grix, 2010). This can be seen as one of the reasons for why the paradigm ‘war’ can be understood as positivists claiming that social research needed to accept more scientific methods (such as natural science). Therefore, it is important to have a sense of definition surrounding these two methodological concepts in order to understand their implications for associated research structures, and it is important to understand the details of each in order to better justify the positions from which social research is conducted.

### **3.3 Quantitative and Qualitative Research Paradigm**

Punch (2005) broadly expresses that quantitative research mainly involves numerical data and structured, predetermined research questions within conceptual framework and designs. In contrast, qualitative research uses non-numerical, unstructured data, research questions, and methods from the beginning of the research. To understand these two methods, O’Leary (2004, p. 99) also illustrates more detail about the methodological debate as shown below:



**Figure 3. 2:** Assumptions related to the quantitative and qualitative approaches

(Source: O'Leary, 2004, p. 99)

### 3.3.1 *Quantitative Approach*

In line with the roots of ontology and epistemology as presented in Figure 3.2, quantitative methodologies are related to positivism and foundationalism. In terms of methodology, quantitative methods are based on scientific methods and the use of hypotheses and deduction (Bryman, 2012). Grix (2010, p. 117-8) summarizes the basic tenets of quantitative research:

Quantitative research is characterised by three basic phases; finding variables for concepts, operationalising them in the study, and measuring them. This type of research approach tends, in general, to abstract from particular instances to seek general description or to test hypotheses; it seeks measurements and analyses that are easily replicable by other researchers. (King et al., 1994, p. 3)

Moreover, Atkinson states the particular characteristics of quantitative research methods:

Quantitative researchers know the world by collecting data through positivist techniques such as large-scale surveys, standardized scale and questionnaires, and most importantly, through experimental protocols. These techniques measure

concepts in the world numerically, and privilege the statistical analysis of data to test research hypotheses. The goal of quantitative methodology is to examine whether or not research hypotheses (as derived from theory) have any predictive and explanatory value in the world as evidence by patterns in objective, numeric data. (2012, p. 164)

Having discussed the merits of quantitative methods, general types of method related to quantitative approaches are social surveys, analysis of previously collected data or official statistics and ‘structured’ observation (Silverman, 2000, p. 3). These merits may also imply some demerits. One of the most critical of these is the lack of ability to examine real people and the real world. Grix (2010) emphasizes the point that social and cultural contexts can be neglected by quantitative methods and human actions such as behavioural phenomena can be harder to capture or measure with quantitative methods. Qualitative methods may therefore offer a way to avoid some of these weaknesses of quantitative research methods.

### *3.3.2 Qualitative Approach*

As has been discussed in relation to the broad concept of the quantitative approach, it can be seen that qualitative research is mainly appropriate for investigating real people and the lived social world. Qualitative research is concerned with how social experience is generated and given meaning (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). In other words, qualitative research deals with behaviours such as talking, thinking, making gestures, and other nuances of social behaviours (Thomas, 2009). Broadly, researchers obtain qualitative data from forms of participant observation, interview, archival or other documentary analyses (Seale, 2008). Qualitative researchers adopt an ‘interpretivist’ philosophical position and adapt methods of data generation which are flexible and sensitive to the social context in which the data are made (Grix, 2010).

In line with the characteristics of qualitative approaches presented in Figure 3. 1 and Figure 3. 2, qualitative research is derived from ontological anti-foundationalism which asserts that ‘there is not a real world’ that exists independently of the meaning which actors attach to their actions (Marsh & Furlong, 2002, p. 19). Therefore, the aim of social researchers is to interpret the results that have been found through their own experiences and circumstances. Then, researchers should interpret results through

meanings that others may link to the social world (Creswell, 2014). In terms of epistemology, as presented in Figure 3. 2, qualitative research relates to interpretivism. Interpretivism is an appropriate method to understand the realities of human behaviours (Atkinson, 2012, p. 116) and therefore, qualitative research is used to understand people and their lived experience of the world.

Given the discussed conventional issues of methodological background, Bryman (2012) supports the structure of the research process from theoretical approach to philosophical issues of ontological, epistemological, inductive, and deductive approaches to be positioned in this research task. However, an Eliasian viewpoint challenges these traditional approaches, because conventional methodology is a distorted relationship to apply to the real social world. In other words, the concepts of ontology and epistemology include a false dichotomy (Bloyce, 2004). Therefore, the methodological position of an Eliasian figurational approach—what has come to be called ‘*figurational sociology*’ (Bloyce, 2004) will be discussed next.

### **3.4 Methodological Approaches to Figurational Sociology**

The previous section discussed the traditional issues of methodology and how the social world can be understood from different methodological positions. In this part, the characteristics of figurational sociology methodology, which is based on work of Elias, will be discussed in relation to this research. Bloyce (2004) points out that figurational sociology has challenged the conventional formation of methodological issues to develop the nature of social research. Wilterdink (2003) points out that even if Elias did write about the philosophy of knowledge, he was still a sociologist. Indeed, Elias’s sociological ‘*practice*’ can be understood as *doing* sociology within the theoretical-empirical research approach (Dunning & Hughes, 2013, p. 147). To understand this concept, this part first discusses the methodological differences between traditional methodological approaches and figurational sociology. Secondly, it explores the main issues of process sociology’s methodological position in terms of the concepts of theory and evidence, involvement and detachment, and the adequacy of evidence.

Before turning to the main concepts of figurational sociology’s *methodological* position, this part will briefly outline four main concepts of process sociology (Maguire, 1988). These concepts represent key issues to process sociology researchers, when they

investigate the social world. The concept of figurational sociology involves four main principles. First is *hominess aperti* or ‘open people’, which refers to the idea that people are interdependent (Dunning & Hughes, 2013, p. 75). Second, people are interdependent within webs of figuration – and these are interrelated. Third, the webs of figuration are always changing. Fourth, the long-term development of these webs of figuration is largely unforeseen and unplanned (Goudsblom, 1977).

These concepts are useful for understanding both process sociology’s methodological approach and how to accumulate knowledge within its framework. There are two main discussion points that should be addressed to better understand process sociology’s way of seeing the social world. The first of these concerns the distorted traditional relationship between ontology and epistemology in viewing the social world. Every researcher faces this methodological issue when starting their task. Bryman (2012) argued that it is conventional for research approach to approach the social world with philosophical relationships between the ontological and epistemological position.

However, process sociology is not intended to adapt to the traditional issues of research methodology (Dunning & Hughes, 2013) because studies can be distorted initially as a result of the fundamental structural differences between the quantitative and qualitative approaches (Bloyce, 2004). The dichotomous approach argues that epistemology and ontology are mutually interrelated; in other words, they are interdependent (Bloyce, 2004). It needs amplification. In traditional Western ideas of ‘consciousness’ and ‘society’, these terms are separated ontologically; in other words, the position of epistemology also occurs from the problematic approach to seeing the social world (Dunning & Hughes, 2013).

The second argument includes details on how the researcher can accumulate knowledge while incorporating figurational sociology’s approach into their research process. There are three important concepts to understand: theory and evidence, involvement and detachment, and the adequacy of evidence (Maguire, 1988). Firstly, theory and evidence can be the first step for the research process. Bryman (2012, p. 5) argued ‘the topics that are investigated are profoundly influenced by the available theoretical positions’. There are two particular ways to prove a theory: inductive and deductive approaches. The former involves observing and collecting data to generate theories; the latter is the testing theory approach (Blaikie, 2000). However, these

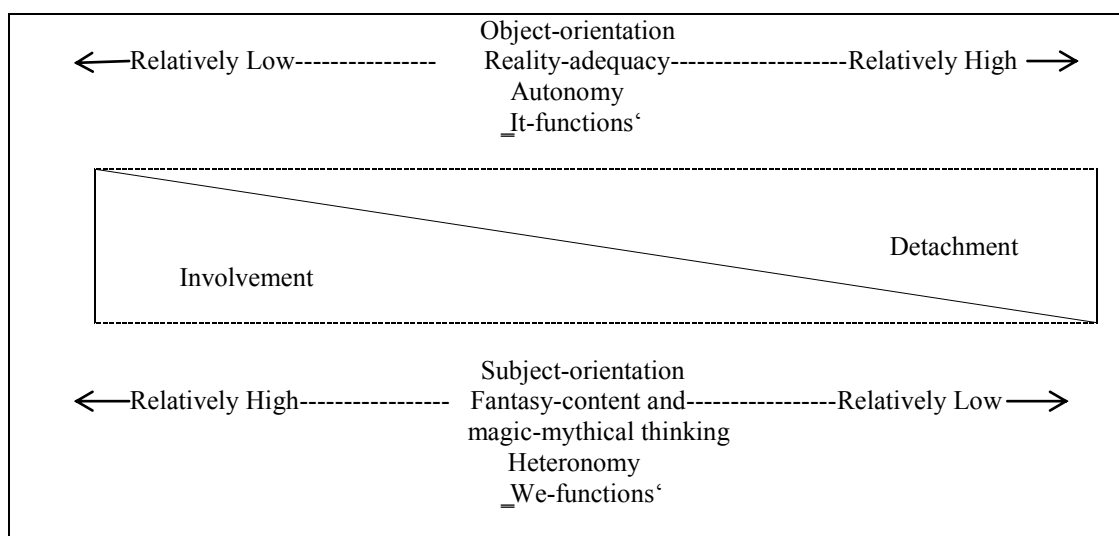
approaches can lead to distortion (Bloyce, 2004). Maguire (1988, p. 188) argued ‘this is seen as recognition of the mutual contamination of theory and evidence’:

As such, it commits researchers to a rather agile intellectual life in which they must both work on the empirical without dominating it with theory and, at the same time, develop theoretical insights firmly informed by evidence. (Abrams 1982, cited in Maguire 1988, p. 188)

In other words, between theory and evidence it should be that ‘uninterrupted two-way traffic takes place’ (Elias, 1956, cited in Maguire, 1988, p. 188). Moreover, the word ‘grounded’ can be added as the theoretically-grounded empirical work (Dunning et al., 1988, cited in Bloyce, 2004).

Now, it turns to the second aspect regarding the acquisition of knowledge: the terms of involvement and detachment. Maguire (1988) argued that the most important scientific investigation is a term of detachment. Social scientists are involved in their research that can be understood the sociologist-as-participant and the sociologist-as-observer-and-interpreter (Maguire, 1988, p. 190). To understand the concept of involvement and detachment, Figure 3. 3 illustrates Mennell’s (1992) concept of involvement and detachment. Elias considers the concept of involvement and detachment as follows:

It is like a camera, which can be focused to different distances—close up, middle distance and long distance. Something similar holds for the point of view of a researcher who has also lived through the events he is studying. (1996, p. 4)



**Figure 3. 3:** Involvement and Detachment

(Source: Mennell , 1992, p. 160)

As Figure 3. 3 indicates, while involvement includes subject-orientation, fantasy-content, magic-mythical thinking, and heteronomy as *‘we-functions’*; detachment includes object-orientation, reality-adequacy and autonomy as *‘it-functions’*. Even if these concepts seem to be entirely separate, they are all interdependent within an understanding of figurational sociology. To obtain a clear objective standpoint, the notion of interdependence can be positioned as the relationship between the researcher and the social process (van Krieken, 1998). This is one of the fundamental concepts of the Eliasian viewpoint. The difficulties associated with this concept are caused by the traditional dichotomous approach within the natural and social sciences. A viewpoint of involvement refers to irrationality and subjectivity, while detachment is recognized as rational and objective. By adapting the concepts of involvement and detachment, researchers are able to take a flexible position as they view the real world and obtain scientific objective outcomes. With this balanced position between involvement and detachment, researchers may face the case of the adequacy of evidence in their research field.

Lastly, the main point regarding the adequacy of evidence is to gather useful balanced evidence for the research from varied sources such as interview, archival data, and media materials. It is important to observe how the researcher can collect and select data for their research. Maguire & Young (2002, p. 17) assert that to apply any kinds of methodological approach, it is essential to question its status and the ability of researchers to capture *‘how it really was, or is’*. Researchers all depend on data, and therefore the most important consideration is that the data actually presents real features of society. Maguire (1988, p. 190) argues this:

Equally, neither is there such a thing as an innocent text. Nor do the facts simply speak for themselves. Whereas, perforce, analyses have to view the past through the *‘narrow’* and *‘misty lens’* of what particular writers thought and felt, the researcher is still able to assess how blurred the image actually is.

It can be understood that researchers should analyse evidence based on how it was produced; not only should researchers read the text itself, but they should also read the circumstances surrounding the text. Thus, researchers should recognize that the key point of the *‘adequacy of evidence’* is to analyse evidence that is interwoven with the varied socio-cultural interconnections, and also gets twisted around within the particular power geometry of different times and spaces. Therefore, the researcher can access the

text writer's condition to produce the data and can obtain the writer's viewpoint (Maguire, 1988). It is also important to assess adequacy of evidence. This depends on establishing an accurate pattern of interdependency between classes and other groups (Maguire & Young, 2002). The most important consideration is positioning the balance of power between them (Maguire & Young, 2002). This needs more elaboration in terms of insider and outsider:

The insider's account will provide, sometimes inadvertently, the minutiae and emotional resonance of what is being examined. The outsider's account is likely to provide a more detached view but may be distorted as a result of bias, such as class or gender bias, or lack of detailed knowledge. (Maguire and Young, 2002, p. 18)

Therefore, for figurational sociology, it is essential that the subject be positioned as insider and outsider with an understanding of interdependent circumstances between classes and other social groups when researchers are faced with their materials. Having considered the important concepts of figurational sociology's methodological stance for this research, the next section discusses the details of the different methods used in this research, such as newspaper content analysis for historical context, textual analysis for fitness-related programmes, semi-structured interviews with cultural intermediaries, participant observation for fitness media production, and health clubs and members and narrative inquiry.

### **3.5 Newspaper Content Analysis for Historical Context**

Historical context is one point of the fitness field network worth noting with regards to certain evolved facets of the E-O figuration of the body. According to Ferguson (1998, p. 600), fitness as a cultural field needs "second-order" products like fitness texts, publications, forms of expertise, qualifications, etc. The newspapers' coverage the E-O figuration of the body also delivers important context to readers spanning the last 100 years of history in Korea. Therefore, these newspaper articles regarding the E-O figuration of the body acted as one of the more crucial research tools that I used in order to unearth a more grounded and definite concept of the fit body in Korea, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Content analysis is one of the most useful methods to analyze media texts such as newspaper texts or radio and television content (Seale 2004, p. 368; Bryman, 2001,

p.177). More specifically, the body discourses of the Korean people throughout history can be reviewed by using a research model suggested by De Oca (2005). De Oca (2005) examined the concept of cultural citizenship and the ‘muscle gap (physical strength can protect the United States)’, which were cultural policies for young white males during the Cold War. He analyzed 473 articles from newspapers (1945-1965), such as *The New York Times* and *The Los Angeles Times*, and magazines (1951-1963). The analysis codes were ‘physical fitness’, ‘soft American’, and ‘flabby American’ for the newspapers. For the magazines, ‘physical fitness’ and ‘health men’ or ‘health women’ were chosen.

Chapter 4 divided the Korean body’s history into the early modern (1896 -1899, *The Danhan Empire*), modern (1963-1979, Park Chung-hee Regime), and post-modern (2003-2012) historical eras so as to focus on three cases that show how society and individuals concerning ownership of the body as well as socio-cultural conditions have helped to shape the burgeoning field of fitness. The first period is the first time that Koreans have developed the concept of modern body. The second era is one in which social bodies were demanded for the nation’s economic modernization under the Park Chung-hee Regime. And finally, the third period is consumer lifestyle projection within the spectrum of Momzzang syndrome since 2000.

Chapter 4 examined one old newspaper and three major daily newspapers in order to examine the issues described above by using qualitative analysis: *The Independent* (1896-1899), *The Dong-A Daily* (1920-2012), *The Kyung-Hyang Daily* (1946-2012), and *The Hankyoreh* (1988-2012). The *Dong-A Daily* is one of the main right-wing newspapers in Korea as well as the largest Korean newspaper. *The Hankyoreh* daily newspaper – a traditional left-wing newspaper – has been owned via the private stock of the Korean people since 1988. They have been kept as digital data, so they can be retrieved online. Specifically, I focused on three cases (new men in the 19th century, 1960-1970's the emergence of the slogan ‘physical strength is national power’, and *Momzzang* syndrome since the 2000s) and analyzed newspaper articles (‘sports day’ 47 articles, ‘physical strength is national power’ 558 articles, & ‘Mozzang’ 427 articles in Korean newspapers). Articles related to ‘sports days’ from 1896 -1899 were retrieved through Korean Integrated Newspaper Database System (KINDS, <http://www.kinds.or.kr>). Articles from 1920 to 1999 were retrieved through old newspaper websites (<http://newslibrary.naver.com/search/searchByDate.nhn#>) using the keyword ‘North Puppet’, ‘Physical strength is national power’ and ‘body building-

health club- fitness.’ Articles in the 2000s, were retrieved through KINDS, using the keywords of ‘\_body building-health club- fitness’ and ‘\_momzzang’ considering the current capital-related characteristics of a body. Secondary literature were used along with the articles in order to examine discourses on physical strength, health, and appearance in Korea.

### 3.6 Textual Analysis

Chapter 5 employed textual analysis for analyzing fitness media texts. Textual analysis identifies the use of texts as a social behaviour or social interaction, and seeks to learn precisely how dominant social structures and social inequalities have been reproduced through each discourse by explaining ideological factors that are inherent in structures (van Dijk, 1993; 1995). The discourse considered by this method includes all forms of character, visual and auditory texts, as defined by Gill (1996). However, due to language polysemy, different interpretations are possible depending upon the perspectives of the textual analysis. Therefore, Wodak & Meyer (2009) argued that in order to produce more reliable investigations, researchers needed to clarify their theoretical perspectives and present the direction of their textual interpretation. Accordingly, this thesis analyzed how the bodies of the established who have a fit body and those of outsiders who have a non-fit body are represented in a fitness program based on Bourdieu’s and Elias’ theoretical frameworks.

- What is the nature of symbolic violence as it occurs between the fit body group and non-fit body groups?

Textual analysis derives its academic basis from linguistics and literary theory, and therefore makes use of decidedly micro approaches such as analysis of grammatical characteristics of texts – as well as the incorporation of comprehensive analytical frameworks such as structural analysis of texts – by borrowing certain semiotic theories (Fairclough, 1995). Among such approaches, this study adopts the method of text form analysis presented by van Dijk (1993). Text form analysis aims to analyze linguistic elements and its subjects may be classified into use of vocabulary, use of constructions, use of viewpoints and use of rhetoric (van Dijk, 1993). Analyzing the use of vocabulary refers to examining characteristics that heighten or degrade meanings of text using specific words. Analysis of constructions means analyzing how the way one uses a certain sentence and the location of its insertion affect the composition of textual

content. Analysis of use of viewpoints relates to analyzing a text's objectivity or subjectivity with respect to how this changes in accordance with a speaker's position or attitudes. Analysis of use of rhetoric indicates interpreting metaphors and analogies aimed at enhancing a text's persuasive power.

In TV broadcasting, visual images play an important role in producing and delivering meanings along with linguistic texts. Regarding the analysis of video images, they may be classified into three elements—camera shots, background, and editing techniques—and analyzed because ways of using such elements contribute to the formation of different semantic systems (Kennedy & Hills, 2009). However, this study has limitations in that it focuses on analyzing texts of fitness-related programs and does not include the process of actual program receivers' interpretation of such messages.

I chose the programs *Extra.Ordinary Men Season 2* (2012) and *Diet War Season 6* (2012) because these two programs are achieving relatively high ratings with regards to cable TV programs. Most lifestyle programs are finished after being broadcasted for somewhat short periods of 2 to 6 months. The masters of ceremonies, or hosts of these programs (hereafter, MCs) usually have low public recognition and are frequently replaced. However, MCs and eminently recognizable guests appear with greater frequency on these two shows compared to other lifestyle programs. In addition, the head office is concentrating its efforts on these programs.

### **3.7 Participant Observation**

According to Walsh (1998), ethnography is divided into four categories, depending on the possible observer roles: complete participant, complete observer, participant as observer, and observer as participant. All four of these observation positions relate to the question of whether the research being conducted is covert or overt. Fielding (1993) mentions that the covert approach is useful for some research where access would be unfeasible. However, the covert method also raises 'major problems of an ethical and practical kind and a massive problem if the cover is blown' (Walsh, 1998, p. 222). Fielding (1993) also argues that an overt approach cannot solve all of the problems associated with covert research. Therefore, Fielding (1993) admits that overt and covert approaches always 'shade into each other' (p. 160). Therefore, in this research I take a more detached perspective as an overt participant observer.

### 3.7.1 Media Production

Chapter 5 focused on how the production of fitness texts, specifically the programs *Extra.Ordinary Men 2* (2012) and *Diet War 6* (2012) construct E-O figurations of the body. I chose these two programs to analyze media production – the main reasons being that this channel is one belonging to a Korean mogul company. CJ Corporation integrated its five Cable TV associates into one Lifestyle Cable TV. Unsurprisingly, the viewership of this program is higher than other Cable TV programs. I also chose this particular network because I could obtain access to observe these programs because I have a relative who is currently working as an executive director of CJ E & M<sup>7</sup>. He connected me with chief producer Ra and producer Da who were making these programs. Also the producers introduced their staff (marketing), outsourced producers and writers, star trainers, and presenters in the two programs.

Participants in the production of *Extra.Ordinary Men 2* include the chief producer and marketing staff of the main channel CJ E&M XTM, six producers of the outsourced production company KOEN Media, five writers, contracted technical employees, two main presenters, three main trainers, five assisting female trainers and 100 challengers for participation in the show. Participants in the production of *Diet War* include the chief producer and 11 directing producers of CJ E&M StoryON, 7 writers, contracted technical employees, one MC, four trainers and challengers (11 for episode 3 and 6 for episode 10).

I tried to capture discussion among producers and motivational powers while participating in and observing planning meetings and informal meetings (in addition to conducting field work and observation/interviews). However, the scope of these activities was limited. A major reason for this was that security is always maintained over budget execution related to production. In the case of the program *Diet War*, I could not access planning meetings because of the confidentiality of the content (since this program was produced in advance). The scope of my access to these two programs was limited to production sites in studios and interviews with relevant producers, star trainers, and marketing staff. In the present study, while keeping the question of ‘\_What position or standpoint in the field makes the producer conduct act or speak?’ (Spradley, 1979) in mind, I tried to elucidate the limitations and meanings of producers’ acts by

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<sup>7</sup> CJ Entertainment & Media

reconstructing and reading the relationships between producer groups in the field based on the positions of individual producers.

The program *Diet War 6* was produced in-house by StoryON<sup>8</sup>. Since the preproduction system was adopted for this program, the producers felt somewhat burdened concerning early exposure, as they kept asking me to maintain the confidentiality of the contents to be broadcasted. They were afraid of being monitored in relation to the production process of the program. One of the challengers caused a problem after taking an appetite suppressant – after this, they allowed only one opportunity for participating observation under the premise that they should prevent the information from being disclosed before broadcasting this episode.

All data collected were documented and systematically organized. Then, by focusing on the power of program production practice to intervene in the content of programs, the data were analyzed in accordance with a procedure for analysis consisting of six steps: 1) organizing the data and getting familiar with the data, 2) making categories, themes, and patterns, 3) data coding, 4) checking the initial understanding and interpretation of the data 5) finding alternative interpretations and explanations 6) report preparing (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

Participant observation and interviews for *Extra.Ordinary Men 2* were conducted in April 2012 (Episodes 8, 9, 10, and 11) and those for the program *Diet War 6* were conducted in April and July 2012 (Episodes 3 and 10). The participant observation was mainly conducted in the CJ E&M multi-studio.

### 3.7.2 *Fitness Club (Site, Members, and Trainers)*

Another angle that I pursued was participant observation of members in fitness sites. The utility of participant observation in observing fitness consumers is shown in certain research (Smith Maguire, 2008a; Mansfield, 2005; Crossley, 2006; Frew & McGillivray, 2005; Sassatelli, 1999). Through participant observation and interviews, this thesis looked at power relations between fitness clubs of two areas that reflect the hierarchical differences within Seoul. Zoning standards refer to areas like Gangnam and Gangbuk. This research observed E-O figurations in both Gangnam and Gangbuk fitness centres that were identified with the upper class and middle class, respectively (see table 3.1).

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<sup>8</sup> StoryON by CJ E&M

**Table 3. 1:** Subject of fitness clubs

Area		Club	Characteristics	Member
Established	Gangnam	Professional/managerial <i>Gangnam Fitness Club</i>	Upper Class Membership(high price) Famous personal trainers	E
				O
Outsider	Gangbuk	General commercial <i>Gangbuk Health Centre</i>	Middle Class Membership (low price) General personal trainers	E
				O

As per the findings of Elias and Scotson (1994), I endeavoured to follow the network of gossip and stigmatization between E-O figuration of the body. This observation was also based on a collective level and an individual level, respectively. In addition, the issue of collective identity regarding the established order versus the outsider and the various internalization processes of individual members was observed at length. For this, I used the principle of appropriate involvement and detachment.

It was important to know who belonged to the established group and who belonged to the outsider group, so I made sure to ask fitness managers and personal trainers for clarification if necessary. Access to the health clubs can be made possible through my social networks. In the case of *Gangnam Fitness Club*, my relative (brother-in-law) introduced me to the managing director and allowed me to access the Club. At the same time my acquaintance (former supervisor) introduced me to members who have memberships in the club. With two avenues of entry, I could access the club and meet the members as well as the trainers. After entering this place, most step, health instructor, concierges, trainers were favourable in their disposition. My first impression as a stranger improved over time as I got to know the members in the club. The sampling of members was continued with the help of the manager and the members as well. The meeting places were mostly their offices and near cafes around their companies. Most CEOs preferred to meet in the morning time or after lunch in their offices, while the lawyer and the doctor preferred to meet in the café around their offices after 8:00pm, and young members preferred to meet in trendy restaurants. Sometimes, I met with people who demanded interview conditions including time and limitation of questions. In the case of *Gangbuk Health Centre*, my friend introduced the manager of the centre and I also purchased a short membership. The sampling of members was continued with the continued assistance of the manager and the members. Interviews with them took place after their shifts around their workplaces given the

nature of their occupations. Self-employers were relatively free, so I could meet them anytime.

I conducted an investigation using participant observation and interviews with each group member (Gangnam 12: Gangbuk 12) and personal trainer (Gangnam 13: Gangbuk 10) in order to find how they form their own identity as a member of a group in the fitness centre as a social space (see appendices). This stage of participant observation and interviews was conducted from June to July 2012. I observed fitness consumers in each fitness centre for 3-4 hours per day.

### **3.8 In-depth Interviews**

One of the advantages of in-depth interviews is that researchers can acquire data including diverse views about one consistent theme. Through the process of recording, grounded data can be collected for detailed analysis. Qualitative interviews make continued and flexible research through less structured formats possible while questionnaires are to be strictly structured in surveys. Qualitative interviews make interaction between the interviewer and the respondent possible so that researchers can develop increasingly accurate and grounded models about phenomena under study by doing the processes of information gathering, analysis, trade-offs and examinations each time (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). Thus, in this research, interviews with respondents were designed not to simply force the recording of answers to the questions of the interviewee but for the sake of interpreting and understanding the meanings behind responses.

I adopted a semi-standardized interview, which uses the special interview format for reconstructing subjective theory. In subjective theory, it is assumed that the interviewee has accumulated complex knowledge about the topic (Flick, 2009). Interviews are on their working practice focusing on how TV producers and star trainers, and club trainers mediate the value of the fit body. However, the in-depth interviews have certain limitations. They are difficult to generalize because they do not adopt random sampling. Qualitative interviews are not easy to standardize by carrying out non-structured interview questions, so an interviewers' biases can be heavily involved in the execution of the interview. Also, investigators may relate to the respondents indirectly in response to a display of the respondents through acting or voice, thus raising the problem of the validity (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994). To avoid the

limitations of the in-depth interviews, the strategies of involvement and detachment are needed in said interviews.

### 3.8.1 Interviews with TV producers

Chapter 6 considered TV producers who are making TV body-making programs as cultural intermediaries for the fit body. To this end, I interviewed five TV producers (Ga, Na, Da, Ra, and Ma) to find out their roles in connecting fitness consumers and producers in addition to reproducing public beliefs concerning the fit body. All of the names are pseudonyms. They represent people who are making TV programs related to health and appearance including fitness in Korean broadcasting sectors, both commercial/non-commercial and terrestrial/cable. They are experienced TV producers (10-20 year career) and have varying personal backgrounds with respect to their ages, gender, education level, marital statuses, and professional careers (see table 3.2).

**Table 3. 2:** TV producers' personal careers

Name	Ga	Na	Da	Ra	Ma
Company	Terrestrial TV	Terrestrial TV	Cable TV	Cable TV	Outsourcing
	KBS <sup>9</sup>	SBS <sup>10</sup>	CJ E&M <sup>11</sup>	CJ E&M	KOEN Media
Program	<i>Vitamin</i>	<i>Diet King &amp; BIGsTORY</i>	<i>Diet War 6</i>	<i>Extra.Ordinary Men2</i>	<i>Extra.Ordinary Men2</i>
Age	35	45	33	39	35
Gender	Female	Male	Male	Male	Male
Marital Status	Married	Married	Married	Married	Single
Education	BA	BA	BA	BA	College
Major	Chinese writing	Economics	Journalism and Broadcasting	Biotechnology	
Experience	12 years	20 years	12 years (3years)	13years (3years)	16 years (2years)
Notes	Debuted as a main producer with <i>Vitamin</i>	-Entertainment -Humanity	-Specializing in travel	- Specializing in Sports (baseball and martial arts)	- Entertainment - Marathon runner
Program duration	2 years (assistant) & 8months (main)	3years	6years	3years	3years

<sup>9</sup> Korean Broadcasting System.

<sup>10</sup> Seoul Broadcasting System.

<sup>11</sup> CJ Entertainment & Media.

The interviews were conducted in April 2012. The interview consisted of face-to-face questions, and additional interviews were done by e-mail and telephone. I was able to contact the producers because I am acquainted with some directly and because I am also familiar with some people working with these producers in Korea's broadcasting sector.

### 3.8.2 Interviews with star trainers

To understand the role of star trainers as cultural intermediaries of fit bodies, chapter 5 conducted in-depth interviews of four star trainers who were featured in the TV program, *Extra.Ordinary Men 2* and *Diet War 6*: Dae, Han, Min, and Guk (all of the names are pseudonyms, see table 3. 3). These interviewees were all male trainers. They played roles of both presenters and trainers on TV fitness programs. Dae and Han presented in *Extra.Ordinary Men 2*. Trainer Dae work for the part of weight training and Han worked for Life fitness (applied fitness exercise). Min and Guk present on *Diet War 6* by helping the challengers recover normal bodies in each red and blue team. Contacts with star trainers were made through TV producers who in are charge of the two programs.

**Table 3. 3:** Star trainers' careers

Name	Program	Biz	Profile	Career
Dae	<i>Extra Ordinary men 2</i>	CEO, Wanna Fit Studio	Age: 28 Male Single Major: Physical Society Judo and golf	PT: 8 years (university, army, and fitness centres)  Las Vegas World championship (2011)- 2 <sup>nd</sup> place
Han	<i>Extra.Ordinary Men 2</i>	Hangang Fitness Club	Age: 35 Male Single	PT: 15 years Major: Physical Education (Taekwondo) Body builder Sports Industry (MA)
Min	<i>Diet War 6</i>	Club M	Age: 29 Single	PT: 8 years Handball national standing army Las Vegas World championship – champion (2010, pro card) Grand prix champion (2012)
Guk	<i>Diet War 6</i>	Star Body Fitness Club	Age: 31 Male Single	PT : 6years (from 2007) Major: Physical Society Bodybuilder Sports Trainer Rehabilitation Certification (Level 1) Chiropractic Certification (Level 2)

All the interviewees are among the most well-known star trainers in Korean society because they have created stars' bodies, been presented on TV fitness programs as body experts and ad model for fitness products, run their own fitness studios in the Gangnam area and have held titles in domestic and international competitions.

Trainers who specialize in sports were at first embarrassed to partake in an academic interview. They wondered about the value of interviewing a star trainer: ~~Is~~ "Is my job able to be a research topic? It's amazing". They have many experiences of being interviewed for TV, radio, newspapers and magazines and good rhetorical skills. Yet, because they were not familiar with academic interviews, they worried about how to properly answer the questions. Some asked me to send questions I would ask them. To make them comfortable toward interviews, I explained it was a conversation about body making and TV programs between him and me.

Interviews were conducted during April 2012 and participant observations (TV Studio) were held from March to April and June to July 2012 according to the period of production. I interviewed the trainers in a variety of places, such as a production studio, waiting room, a café in the CJ E&M Building and a star trainer's own PT studio.

### **3.9 Narrative Inquiry**

A comparative analysis of the spatial significances of *Gangnam Fitness Club* and *Gangbuk Health Centre* were performed with narrative inquiry. Narrative inquiry is a method that can express a human's world experience at the utmost (Klein, 1993; Creswell, 2007; Connelly & Clandinin, 2000). The focus of these studies may be framed somewhat by how each researcher's point of view is mainly established by their theoretical background. Creswell (2007) pays attention to another narrative inquiry as a particular focus of the study, electing not to simply sum up the experience of a person's life. Klein (1993) compared the characteristics of the body-building groups and places understanding social or historical phenomenon, or the exploration such as for human itself.

Narrative inquiry raises questions about interested phenomena emotionally as well as intellectually. Moreover, the method used here to write the story alive by considering the problems of subtle emotions that are drawn from the relationship between researchers and participants is an effective one. Thus, this study through

narrative inquiry has academic as well as emotional features (Connelly & Clandinin, 2000, p. 154).

It is also a learning process in how to inquire after 'three-dimensional narrative inquiry spaces' that entail means of personal social interaction, time continuity like past· present · future, and situations such as the concept of place. Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p. 50) mention that with particular respect to the four directions of the interaction that are clarified as inward, outward, backward, and forward. Also, memory box items allow researchers to remind themselves as well as their clients about the important memories about people and events (Connelly & Clandinin, 2000). Thus, Chapter 7 performs a narrative inquiry for retelling the characteristics of two health clubs that include spatial characteristics, use of time, the member attributes and their lifestyle, interactions with others, etc. *Gangnam Fitness Club* and *Gangbuk Health Centre* have different characteristics of closure/openness, membership, socioeconomic positions, their family relations, exercise, manners and etiquette, lifestyles and relationships between members and trainers.

### **3. 10 Ethical Consideration**

Researchers need to be cautious about several ethical issues that may arise in the process of fieldwork concerning the relationship with participants (Yoon, 2013; Mason, 2002). Researchers need to provide respondents with information regarding the process of data collection and how data is treated once collected. They have obligations to protect respondents' privacy and anonymity, and should not exploit participants for the research. The ethical principles set out by the University of Leicester have guided this project. The participants involved in this thesis approved participation by reading and signing an information sheet and consent form. They were free to discontinue their response at any time if they no longer felt inclined to participate in the project. Interviewees who wanted or needed to see and check the transcripts of their interviews read and reflected on some of their interviews. This process helped them to adjust and clarify some comments.

Most interviewees gave me positive responses about interviews and observations except for one trainer. He tried to be interviewed, but he withdrew his opinion 10 minutes after beginning. The main reason was that he did not want to talk about himself. Also, when I requested to interview with one star trainer, he suggested conditional

interview acceptance. He demanded not to ask about his body-making knowhow. I therefore did not interview him because he did not want to be completely open in his interview because of privacy concerns. Another main ethical issue in this thesis relates to the conservation of anonymity, confidentiality and privacy of the participants. All of the names used in the thesis are pseudonyms for preventing their identification in the thesis and any future publications.

### **3. 11 Conclusion**

Chapter 3 has examined methodological assumptions in research, the quantitative and qualitative debate, the figurational approach regarding epistemological and ontological concerns, the field of qualitative research, practical issues of the methods I used, and ethical considerations.

In light of Elias's (1978; 1987) ideas about involvement and detachment, I tried to keep a balance between an involved perspective and a more detached viewpoint for gaining more adequate knowledge about body power relations in the fitness field. As Maguire (1988) and Dunning & Hughes (2013) discussed, I adopted the figurational method in order to add value to the research process by relating the adequacy of evidence, the use of developmental thinking, the personal pronoun model and the interplay between evidence and theoretical analysis.

Multi-methods were useful for understanding Korean fit body issues in macro and micro perspectives: newspaper content analysis for historical context (De Oca, 2005), textual analysis, participant observation and interviews for fitness media team, fitness clubs, members, and trainers, and star trainers a narrative inquiry for fitness clubs. In using these methods, the methodological concerns, procedures, limits, and ethical considerations were explained.

## Chapter 4

### Historical Korean Context

#### 4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore how the production and consumption of the fit body has been a cultural phenomenon connected to Korea's unique social and historical context. I start with the point that making the fit body in Korean society consists of the social, cultural, and historical discursive formation (De Oca, 2005) and focus on the power relations between the established body and the outsider body (Elias & Scotson, 1994). Specifically, I focus on three cases (new men in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>12</sup>, 1960-1970's the emergence of the slogan 'physical strength is national power', and fit body syndrome since the 2000s) and analyse newspaper articles after determining which period is important in the history of the body in Korea.

Period I (1894-1962) is characterized by the emergence of modern physical values, a mixed presence of traditional Confucian ideas and modern physical values. Regarding the given period, this chapter performs an analysis of physical education by examining modern schools, a new group of teachers in charge of education, the role of the modern media in creating a physical discourse, and articles related to the sports day as exhibited in *The Independent*. Based on the results, this chapter examines the national events performed and symbolic icons created that were aimed at building the nation and its people.

Secondly, the bodies of Koreans mobilized by the country during the regime of Park Chung-hee<sup>13</sup> are examined. In light of this, an analysis is performed on articles related to the 'North Korean puppet regime', 'Physical fitness is the national power', and 'physical examination system' (*Dong-A*, *Kyunghyang*, and *Hankyoreh*). By doing so, the body that was suggested by the country under a military dictatorship and the combinations of established and outsider bodies are analyzed in this process.

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<sup>12</sup> While different opinions exist over the division of Korea's time of enlightenment, this study defined the period as 1876, in which the Ganghwa-do Treaty was signed and the national sovereignty began to weaken, to 1910 in which Japan's occupation of Joseon started.

<sup>13</sup> The family name is Park.

Thirdly, entering the period of democratization after the fall of the military dictatorship, Koreans focused on individual body projects and lifestyles. In particular, this chapter examines the *momzzang* (fit body) syndrome that has appeared in Korean society since the 2000s. A review is made on how the *momzzang* combinations have been exhibited in Korean society through *momzzang*-related articles published on the newspapers *Dong-A* and *Hankyoreh*.

#### 4. 2 Period I: Patriotism and Making New Men in the 19th Century

The modern concept of the Korean body appeared during Period I. In Joseon<sup>14</sup> in the 1900s, there was no army to discipline men and no system to provide all children with regular physical education (Park, 2009, p. 138). Emperor Gojong (1852-1919) saw physical education for children as an important difference between traditional domestic society and Western influences, so he adopted it in school curriculums, thus ushering in an era of military-style physical education. These actions demonstrate that the idealized standards were certainly based upon Western values. ‘New’ was displayed as the standard of civilization. Under the American military rule of Korea that came in the wake of civil war in Korea, the American emerged as the standard of civilization. The roles of modern schools (Koo, 2007; Gong & Kim, 2010) and the newspaper *The Independent* were essential for delivering modern corporeal culture and discourses to the nation (Chae, 2006; N. Lee, 2000; Park, 2009).

##### 4.2.1 New Modern Schools

Learning history started in English schools establishing the ‘inventions of tradition’ like the new foundation day, ceremonies, heroes, and symbolic monuments, all of which were built between the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). In the Korean Empire (1897-1910), modern schools were built within a rapidly changing new order characterized by international communities and competitions and under the influence of the theory of social evolution.<sup>15</sup> Especially, new foreign language schools were established in order to

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<sup>14</sup> In the past, Joseon and Chosun were jointly used. Joseon is used in this paper.

<sup>15</sup> Scholars began to accept the claim that the ‘struggle for existence is the driving force of evolution.’ (‘Era of competition,’ *Hwangseong Sinmun*, editorial on Nov. 19, 1906; ‘Evolve, fellowmen,’ *Daehan Maeil Sinbo*, editorial on Sept. 27, 1908).

cultivate professionals with foreign language proficiency, called official interpreters. In the earlier Korean history, a system to cultivate official interpreters for Chinese and Japanese had existed. However, at this time, the language education in English, French, Russian, and German, other than Chinese and Japanese, commenced in earnest under the country's leadership.

On the other hand, the traditional status and *Gwa-geo* (the highest-level state examination to recruit ranking officials in the Joseon Dynasty) systems were abolished and a new official appointment system was implemented. This made it possible for people with foreign language proficiency to enter into various government posts and even into high-level ones relatively easily (Park, 2011). A review of the social backgrounds of 240 people who graduated from governmental foreign language schools revealed that the group consisted of 39 people from prestigious families, 47 people from prestigious families of interpreters, 37 people who were the children of government officials, and 15 people who passed the *Gwa-geo* (Park, 2011). Given that Emperor Gojong selected the children of distinguished or *Yangban* (the noble) families and government officials and enrolled them in the school run by the government (Kim, 2007, pp. 105-7), the majority of students who went to foreign language schools in those days may have been from the middle and upper classes rather than the lower class.

In addition, Joseon people who received new types of education and foreigners formed a new teachers' group on behalf of traditional Confucian scholars (Kim, 2009; Goo, 2004). Modern schools were run by teachers, mainly consisting of missionaries from the West. In particular, foreigners and Joseon people who had received modern education formed a new group of teachers, replacing the cultural as well as systemic authority of the traditional Confucian scholars (S. Kim, 2009; Goo, 2009).<sup>16</sup> The major players who propagated modern physical culture included P. Gillet and H. Hulbert from the U.S.A. who were responsible for contributing to the initial YMCA (Hwangseong Young Men's Christian Association) movement in Korea, W. Huchison (from the U.K., also a teacher in a British school), T. E. Halifax and G. Framton (associate teachers in the same school as Huchison), and E. Martel (a teacher from one of France's primary schools). Together, they propagated various Western sports in schools and also to the general public through social organizations (H. Lee, 2003; J. Kim, 2008). Because they came to Korea for Christian missionary work, high-ranking officials were often very

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<sup>16</sup> They replaced the traditional Korean teacher's position of *Hoon Jang* in the old school system, *Seo-dang*.

amenable to them (Jeon, 1994, p. 24). Among these innovators, the activities of Huchison are the most worthy of note. He organized *Hwaryuhoe* which marked the beginning of institutionalized Korean sports days and led the propagation of sports in English schools together with other English schoolteachers (S. Kim, 2009; I. Lee 1993). Through a cyclical process, graduates of the school became teachers and religious and political leaders, and even governors of the colony. W. Huchison was faithful to such situations in British secondary schools and regarded various sports games such as soccer as well as military gymnastics highly (I. Lee, 1993).

Furthermore, the ethnic games of Joseon along with some playful games were transformed and institutionalized in tune with the context of Joseon from the parent culture of British recreation. Traditional folk games were given public forums and used as a means to discipline a new class of boys. Through the correctional action of these games, schools found it easy to nurture the middle class (Sutton-Smith, 1997, p. 97). The characteristic that clearly distinguishes traditional societies from modern societies is the extreme dynamism of modernity. This is expressed as the ‘run away world’ since the society’s qualitative and quantitative changes proceed based on a speed, depth and scope that former traditional societies had not experienced (Giddens, 1990, p. 17-45; 1991, pp.14-21; 1999, pp. xi-xii). Moreover, globalization has multi-directional characteristics in terms of people, practices, customs, and thoughts. On the other hand, given that the spread or pressure of global standards accelerates the advance of glocalization and regionalization, it may also refer to glocalization (Robertson, 1992). Robertson (1992) suggested that the exclusion of local from global is meaningless, and in some way, the definition of global should be preceded by a recognition of the existence of regionality with globalism. Existing studies that utilized the concepts of global culture and cultural hybridity (Laguerre, 2003; Zukin, 1995; Canclini, 2001; Silva, 2002; Yeung, 2000) show that in the modern context, popular culture is already based on a hybrid mix at above a certain degree regardless of which country it is from. Studies of such a phenomenon have focused not only on first world cultures (Laguerre, 2003; Zukin, 1995) in which capitalism was developed earlier on, but also on the so-called third-world countries that strived to defend the regional specificity of their own cultures prior to the modernization (e.g. a study of Canclini (2001) on the progress of the cultural hybridity of South American popular cultures, a study of Silva (2002) on South Asia (2002), and a study of Yeung (2002) on China and other East Asian regions).

As these two aspects intersect, certain questions arise, such as at which point balances and blends have taken place, how they have changed, and how they would change (Jarvie & Maguire, 1994, pp. 250-6; Maguire, 1999, pp.36-56, 84-92). While the globalization of sports threatens to destroy indigenous cultures, it also offers opportunities for developing countries to renew their ethnic identity by undergoing conflicts with it (Maguire, 1999, pp. 176-206). While the cultural differences between the East and the West that Korea and England experience have reduced, the simultaneous formations of Americanization, Europeanization, Orientalization, Africanization, and South Americanization result in further increases in diversity.

#### 4.2.2 *The Independent*

With the development of printing capitalism, various national events have helped even the people who did not watch such events to experience national simultaneousness on an extensive scale (Anderson, 2006). Representative media outlets were of the printed media variety, such as newspapers including *The Independent*<sup>17</sup>, *Daehan Maeil Sinbo*, and *Jeguk Sinmun* as well as magazines like *Seou* and *Daehan Jagang*.<sup>18</sup> Most Joseon people were illiterate, but the reciting culture was alive and well (N. Lee, 2000)<sup>19</sup> – allowing this conception of modern masculinity to propagate into even the surrounding rural communities. It was also dispersed mainly through public lectures such as those held in the Independence Hall by the Independence Association. *The Independent* emphasized loyalty to the king and the country and patriotism (Ryu, 2003; Chae, 2006; N. Lee, 2000).

In the early phase, the newspaper stressed ‘caring for the king, serving the government, loving the country’s own people, and serving foreigners as brothers without doubts’ (April 7 and 9, 1896). *The Independent* explained that Emperor Gojong who stayed in the official residence of Russia due to the historical event *Agwan Pacheon*<sup>20</sup> did not return to the palace because the people did not know how to protect

<sup>17</sup> The circulation of *The Independent*, which started with 300 copies, increased up to about 3,000 copies as of July, 1898 (N. Lee, 2000).

<sup>18</sup> *The Independent*, which was the main medium of the new ‘masculinity’ argument in late 1890s was closed by the government on December 4, 1899.

<sup>19</sup> At the market in Umang-ri, Yanggu-gun, Gangwon-do, the head of the county gathered people and had a person who read well to read out the contents of *The Independent* (November 9, 1898).

<sup>20</sup> Korea royal Refuge (Feb 11, 1896 – Feb 25, 1897): Emperor Gojong and the Crown Prince moved to the Russian legation from the Royal Palace because of conspiracies between pro-Russian people and the Russian consul.

the king and took care of their own body more than the country (April 23, 1896: editorial). In addition, it also claimed that these events were the result of ‘the foolishness of the people, and their absence of the heart that cares for the country’ (May 16 1896: editorial). Articles in *The Independent* in 1896 and 1897 mostly criticized the lack of civilization in the country’s people, and emphasized that education and enlightenment would be able to cultivate affection for the nation. In one article, the paper opined that:

...it insisted that the path to loyalty to the king and patriotism would not be opened by knowing, but would require the courageous determination to the extent of throwing away one’s own life. Further, it emphasized the acts aimed at fully devoting oneself to the country and dying for it through courageousness are the duty of the nation’s people. (Feb 21, 1898: editorial)

By publishing articles on various celebrations and sports days, the newspaper continuously explained that such events were acts of love toward the country. Through these media outlets, enlightenment advocates conveyed new man models. It focused on showing the strong patriotism of Western powers and Japanese people and reminding the public of the importance of patriotism by mentioning facts about Napoleon and the administration of Bismarck (Ryu, 2003). In addition, they re-appropriated the traditional images of *Yeongaesonum* (unknown- 666, politician,) and *Lee Sun-Sin* (1545-1598, Admiral in Joseon) into symbols of modern patriotic heroes, and ‘Ahn Jung-Geun (1879-1910, Independence activist<sup>21</sup>)’ as a new traditional hero and a modern incarnation of martialism (Park, 1980).

Enlightenment advocates asserted the encouragement of physical education to make ‘muscular men’ through printed media. The craving for patriotic, self-sacrificial masculinity led to a newfound emphasis on sports, stemming from the viewpoint of physical education as a virtue closely associated to a strong internal desire for independence. These scholars believed that only militarized people who had been trained for sports, masculinity and adventurous spirits could successfully execute the save-the-nation drive. In other words, national physical strength quickly became the ideological prerequisite for independence and modernization.

#### 4.2.3 Sports days

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<sup>21</sup> He assassinated Ito Hirobumi, the first prime minister in Japan.

Reflecting upon the demands of these times, Emperor Gojong issued the ‘Royal message on the establishment of the state on the basis of education, 1895.’<sup>22</sup> He ordered ‘general physical exercise’ and ‘military physical exercise’ in schools by issuing unprecedented levels of control and regulations of schools at every level (Korean Olympic Committee, 1970, p. 99). In this process, the people of the Enlightenment era began to discover new bodies, playfields, competition, rules, capitalism, and the nation (‘we’) through sports days. To examine this phenomenon in further detail, 47 articles related to ‘sports days’ in *The Independent* (1896-1899) and other historical materials were analyzed. The ‘table 4.1’ has been formed with a focus on the articles related to sports days, which were published in *The Independent* at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The first school sports day began under the name of *hwaryuhwe* at a governmental foreign language school in May 1896. Afterward, the sports day of a primary school appeared under the name of ‘sports day’ (May 31, 1896). The venue was changed from Samseonpyeong<sup>23</sup> to the training centre<sup>24</sup>. This suggests that a new sports day was emerging and closely linked to the established group. At the training centre, in which high-level government officials participated, the students of primary school students played games and sang the national anthem (*The Independent* Jun 2 and 6, 1896). The sports days of governmental and public schools in Hanseong (May 31, 1896; Apr 27, 1897; May 28, 1898; May 31, 1898; Apr 29, 1899; May 2, 1899), which were held by the support and sponsorship of the government and the Independence Club, were run in the form of a state ritual.

The sports day was conducted like a national ritual, with high government officials stationed where the national flag<sup>25</sup> was to be raised and people singing the national anthem on the sports day of the government and public primary schools in April 1897 (*The Independent*, Apr 29, 1897: 1). Jae-Pil Seo from the Independence Club hinted at the true meaning of raising the national flag in his speech: “The meaning is that we, the nation of Joseon, would like to see the independence of Joseon as other nations in the world” (*The Independent*, April 29, 1897). Since then, the national flag has been raised for every United Sports Day to present day.

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<sup>22</sup> Royal message on the establishment of the state on the basis of education, Official Gazette, year 504 from national foundation (1895), February 2.

<sup>23</sup> Local name.

<sup>24</sup> The Training centre was the government office in charge of the martial arts training and tests of soldiers in the Joseon Dynasty.

<sup>25</sup> The national flag has been used officially since 1883 by the royal permission of Emperor Gojong (*Gojong Sillok*, 1883, Gojong year 20, Jan 27).

**Table 4. 1:** Sports days during period I on *The Independent*

Newspaper date	Sports day date	School	Characteristics	Spectators
May 5, 1896	May 2, 1896	Governmental School for English		
Jun 2, 1896, m <sup>26</sup> Jun 6, 1896, m	May 31, 1896	Governmental and primary schools in Hanseong	-The name of 'sports day' - Anthem	Government dignitaries
Jun 18, 1896	Jun 15, 1896	Hanseong public primary school	70 Students	
Apr 13, 1897, m Apr 15, 1897, editorial	Apr 11, 1897	Kyung-Sung school	Rank	Government dignitaries, Army- Navy instructor, Japanese consular officers Residents
Apr 29, 1897	Apr 27, 1897	Governmental & Public Schools	-Flag -Anthem - 1,000 teachers and students	Government dignitaries, Japanese school teachers President of the Independent newspaper
Jun 19, 1897, m	Jun 16, 1897	Governmental English School	Close-order drill 1,000 Spectators Each national flag 'Overlord Long live the king!'	Consul for each country Government dignitaries Foreign gentlemen.
May 31, 1898, m	May 28, 1898	6 Governmental schools for Foreign language	Rank Tens of thousands of spectators Each national flag	All people (thousands) including foreigners
Jun 2, 1898, m	May 31, 1898	Governmental and Public Schools	Ceremonies were similar with the Government schools for Foreign language	
May 1, 1899, editorial	Apr 29, 1899	6 Governmental schools for Foreign language	Ticket sales Military band national flags Anthem 'Long live the Great Emperor'	Highest-ranking sports Officer, a gentleman, Newspaper employees, Eastern and Western ambassadors and gentlemen, the wives
May 4, 1899	May 2, 1899	Governmental and Public Schools		
May 5, 1899	May 4, 1899	Japanese primary school	Female	
Oct 5, 1899, m	Oct 15, 1899	Public primary school in Incheon		
Oct 7, 1899, m	Oct 10, 1899	Public school, Kyungsung school and Simsang high school (Japanese)		Parents, rich people
Nov 25, 1899, m	Oct 21, 1899	Japanese primary school in Incheon	Female	People

<sup>26</sup> Miscellaneous News

The national ritual progressed in this sequence: raising of Korean and foreign national flags, sitting of domestic and international VIPs and general spectators, performance of martial music, performance of various sports matches, award ceremony, speech, singing of national anthem, and cheering of Long Reign the Emperor (*The Independent*, May 1, 1899, ‘Grand Sports Day’). In other words, students were trained toward loyalty to the monarch and the nation through the sports days of government and public schools that doubled as national rituals. Statements in the sports day regulations included strict time and space controls such as ‘obedience to directions,’ ‘no permission of interference,’ ‘no admission,’ ‘no hawkers,’ ‘graveness,’ and ‘compliance.’<sup>27</sup> Afterward, the cohesion of the country and school sports days was further concretized.

Sports days also provided a ground for competition, which is essentially the core principle of capitalist philosophy. The games were divided by weight and school, and winners (as well as losers) were determined. The honours that were previously only enjoyed by those who passed the state examination were now afforded to the winners of the sports games. This marked a national transition towards popular recognition of individuals with excellent physical and sport capabilities. Prizes for individuals were mainly ‘extraordinary or new’ articles that came from abroad (mostly Shanghai). According to the news reports at the time, watches, watch straps, gloves, silver jars, pocket knives, business card cases (sports day in 1897), tobacco pipes, desks, alarm clocks, pencils, notebooks, and Western ink sticks in the grand sports day of the government foreign language schools (May 28, 1898) were given as awards. By this time, sports days had been successfully labeled as civilized events by virtue of their material connection to various Western articles. In this way, the principles of capitalism began to be imprinted and internalized in the bodies of people.

Spectators also appeared on the sports days. The high-ranking Korean officials who appeared as empowered subjects sat on the centre stage together with Westerners and watched while being entertained with foodstuffs (*The Independent*, editorial on Apr 15, 1897). Other guests receiving invitations and the military band members in straw hats and yellow clothing sat on both sides of the stage, while the students were positioned in the playing field according to their schools.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand,

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<sup>27</sup> *Daehan Maeil Sinbo*, Miscellaneous News: External Communication, ‘Sports procedure,’ Oct. 26, 1907.

<sup>28</sup> The Academy of Korean Studies, ‘Spring united grand sports day regulations of the government and private ordinary schools’ (Article 14), [http://yoksa.aks.ac.kr/jsp/aa/VolumeList.jsp?aa10up=kh2\\_je\\_a\\_vsu\\_80466\\_000](http://yoksa.aks.ac.kr/jsp/aa/VolumeList.jsp?aa10up=kh2_je_a_vsu_80466_000)

commoners who bought tickets with one brass coin could watch the events unfold from one place near the exit. No other persons were granted permission to enter the premises. Thus, the space of the sports days during the enlightenment era after the abolishment of caste system was recreated as a space that operated on dividing people based on power and money inside an arena with defined boundaries (fences). In modern times, even though formal equality was propounded through the abolishment of the caste system, the actual modern space nonetheless possessed many of the aforementioned inequalities within its structure. Therefore, the sports day performed the function of reproducing the notions of what was an acceptable established body and what was an outsider body (in terms of fitness) by differentiating people according to gender, age, and class. Sports day in modern schools produced national rituals and inspired patriotism among students. Indeed, students were trained by the principal in order to be the body for the nation.

The argument “physical strength of people is the way to national prosperity and military power” that had started in the early modern era was successfully carried over to the tradition of Sports Korea in the Park Chung-hee Regime.

#### **4.3 Period II (1963 ~ 1992): Anti-Communism and the Social Body**

During Period II (1963-1992), managing Korean's physical fitness was done for the betterment of the nation. Korea's colonial experience, an important part of its larger national history, posed a challenge when it came to national economic modernization. This, in turn, resulted in the motto that the people's strength came from the national power. The body was a component of the nation and national fitness was seen as the best task for people regardless of health conditions or the shape of their body. The government conducted a variety of symbols and rituals for improving the body of the nation; these included the national physical examination system, the National Sports Conference, proliferation of birth control, and controlling people's appearance. In addition, at the time of the Park Chung-hee Regime (1963-1979), fitness was portrayed as a crucial aspect of the two Koreas' confrontation, anti-communist ideology and the nation's history.

In modern times, the war against external enemies has created a national security emphasis that has put security as the nation's highest goal, which has in turn meant a

war against internal enemies (Horne, 2002, p. 174). McCarthyism attempted to present a dichotomy in which there were only two clear poles of thought: anti-communist or *Yong-gong* (pro communist, Red). After the Korean War, North Korea was called ‘the North Korean puppet regime.’ This term spread rapidly through the Korean press after the administration of Park Chung-hee came to power in a military coup in May 16, 1961 (see table 4. 2).

**Table 4. 2:** The frequency of the term ‘North Puppet’ per each government

	Government(regime)	Articles
Dictatorship	Rhee, Seong-man (1949-1960)	70
	Yoon, Bo-seon (1961-1963)	1,677
	Park, Chung-hee (1963-1979)	38,194
	Choi, Kyu -ha (1980-1981)	1,879
	Chun, Doo-hwan (1981-1987)	8,881
	Roh, Tae-woo (1988-1992)	382
Total		51,083

(Keyword: North Puppet, Dong-A, *Hankyoreh* and *Kyunghyang*, 1949-1992)

Park Chung-hee was actively utilizing an anti-communist ideology for the validity of the regime. After the announcement of the South-North Joint Statement (July 4, 1972), the use of aspects of the term ‘North puppet’ decreased temporarily in the newspapers (6 articles in 1973). However, it then increased again during the military dictatorship era (1961-1992), until the Olympics in 1988, when the use of the designation of ‘North puppet’ decreased.

The Park Chung-hee military Regime considered communism a national crisis and enemies and outsiders were also strongly associated with it. The regime justified the government's use of physical violence during the myriad police incidents as the only means to deal with crises - as Elias (1970) observed as being typical of state use of violence. In addition, one-sided anti-communist ideology was reproduced through anti-communist education as well as through an oratorical contest, anti-communist film screenings, posters and drawings, political mobilization like the denouncing competition,

anti-communist lectures, pep rallies and mass media campaigns. Daily reproduction of the anti-communist ideology immediately blocked all forms of criticism and questioning, and this included messages that were seen as left-wing or impure. The worst punishment was meted out to those considered ‘Red commie or pro-Pyongyang’ in South Korea (Gwon, 1998).

#### 4.3.1 ‘Physical Strength is National Power’

When I compare the frequency of articles containing the slogan ‘the physical power of people lead to national power’ in the newspapers (*Dong-A*, *KyungHyang*, and *Hankyoreh*) I can see that this phrase (77.5%) was uttered and propagated rather frequently during the particular period under consideration (see table 4. 3).

**Table 4. 3:** The frequency of the phrase ‘physical strength is national power’

	<i>Dong-A</i>	<i>Kyunghyang</i>	<i>Hankyoreh</i>	Total
Period I (1920-1962)	38 (14)	6 (2%)	-	44 (8%)
Period II (1963-1992)	196 (73%)	277 (88%)	10 (40%)	433 (77.5%)
period III (1993-present)	36 (13%)	30 (10%)	15 (60%)	81 (14.5%)
	270 (100%)	313(100%)	25(100%)	558 (100%)

Considering that 274 articles (49.1%) were written during the Park Chung-hee Regime (1963-1979), Korean newspapers delivered the slogan continuously. The slogan is particularly emphasized in the sports sections (46.4%) as compared to other sections. Classified by section, sport is the most common (127 articles), followed by politics (39), advertisement (33), life and culture (6), economy (5), and IT science (3). The Park Chung-hee government’s sport nationalism appeared as two tendencies in newspapers. The first was a tendency to emphasize the sense of belonging and unity through national symbols, and the second was a tendency to emphasize the sense of belonging and the sense of unity against other countries competing with Korea.

First, the Park Chung-hee government emphasized the sense of belonging and unity through the incorporation of national symbols into international games. In particular, the Asian Games and the Olympic Games are sport events based on the premise that countries are in constant competition against each other, and thus ‘national flags’ and ‘national anthems’ that are typical symbols of the competing countries are

therefore quintessential to the symbolic importance of the games. The *Taegeukgi* (South Korea's national flag) can be referred to as a national symbol that represents Korea. The entrance of Korean players is emphasized in opening ceremonies and closing ceremonies together with photos (‘dashing Korea’, the Korean national team that enters the stadium as the twenty fourth country in the 19<sup>th</sup> Olympic Games in Mexico’ *Dong-A*, Oct 13, 1968, extra). Missing *Taegeukgi* was emphasized sometimes to emphasize the necessity of community symbols and *Taegeukgi* sometimes became an inspiration to win at any cost when an important deciding match was nearing.

Secondly, the Park Chung-hee government showed a characteristic of emphasizing the sense of belonging to Korea and the sense of unity acquired through other countries or via countries competing against Korea. By describing one or two particular countries as competing with Korea rather than specifying numerous competitor countries, a more effective emphasis on the sense of belonging within Korea and the sense of Korean unity can be produced. Countries that competed against Korea that were portrayed as rivals during this period were North Korea, China, and Japan. A relevant article is as follows:

However, the fact that the international exchange of our athletic power is being blocked by internal political struggle worries many Koreans, as the political purposes of athletic pursuits within communist China combined with the opportunist attitudes of Japan are indeed adequate cause for concern regarding the isolation of Korean sports. (*Dong-A*, Mar 3, 1975: 2)

The content of the discourse ‘Physical strength is national power’ has been continuously emphasizing that the improvement of people's physical strength was the motivating force for defending the country in the confrontation between South Korea and North Korea. For example:

The high physical strength, patience, and the spirit of unity that are raised through sports are evaluated to be indispensable requirements in civilized societies of today... As a recent example, the North Korean puppet regime used sports so much for political propaganda during the Sapporo Winter Olympics. (*Dong-A*, March 3, 1972)

Mass media promoted the advantages derived from athletic competition against the North as a way to express South Korea's power, dignity, and security during this period. Therefore, victories in athletic competitions within the Koreas was important

enough to be treated as front page news. In fact, TV viewers could watch games against North Korea when South Korea won during the 1970s (Lee, 1997).

Sports nationalism refers to the function of inducing people to feel national identity and a sense of belonging to the country through sports so that they derive collective identity from the country and nation (which has the consequential effect of enhancing voluntary patriotism) (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; Polley, 1998; Cronin & Mayall, 1998; Macclancy, 1996). Sports nationalism is constructed through processes of using national symbols and identifying individuals with the mother country in an effort to separate ‘us’ from ‘them’ while subtly playing on cultural vulnerabilities and animosities connected to race and oppressive histories (Maguire et al., 2002; Maguire, 1994; Urry, 2003).

Beginning with the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games, the newly-empowered Park Chung-hee government concentrated its energy on international games in order to improve the image of a country that had been misrepresented and misunderstood within international society due to the experience of Japanese colonial rule and the Korean War. Upon reviewing newspaper articles, it can be seen that newspapers showed tendencies that describe directly opposing relations with Japan or intentionally devalue Japanese players’ performances. The press covered the defeat of Japan in a game by emphasizing it through words such as ‘complete defeat’ and ‘vanquish’ (‘Japanese defeat 3:0’, *Dong-A*, Aug 9, 1971: 8; ‘Japanese football team lost game’ *Dong-A*, Aug 9, 1971: 8).

Another means for promoting national unity is the constant reminder of history. In particular, if a certain historical event or process remains as a heartbreaking memory in people’s minds, its recollection can be even more effective toward stoking feelings of nationalism in the target audience. In this sense, Japan is a country that inflicted serious historical scars upon Korea, and newspapers were all too eager to remind their consuming demographic of this fact through vitriolic editorials, such as the one below:

Although our players had to participate in Olympic Games with the Japanese National Flag together with Japanese players during the Japanese colonial period ... (the Mexico Olympic Games, *Dong-A* Oct 12, 1968: editorial)

In particular, the anecdote of marathon runner Son Gi-Jeong – who finished in first place with the Japanese National Flag attached to his shirt in a marathon race in the Berlin Olympics on August 8, 1936 – succeeds in arousing national consciousness time and time again. The following is excerpted from the content of an interview with Son

Gi-Jeong, commemorating the day of the marathon, which was held on the closing day of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics.

I resolved not to participate in Olympic Games again... When I was besieged by autograph hunters, I signed in Korean language as did my seniors...The upper and lower parts should work together in one accord to defeat at least Japanese players. (‘Five minute interview, Son Gi-Jeong’, *Kyunghyang* Aug 8, 1964 : 6)

During the Cold War period, youth physical strength and health was a major agenda. The results of the Kraus-Weber test (Kraus & Hirshland, 1953) announced in 1953 indicated that the physical strength of American children was inferior to that of European children. The fact that 57.9% of American children failed compared to 8.7% of European children initiated a bout of nationalism within the American populace (De Oca, 2005: 152). Therefore, beginning with a request for a special White House meeting in 1956, President Eisenhower led the establishment of the ‘President’s Council on Youth Fitness’ and the development of the American Alliance for Health – as well as the Physical Education and Recreation Fitness Test (AAHPER Fitness Test)’ (B. Kim, 2007, p. 30). Thereafter, when Kennedy was elected to the presidency, the national policy under the slogan ‘Muscle gap is missile gap’ (Kennedy, 1960; De Oca, 2005) in the Cold War era was established. Modern politics used the concept of cultural citizenship as a ground for inducing new groups of people (De Oca, 2005; Couldry, 2006).

Military service in Korea has also been recognized as the most important rite for men. For countries that had had wars in the past or for those that are presently engaged, conscription has aspects of dependence and repression to the degree that it does not depend upon obtaining the consent of the people with respect to the duty of national defense (Tilly, 1985). From a political viewpoint, citizenship means ‘full membership’ within a particular community (Marshall, 1970/1950, p.87). Marshall explained that the common feeling of people that have citizenship was the community membership in a direct sense in addition to the notion that this citizenship was maximized once the modern national consciousness was born. In most countries, the boundaries of citizenship were naturally identified with the boundaries of the country. The discursive concepts of health and physical strength studied in the West required consideration about target groups. Health discourses that had hegemony in Western society consisting of multiple ethnic groups and multiple cultures represented practices centred on values

similar to those pursued by middle class Caucasians regarding physical training (MacNeil, 1998; White et al., 1995; De Oca, 2005).

The government-led sports policies formed a bureaucratic sport culture and school sports could not be exceptional. One of the major objectives of sport policies implemented by the government in the 1960s was to have sportsmanship penetrate into all Korean citizens in order to form the sort of national character necessary for active cooperation on national policies and standardized physical improvement (Lee, 1990, p. 227).

The physical fitness badge test system that existed in Korea for 23 years (1971-1993)<sup>29</sup> was designed to encourage everybody to reach the objectively stated full score without considering individuals' physical strength or health. Various problems arose, ranging from private physical education lessons (Physical education tutor polarity', *Kyunghyang* Oct. 11, 1972: 7) and fatal accidents (One of the narrow door called extracurricular, fainting, even death', *Kyunghyang*, Jun. 13, 1972: 6; 17 accidents, 4 death, and 20 accidents', *Dong-A*, Sep 24, 1977: 1)<sup>30</sup> to the irrationality of test standards, as well as insufficient test facilities and workers.

The cultural and social influences of the fitness badge test system included in the college entrance examination system require an understanding of Korean *Hakbeolism* (academic capital). Koreans are classified and stigmatized based upon whether individuals have graduated from college or not and depending on which university they attend, and not as much upon proving individual ability objectively (Lee & Hong, 2002; G. Lee, 2007). People quite often naturally feel inferior to people possessing better academic backgrounds and superior to those people with less impressive academic backgrounds (Lee & Hong, 2002: 136). *Hakbeol* works as a factor in constructing and reproducing inequality even when based on meritocracy as in the cases of personal, social, and cultural resources (Lee, 2007).

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<sup>29</sup> Students who obtained the full score in physical strength tests accounted for 90 percent or more of all examinees and criticism that the system was too formal was raised. As a result, this system was abolished after the improvement of the university entrance system enforced from 1994.

<sup>30</sup> Eventually, an accident occurred on September 9, 1977 in which female students who were undergoing physical fitness badge test died during long-distance running and thus the evaluation methods were changed – with certain elements being cancelled altogether (*Kyunghyang*, Jun, 13 1972).

#### 4.4 Period III (1993-present): Lookism and *Momzzang*

During Period III (1993-present), the management of physical fitness began to take on a more personal dimension. After the advent of the democratic regime in 1993, people began engaging in more personal leisure activity for the purpose of personal body management. During the IMF crisis in 1997, managing physical fitness for the purpose of making competitive individual bodies took on added importance. For more details, this section examines E-O fitness consumer figuration in Korean media per each time. Secondly, the current body figuration will be looked at in terms of two cases, new men and *mozzang azumma*.<sup>31</sup> Lastly, cultural intermediaries of the fit body will be identified in Korean media.

##### 4.4.1 Fitness consumer

This section investigated the changes in E-O fitness consumer figuration in Korean newspapers. Each period was characterized by the results of searching for the keywords *\_bodybuilding\_*, *\_health club\_* and *\_fitness\_*.<sup>31</sup> Bodybuilding-health club- fitness articles covered a total of 5,380 cases in the newspapers (*Dong-A*, *Kyunghyang*, and *Hankyoreh*) from 1993 to present (see table 4.4). The outline of the fitness consumer as a whole can be understood through the frequency of the term in each instance.

**Table 4. 4:** The frequency of the terms *\_bodybuilding-health club-fitness\_*

	Bodybuilding	Health Club	Fitness	Total
Period I (1920-1962)	3	-	1	4
Period II (1963-1992)	354	760	24	1,138
period III (1993-present)	233	1,675	2,334	4,242
Total	590	2,435	2,359	5,384

In the case of period I, any articles related with the terms *\_bodybuilding-health club-fitness\_* could not be found by searching with relation to Korea's postwar situations. Therefore, I used concrete terms like *\_Mr. Korea\_*, *\_YMCA\_*, and *\_weightlifting\_* that reflected the era, which meant I could find 4 articles that dealt with the Mr. Korea

<sup>31</sup> *Mozzang azumma* refers to married women with fit bodies who have transcended the typical *azumma* style.

competition, American Clark Hatch's fitness business, YMCA activities, and bodybuilding under the auspices of the Weightlifting Affiliated Federation.<sup>32</sup>

In the case of period II, its early years saw health clubs only being used by bodybuilders, with the general public only beginning to participate and appear in newspapers from the early 1970s. Health clubs in the early 1970s were bodybuilding studios concerned with shaping a particular version of physical beauty (*Dong-A*, May 2, 1973: 8). Concerning the article 'Sports Centre and Studio taxable realization' (*Dong-A*, May 21, 1973:2), South Korea's initial fitness consumers were interested in and focused on a physical form related to the growing sport of bodybuilding. By contrast, later on in the 1970s and early 1980s, middle-aged overweight women appeared as health club users in the newspapers: 'To be thinned' (*Dong-A*, Nov 14, 1975: 5), 'women and weight control (16) (24)' (Nov 25, 1975: 5), 'growing health clubs' (*Dong-A*, Feb 6, 1976:5), 'Wife' (*Dong-A*, Apr 16, 1977: novel)', 'women in the 1970s (15) health club' (*Dong-A*, Feb 13, 1978:5). These articles pointed to the problem of obesity not from malnutrition, but rather due to excess. At this time, the fat body was a symbol of wealth and a relaxed mind-set that reflected the life of an established person. In addition, the principal users of health clubs were fat people, and not slender men. Female health club use has started to connect with the issue of how to use leisure (aspect of life in the 1980's (9): middle-aged calisthenics boom (*Dong-A*, Jul 1, 1980: 3); where and how...leisure lessons (*Dong-A*, Mar 30, 1981: 11).

With this trend, newspaper advertising for hotel health clubs was concentrated in the early 1980s (Lotte Hotel, *Dong-A*, Nov 30, 1981: 4; *MK daily* Apr 24, 1981; Hilton Hotel, *Dong-A*, Jan 9, 1984). Articles that pointed out the development of an overspending culture amongst people in the upper middle class included, 'Luxury health club acquisition / property tax imposed policy' (*MK daily*, Sep 2, 1985) and 'too much consumption without good sense' (*Kyunghyang*, Dec 29, 1986: 11). These began to present purchases and uses of hotel fitness memberships as instances of overconsumption and of broader social problems. One article noted that health clubs within first-class hotels in downtown Seoul require a deposit fee of ₩5,000,000<sup>33</sup> and

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<sup>32</sup> The origins of Korean bodybuilding stem from the success of Sang-cheon Seo, an instructor with the Physical Strength Improvement Society, which was a private research centre in the 1930's (*Dong-A*, Jan. 27, 1930 :2).

<sup>33</sup> £2,951

annual fees of ₩4,000,000<sup>34</sup> and that despite this were quite popular (*Kyunghyang*, Dec 29, 1986:11). Through these articles it is shown that the upper class was the main user of hotel health clubs.

In the case of period III, the media showed that health clubs' main users appeared to be regular people. As Korea entered into the era of democratization, (1993-present), 'making fit bodies' was increasingly emphasized by the media.<sup>35</sup> Since 1995, TV programs have dealt with how to manage female bodies through bodybuilding ('Bodybuilding, the best body management for her', *Dong-A*, Oct 5, 1995: 43; 'A barbell woman- aerobic man', *Dong-A*, Apr 8, 1997: 37; 'Muscular beauty', *Dong-A*, Jun 2, 1997: 13).

Korean media began covering the issue of 'making male bodies look good' from the middle of the 1990s onwards. Cha In-pyo's fit body in the Korean Drama (1994) is one of motives for this surge in interest in this subject, and it led to both TV stars and ordinary men working out more:

Cha is different from the existing stars like C and J who are handsome but had softer images; by contrast, he has a fit body that he helped to build and create through bodybuilding and his unique experiences, including his long-time exposure to American life. (*Hankyoreh*, Jun 17, 1994: 10)

This article introduced Cha's body as the established ideal physique because it is strong and fell in line with American notions of beauty and strength. Even if the existing stars have popularity in Korea, they are stigmatized as soft and feeble by the media. Korean media has paid attention to middle aged men, women and office workers as outsiders within this new focus on fit bodies. Beginning in the 1990s, media delivered messages about how to escape from traditional Korean male and female images for seeking the established body image. The two cases to be discussed here are as follows:

#### 4.4.2 New Men in the 2000s: Korean Ajeossi (E-O)

From the end of the 1990's, Korea media focused on *ajeossi*, or middle-aged, married men. A man's fat belly was presented as representing the man's personality ('Wives! Transforming your husband with presents of health club memberships',

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<sup>34</sup> ₩2,361

<sup>35</sup> From the late 1980's onwards, bodybuilding magazines became more common ('bodybuilding', *Dong-A*; Oct 31, 1989; 'New Body', *Dong-A*, Apr 24, 1990).

*Kyunghyang*, Jan 29, 1996: 29; ‘Muscular office workers’, *Dong-A*, Apr 3, 1998: 36). One article noted that:

It is hard for paunchy men to go swimming even in hot summer. Men wearing sunglasses usually steal glances at female bodies and rate them...[but now they] suddenly felt other eyes paying attention to men’s bodies... The older teens and twenties are interested in making fit bodies nowadays... One man (aged 30 and an office worker) said that ‘When we were teenagers, it was an unnecessary extravagancy for men to think about their bodies...Now..trends ..too skinny bodies or fat bellies are ugly.’ (‘Spreading Male body making’, *Hankyoreh*, Oct 14, 1999: 17)

The Korean *ajeossi*’s stereotype has been shaped by people’s economic capacities, and as such they do not consider their body shape. In the past, men who had fat bellies were seen as being established and possessing wealth. However, this era demands greater change that comes along with the judgment of outsiders.

In 1994, Mark Simpson introduced the word ‘metrosexual’ into our everyday life (*The Independent* (UK), Nov 15, 1994). He subsequently gave us a clear example of this idea in the person of David Beckham. He explained that, ‘the typical metrosexual is a young man with money to spend, living in or within easy reach of a metropolis -- because that’s where all the best shops, clubs, gyms and hairdressers are. ... he has clearly taken himself as his own love object and pleasure as his sexual preference.’<sup>36</sup> Since 2000, the Korean media has introduced new men’s icons or images like the metrosexual, ubersexual<sup>37</sup>, and cross-sexual (Lim, 2007b). One observer noted that:

Men who are suggested as icons of *momzzang* show the image of a metrosexual. Soccer players David Beckham and Jung-Hwan Ahn, possess the solid-trained body of men, but their manicured skin and hair styles are being interpreted with a feminine code. (*Dong-A* Dec 15, 2003)

New men who are called metrosexual need to prove their fit bodies,<sup>38</sup> with particular emphasis given to robust and resilient muscles. When metrosexual men show their fit bodies, they can be differentiated from ‘flower handsome guy’ (Korean, they

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<sup>36</sup> <http://www.salon.com/2002/07/22/metrosexual/>

<sup>37</sup> The ubersexual man is defined by Euromonitor International as ‘more complex, more thoughtful, more culinary and better groomed than macho man, but more traditionally masculine than the metrosexual’ (<http://www.marketresearchworld.net/content/view/1231/77/>).

<sup>38</sup> In South Korea today, an idealized muscular body means a trained body with sophisticated muscles unlike a bodybuilder with big muscles of the body in the past time.

have weak and female images). Male muscles are a way for men to display that they are powerful and strong. In the newspaper articles related to ‘new men’, personal grooming activities are set as an indicator to distinguish the image of new men from the image of traditional men.

Another approach used in the next article is a class distinction strategy for spreading *momzzang* style. The article lays out how:

In ‘The Dignity of A Gentleman’, the gentlemen are Bourgeois professional men based on Seoul Gangnam. These are referred to as ‘the middle-aged flower’, it’s not awkward when they meet twenties because they have chic fashion sense and manners...they are born in 1972 and entered the universities in 1991. They were called Generation X and Orange Clan.<sup>39</sup> (1% ‘middle-aged flower men’ X - Generation Fantasy: *Hankyoreh*, Jun 22, 2012: 25)

In the TV soap opera ‘The Dignity of A Gentleman’, the typical figures of *momzzang* on the articles are stars, CEOs, and professionals, and they all exhibit ‘Gangnam style.’ As depicted in the song ‘Oppa, Gangnam Style!’ by the pop musician Psy, this is an ideal image and lifestyle for Korean men and women. In particular, men who can work out in executive gyms may do so in part to show that they can afford to enjoy these expensive accoutrements of urban chic and well-being. Even for people who are not popular celebrities or athletes, this lifestyle has an appeal because of what it says about the economic freedom and the station of the person exhibiting this lifestyle. Thus, these items drive a desire on the part of some people to differentiate themselves from others by emphasizing the differences in their body and in other symbols they adopt.

A cable television program in Korea features the daily lives of a public relations agency CEO, a doctor, a famous pianist, a model, and so on. This show portrays these people as living a metrosexual lifestyle...by providing information on beauty, fashion, cooking, automobiles, wines, and shopping. (*Kyunghyang*, Oct 16, 2004)

The article asserts that consumers who have the taste, discernment, and capital to purchase such goods can rejoice in this image. Metrosexuals that have emerged as a

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<sup>39</sup> The term ‘orange clan’ refers to youths that resided in the Gangnam area of Seoul who had rich parents and enjoyed a luxurious consumption lifestyle in the early 1990s. In general, the orange clan is an informal term that referred to affluent youths who were consumption-oriented and sexually open-minded (Research Institute of Korean Studies, *Korea University Korean Dictionary* Korea University, October 9, 2009).

new male image in the consumption society are emphasized as the leisure class that can frequent premium beauty shops and fitness centres. In the persuasion that only the middle and upper classes that are free from the matter of making a living can invest their time and capital in talking care of the body, personal grooming activities are being magnified as a symbolic icon of high class, and not a symbol of femininity.

#### 4.4.3 Mrs Momzzang: Korean Azumma (E-O)

There are three different genders in current Korean society – male, female, and azumma. In Korean society, for women in mothers' generation, childbirth was a significant event through which they could secure their position and gain support in the husband's family. The stereotype of *azumma* is that she does not invest for herself including making investments in her body, but rather for her family.

In 2003, the *momzzang azumma* was first known to netizens because of a running fitness column in an Internet newspaper. As the photos and exercise videos posted along with it drew great attention on the Internet, new words such as *eolzzang* (best face) and *momzzang* (fit body) became popular and the *momzzang* syndrome was brought to Korean society (*Joongang*, December 12, 2003). When a title and content search for “*momzzang*” in *Dong-A daily* and *Hankyoreh* daily newspapers was conducted, it showed that the word *momzzang* first appeared in a newspaper article from 2003. Looking at the yearly number of articles in which the word *momzzang* appeared for the first time in newspaper articles from December 2003 (starting with the meanings of pertinent vocabulary of muscular articles and continuing until 2011), one sees the production of these types of articles rising sharply in 2004 and thereafter – these trends are appearing continuously (see table 4.5).

**Table 4. 5:** The frequency of the term *momzzang*

Article (%)	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
<i>Dong-A</i>	4 (1.37)	71 (24.4)	32 (10.99)	48 (16.49)	37 (12.71)	25 (8.59)	19 (6.53)	33 (11.34)	22 (7.56)	291 (100)
<i>Hankyoreh</i>	0 (0)	39 (28.68)	19 (13.97)	17 (12.5)	14 (10.29)	14 (10.29)	11 (8.09)	15 (11.03)	7 (5.15)	136 (100)
Total	4 (0.94)	110 (25.76)	51 (11.94)	65 (15.22)	51 (11.94)	39 (9.13)	30 (7.03)	48 (11.24)	29 (6.79)	427 (100)

The articles consist of formats that inform and define the emergence of *momzzang* that seek to deliver information relating to the lifestyle necessary for maintaining the *momzzang* image or style while suggesting some products that can help construct fit

bodies. Judging from these articles, anyone can purchase a *momzzang* image and style. The audience comes to understand that *momzzang* images and styles can be successfully implemented solely by purchasing and using particular products – per the advice of the media, of course. Consumers can join in on fashion trends by sharing and consuming a specific meaning provided for or by each particular product.

Mrs. Jeong (previously Mrs. *Momzzang*) saw one woman who had a fit body and started comparing their bodies. Body issues have become a pressing issue and are the subject of a great deal of academic interest, even more so because the body has become a subject of competition (Turner, 2008). The concept of survival has emerged in the process of creating a competitive body that meets exacting aesthetic standards. Speaking of body empowerment that allows people to survive within their particular society, Mrs. *Momzzang* noted that:

‘There is one woman who has a very fit body in the health club...she was an ex-bodybuilder... Now she is working as a personal trainer... She is also a mother who recently gave birth to two kids, just like me... She is one year older than me, but her body is different. I could not take my eyes off of her.’ Mrs. Jeong started working out with her... Other women gave up, but she has learned tenaciously over the course of the last year... After one year she felt that her body had changed quite a bit... Afterwards, she thought that having muscle size like a body builder did not fit her... She changed her own ‘style’ by reading the books *Body For Life* and *ABS program*. (‘Twenties ? Mrs. Momzzang’, Dong-A, Jan 16, 2004: 57)

As Elias and Scotson (1994) mentioned, people internalize the outside images people put upon them. In this article, ‘other women’ are suggested to have given up as a defensive response rather than change their bodies through working out (Beatty & Kirby, 2006). They left the health centre because they feared other people’s eyes looking at their bodies, which would bring on shame, guilt and avoidance of other people. Since people who have non-fit bodies are seen as singularly responsible for bringing health problems on themselves due to laziness, gluttony, and the lack of self-regulation; their obesity is regarded as a failure at the personal level (Brownell et al., 2010). On the other hand, slim people are appraised as attractive not only for their aesthetic qualities, but also for their spirits of self-control and self-regulation (Chancer, 1998, p. 91). Accordingly, fit body-shaping projects in this age are becoming a powerful normalization mechanism for producing socially standardized bodies.

The media play a role in spreading the dominant cultural meanings attached to non-fit bodies as well as in normalizing deviant bodies. Mrs. *Momzzang* mediates other non-fit bodies by delivering the value of the fit bodies, saying, ‘I came back to my springtime, so I will find yours.’ Puhl and Heuer (2010) show that the news reports emphasizing individual attributes and responsibilities cause obesity more than do social attributes and responsibilities. There has been the same tendency in the media in Korea (Lee et al., 2010, p. 103). The proportion of obesity-related news stories (1990-2009) on Korean television shows that definitions of obesity as a matter of personal responsibility are more common than those that focus on the social dimension.

Mrs. *Momzzang*’s story in the media emphasized individual responsibility for managing one’s health and appearance. Before changing her body, Mrs. Jeong weighed 68kg and was 162cm, a height and weight that put her on the margins of Korean society. After working out, she escaped from the outsider body image. She is responsible for her deviance and for the normalization of her body. Media have since reported her as Mrs. *Momzzang*, and her body became an established form of capital.

However, this article does not give any information about how much money she has spent on making herself fit. These expenses can accrue rapidly, including health club memberships, personal training fees, fitness clothing and shoes and other workout items. Instead, the media simply shows her looking fit and young and thus gives the message that *momzzang* is an attainable goal for everyone. In a similar vein, the identity of the individual is considered to be the product of a project throughout a lifetime to be pursued reflexively rather than as a collection of innate characteristics (Bauman, 2000; Zukin and Smith Maguire, 2004, p. 180). In the society wherein the discourse is generalized to the extent that the self needs to be configured through lifestyle in order to symbolically showcase individuality and senses of style (Giddens, 1991; Featherstone, 1991b), marketing strategies intervene to recommend to consumers a specific sense of self within the locus of particular products (Craik, 1994).

#### 4.4.4 Expert Group

This section examined the occupations and the fields of experts who practice how to make the fit body in addition to those who are said to practice wellbeing among articles relating to *momzzang* lifestyle. Three body specialist groups provide major discussions on the body: medical professionals (43.6%), sportspeople and personal

trainers (including Mrs. *Momzzang*) (17.9%), and media professionals (13.74%) (see table 4.6).

**Table 4. 6:** Experts of the fit body

Area	Occupation	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
Medical Science	Doctor, Korean doctor	7 (17.95)	8 (32)	7 (36.84)	1 (5)	32 (80)	31 (65.96)	3 (27.27)	3 (30)	92 (43.6)
Sports	Personal trainers Athletic Association	2 (5.13)	1 (4)	2 (10.53)	5 (25)	1 (2.5)	12 (25.53)	-	-	23 (10.9)
	Mrs <i>Momzzang</i>	10 (25.64)	2 (10.53)	2 (10.53)	-	-	-	-	-	14 (6.64)
Media	TV, newspapers, magazines, workers	3 (7.69)	2 (10.53)	2 (10.53)	8 (40)	4 (10)	-	4 (36.36)	6 (60)	29 (13.74)
Culture & art	Writer, cultural critic, artist	8 (20.51)	7 (28)	1 (5.26)	2 (10)	1 (2.5)	2 (4.26)	2 (18.18)	-	23 (10.9)
Humanities and Social Studies	Professor & Institute	3 (7.69)	3 (12)	2 (10.53)	2 (10)	-	-	-	1 (10)	11 (5.21)
Cooking / culinary	Cook, cooking research, vegetables sommelier, food stylist	1 (2.56)	-	2 (10.53)	-	1 (2.5)	1 (2.13)	-	-	5 (2.37)
Clothing and Textiles	Professor & designer	1 (2.56)	1 (4)	1 (5.26)	-	-	1 (2.13)	-	-	4 (1.9)
Economics	Economic Research Institute	1 (2.56)	-	-	-	1 (2.5)	-	1 (9.09)	-	3 (1.42)
Science	Professor & Institute	2 (5.13)	-	-	1 (5)	-	-	-	-	3 (1.42)
PE	Professor & Institute	-	1 (4)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.47)
Total		39 (100)	25 (100)	19 (100)	20 (100)	40 (100)	47 (100)	11 (100)	10 (100)	211 (100)

(Source: *Dong-A* and *Hankyoreh*)

Most lifestyle experts are professionals such as practicing doctors, medical doctors and college professionals within the field of medical science (43.6%). They provide the knowledge of medical science for exercise and diet and give a subdivided diagnosis according to age, physical constitution, and particular health conditions. They also maintain the authority to verify the lifestyle of the people who try to create and keep the fit body. Medical professionals and health promotion campaigners play the role of other cultural entrepreneurs in that they proclaim certain healthy lifestyles as valid or more valid than others (Nettleton, 1995).

As a group of newly appearing experts, we should pay attention to cultural intermediaries working in sports-related fields (sports + Mrs *Momzzang*, 17.54%). A personal trainer is an occupation with semi-professional characteristics; occupying a space somewhere in between the service field and the education field (Smith Maguire, 2001; George, 2008). Usually the sports field workers called ‘health coaches’ or ‘personal trainers’ are also called ‘health guides’, ‘health consultants’ and ‘exercise prescribers’ in the newspaper articles. They keep the authority just as much as the professionals from medical science fields in terms of conveying the knowledge and method for proper exercise and diet routines. The media treats them as experts and gives them the authority to deal in new exercise methods and participate in elaborate professional interviews.

Mrs. *Momzzang* now works as an expert in body making. She delivers the message ‘I’ll find your Bom-nal (heyday)’. She suggests that taking an exacting approach to one’s body making is a prerequisite for changing one’s physique. She notes that:

Some housewives run on a treadmill a little bit ...Even if they work out, they cannot change their bodies... skip their meals for losing weight...Just running,... Someone who misplaced power and strength training. (‘Twenties ? Mrs *Momzzang*’, *Dong-A* Jan 16, 2004: 57)

In this article, she pointed out the outsiders who have non-fit bodies. She noted that these people do not know the exact process that will make their bodies fit. She emphasized that someone who works out only using a treadmill or who starves themselves in order to get skinny cannot get a physique like her.

Journalists also give advice through articles, offering their readers a combination of experience, analysis, reporting, and evaluations of how to best make a fit body: Advice and information provided by journalists dealt with ‘Two Journalists’ *Momzzang* Challenge projects (*Dong-A* Oct 18, 2006-Mar 21, 2007, 5 months)’, ‘Female reporters’ advice and reports about women’s bodies (‘hackettes ask the secret to the fitness videos’, *Hankyoreh* Dec 3, 2009)’, Politicians’ healthcare secrets conveying by reporters (Lawmakers’ various usages of health clubs’ *Dong-A* Jul 22, 2004: 10), *Momzzang* advice by medical and sports professional journalists (Those who are addicted, *Hankyoreh* Sep 22, 2006: 26).

Cultural intermediaries perform the role of specialists who can interpret individual and subjective needs within the questions that can be answered by fair and

reliable scientific language. They also serve as mediators who can interpret scientific judgment and use that information to form advice for normal people (Bauman, 1987, p. 199). Giddens asserts that individuals now depend much more on specialists' discussions as they perform self-projects. Intermediation of lifestyle is done not only by market pressure but also by external lifestyle specialists outside of the market (Binkley, 2007, p. 117). As a result, Mrs. *Momzzang*'s story through the media, and the advent of personal trainers as professionals allowed Korean bodies to connect to the lifestyle project within the consumer culture.

#### 4. 5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the body project of Period I and II (1920-1993) connects the self-project of Periods II and III (1993-2003), and has now led to a lifestyle-project of Period III (2004-2011). This chapter looked into fitness media, fitness consumers, and the introduction of cultural intermediaries through an examination of the historic origins of the fitness field.

At the end of the 19th century, the Korean Empire focused on making new patriotic men through building modern schools and adopting physical education as part of its curriculum. Modern schools were run by missionaries from the West. Also, sports days started as a new invention. The news about new men written about in *The Independent* was delivered by the way of reciting because at that time most Joseon people were illiterate. Based on an analysis of 47 articles related to 'sports days' published in *The Independent*, sports days can be understood as national rituals rather than just school sport days.

During Park Chung-hee's Regime, the nation was seen as insufficiently anti-communist and physically unfit. The nation was mobilized under the slogan 'physical strength is national power' as part of a broader mission to modernize the fatherland. New invention included a social movement that featured a physical fitness test for students. Through this process South Korea has been built into a more than a geographic designation; it has become a nation. Especially, sport policy was related with nationalism and emphasized victory against communist countries.

*Momzzang* syndrome took root in 2000, and since then middle-aged men and women have changed the images from the stereotype 'Korean *azumma*' and 'Korean *ajeossi*'. Middle aged women and men, as well as office workers, became outside

bodies to be managed in terms of their health and appearance. There are no articles arguing that the rural elderly and labourers need to pursue or possess fitness for their physical fitness, health, and appearance in Korean media. The middle aged and office workers are likely to purchase fitness membership and products rather than people within other classes. The range of the consumer body is expanded by connecting the outsider body images with these notions.

Symbolic violence through using language in the newspaper continues even today. Korean media assigns the highest values to fit bodies by providing people with established body images like the *momzzang*. However, it also stigmatizes outsider bodies as obese, lazy, and even unintelligent and unsophisticated. Lookism does not simply mean the preference for particular types of physical appearance. The reason that discrimination according to appearance emerged gradually as a social issue rather than a personal problem is that a fit body became an established form of capital.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Fitness Media (Production and Text)**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

Lifestyle advice in the past was accessed through specialized magazines, but people can now find this information more easily through newspapers and television. Cultural and economical aspects coexist in lifestyle programs. Chapter 5 performs an analysis of the production process of TV body-making programs and the products of such processes (program text) based on *Extra.Ordinary Men 2 (EM2)* and *Diet War 6 (DW6)*. The main focus areas of this chapter are as follows:

First, this chapter focuses on various power relations of the fitness media field in media production processes. Media contents are not a reflection and description of society but closer to a social reconstruction created by media staff. Accordingly, research on media production shows that media production is a dynamic process made thorough socio-structural conditions, organizational cultures, and complex conflicts and compromise among diverse production participants. This research enables media producers to be perceived as positive social actors with relative autonomy, rather than mere couriers of a message or victims of dominant idegologies. Participant observation on the production process has the advantage of dynamically and systematically illuminating the situation in media production sites, the various powers involved in media production process, and their numerous interactions (Kim, 2007; O. Lee, 2005; 2007).

Second, the chapter turns to the programs themselves, and their discursive construction of the fit body. Fairclough (1995) highlighted the need to pay attention to production and interpretation processes as well as news articles themselves (media products). In other words, factors like social norms, customs, and morality play the role of mediator not only in forming text but also in interpreting it. Media content in terms of constructivism has a meaning beyond mere language combination. The reason is that media discourses came to have a comprehensive representation structure reflecting socio-cultural context and the relationship of the subjects. Therefore, media texts should be understood as the reconstruction of events that have been appraised by social relationships and context.

Through these two parts together, this chapter focus on how the production process of the two TV fitness-related programs have influenced the formation of the fitness texts and their construction of E-O relations. This research on these programs involves participant observation, in-depth interviews with producers (PDs) Ra, Da, and Ma and textual analysis of the program content that includes episodes 1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, and 16 on *EM 2* (2012) and 1,3,8,10,11, and 12 in *DW 6* (2012).

## **5.2 E –O Figuration in TV Body-Making Program Production Process**

This section looks at how the hierarchical relations of the staff were revealed within the production processes of the program by focusing on their capital/power and habitus. The producers in the field of TV fitness program production are divided into chief producers and producers. The role of the chief producer is distinguished from that of the producer by the level of management they exercise on the programs. In practice, chief producers jointly produce programs with outsourced producers while taking responsibility for entire programs. Chief producers can be considered to perform two roles: they take responsibility for directing (which is a core role of existing producers) while also managing outsourced production. Ra, the chief producer of *EM 2* explains the main roles of chief producers:

We have outsourced producers understand our company's policies and manage programs being produced so that they do not deviate from those policies.

As the managers of broadcasting companies operated by private capital have always done, these managers may regard the creation of high revenue as a core objective to be prioritized over social values. Therefore, planning and production that gives first priority to the value of their organization is the primary goal of chief producers who are managers as well as producers. When main broadcasters' producers perform the role of organizational managers, outsourced producers come to produce programs under the broadcaster's producers' central direction. Outsourced producer Ma from *KOEN Media* explained what they have to do:

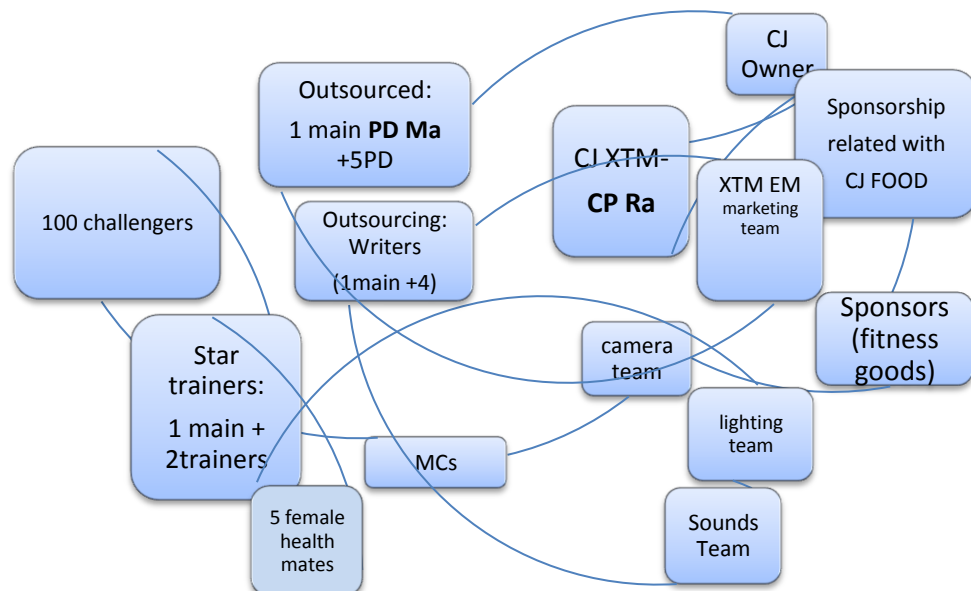
Even if we present something new and different in terms of content and form, we cannot do it if the main broadcaster says \_we don't think so.'

Outsourced producers follow the intention of their clients and do not expect personal autonomy. Overall production of broadcast programs is tuned by chief producers. The

chief producer intervenes in the planning sector the most and finally selects items. The chief producer manages risk elements in budgets, sponsorships, program marketing, and broadcasting contents in advance through direct gate keeping and interventions in operation and implements the distinctive features of CJ programs.

As for the production process of the program *EM2*, this role is performed by the staff of CJ, the owner company, the actual production team of Koen Media - the outsourced company - and external contract workers in charge of lighting. A figuration among the participants in the production of *EM 2* is presented in Fig. 5.1.

**Figure 5. 1:** E-O figuration of *EM2* production process (multi-person games on several levels, Elias, 1978)



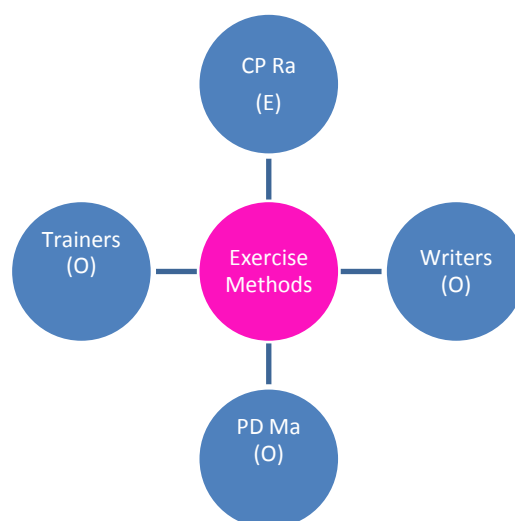
Before my participant observation, Ra introduced me to only the CJ production team, KOEN Media's main outsourced producer, the main writer, and the cast members in the production studio and waiting rooms. The producer separated *'us'* from them in the production process. To Elias, the issue of power added up to the question of how humans form and maintain groups as well as differentiate themselves from other groups (Treibel, 2008: 24-26, recited in Ahn, 2013: 176). In the Multi-person Games on Several Levels, *'There are many ways in which people might re-group and many possibilities for the networks of power'* (Mansfield, 2005: 43). Their relationships already make conflicts because of different definitions of the situations they find themselves in, and their relative positions. The producers apply the dichotomous frame

of full-time workers and part-time workers to producers in other occupational groups so as to use the frame as a mechanism for the realization of the politics of division and exclusion. The programme's master of ceremonies (hereafter, MCs) and star trainers appear to have close relations in the production site. However, their relations are not static in the production studio. Participants in a given figuration unite with another figuration based upon their common desires to unite toward a common interest.

Using the concept of the figuration, a researcher can apply an idea to a relatively small gathering and even to a society where hundreds and thousands people interact (Elias, 1978). When the number of members participating in a figuration increases, the figuration can take a form of a second-level figuration or hierarchy. This is because when a figuration expands, the members require special people who will control the complexity in the figuration without forcing members of the figuration to interact with each and every other member of the figuration whilst still keeping the initial figuration intact.

To illustrate the foregoing, the process of tuning opinions of exercising methods given by all respondents will be shown as an example. These are producers' standpoints about opinions of exercising methods. Chief producer Ra, outsourced producer Ma, two star trainers Dae and Han, and the writers in this program are placed in the Multi-person Games on One Level and two-tier game model (Elias, 1978, see fig. 5. 2).

**Figure 5. 2:** E-O figuration of *EM2* production process (Two tier game model, Elias, 1978)



The chief producer emphasizes our own (CJ's) exercising methods to trainers. This situation of instructions was presented in scripts through the outsourced producers and the writers. Ma noted that:

Problems always occur between staff members as they are humans... I check with CJ about items, indirect advertisements and how the requirements from them have been reflected. I have to meet up with trainers without fail because the standpoint of experts who make exercise programs and the stand point of broadcasting companies that should show the programs are different. I have to discuss my plans with MCs as they frequently make problems... When these situations have occurred, I hear the others' opinions for fixing the situations.

In relation to this, the conflict between the writer and the trainers appears in more concrete forms. Although the chief producer issued instructions regarding guidelines for exercising methods, the writer group and star trainers actually conflicted with each other. The controversy over exercising methods continued between writers who write broadcasting scripts and star trainers who perform the scripts through broadcasting (in both programs). However, neither of the two groups attributed any blame to the chief producer; reflecting the power/capital of the chief producer in the production process. The chief producer gains the highest status. The producer had a relatively high level of autonomy in leading other staff in the production studio toward engaging in making a program aimed at achieving a good result.

In the process of TV body-making program production, producers' roles are those of skilled technicians rather than those of autonomous creators of cultural content. They have no choice but to follow the logic of broadcasting company organizations. Darendorf (1976), who was greatly interested in diverse class differentiations after the beginning of industrial society, argues that classes are characterized by whether authority is owned or not rather than whether properties that are just a kind of authority are owned or not. Chief producers, who are responsible for the entire production of content on a given project, have more authority relative to workers in other occupations. However, their authority can be considered to be closer to that of managers who reproduce their organization's worldviews than to that of an authority with the autonomy of culture producers.

The process of selecting participants to appear in programs is usually the producers' and writers' responsibility. However, depending on their directing styles, some producers prefer to be helped by fitness/body experts in this process too. When

producers and writers have determined topics for programs through meetings, the contents of broadcasting are determined based on experts' opinions (Da). To them, using experts who can professionally identify participant body conditions is a necessary process. Da explained why he trusts the professionals:

Producers and writers selected participants in the past. However, I do not select as such. I take experts along. I want to transform participants ... Experts can see the possibility better than us.

Da mentioned how producers and experts are interdependent and interact in the making of body programs. Experts contribute to the production of these programs as members of the main cast while body-making programs responsible for consolidating the authority of experts raise their reputations. Experts are already experienced in the process of body-making and have acquired a legitimate body culture.

The fact that experts appear as hosts or panel members on TV body-making programs seems to be related to the notion that the status of such specialized channels is related to the appearance of experts in the programming. Expertise officially recognizes and approves their work in all processes of programs. However, the producers are still in the established position in relationships with the star trainers and provide professional status to them as much as the medical experts. As Da noted:

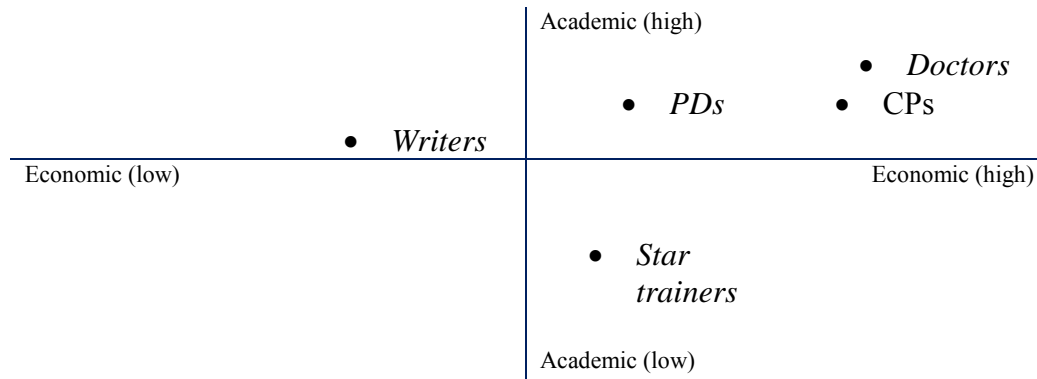
Medical expert groups guarantee the reliability of the program... They are too busy. We use questionnaires and get the feedback from them... The relations with the trainers are not cautious. We are cooperative. I consider them staff.

Da grants considerable authority to the medical professionals. As this chapter shows from the decision-making process about exercise methods in previous section, shifting power ratios might be apparent where producers play themselves against medical doctors.

Based on the participants' educational level and economic condition (income), this chapter endeavours to approximate the E-O positions of academic and economic capital. Figure 5.3 is created to compare their positions on the basis of their capital/power. In figure 5.3 below, doctors and producers hold a relatively high position. In the case of writers, their academic capital is high but is not proportional to income. Star trainers are the relatively lowest academic capital groups in this field. Even if their bodies are already recognized as legitimate body culture, their status is relatively lower than producers and medical groups. Although producers do get information from experienced broadcasting writers who are qualified as semi-experts in broadcasting,

producers trust information from experts more than information from these broadcasting writers (Da and Ra). Of course, the status of the writers will vary as they become more famous in the future.

**Figure 5. 3:** E-O positions in economic and academic capital in Korea



In conclusion, this section examined the E-O figuration of a production team placed in various game models. Main producers of the programs hold high status in this field, but as participants who have almost the same level of power enter the game, this figuration becomes more complex. The E-O figuration of the production team changes continuously depending on their interdependencies. In the next section, I examine another situation of shifting power relations, between production teams and sponsors.

### 5.3 TV Fitness Program Production Centred Sponsorship

This section looks at E-O relations in TV body-making program production-centred sponsorships. Since the ratings of cable TV's lifestyle programs are relatively low compared to terrestrial TV programs, not only are there fewer general advertisements (which are greatly influenced by ratings), but also advertising expenses for those programs are only approximately 1/10 of those of terrestrial broadcasting programs (Ministry of Science, ICT and Future Planning and Korean Communications Commission, 2013). The cable broadcasting company's revenues are the most influenced by sponsorship. Da explained the importance of sponsorship as follows:

In the past, the main broadcaster gave to outsourced company ₩10,000,000<sup>40</sup> (start cost) and we said ‘If you want to work this program, you should arrange the remaining amount.’ Now it is totally different situation. We give about the amount of ₩40,000,000<sup>41</sup> to the outsourced company. Our headquarters have a right of PPL [product placement]... because of the large budget.

From the position of the broadcaster, this type of program production supported by sponsorships is a very useful means to cover production costs. Therefore, sponsors have a lot of influence on program production. As Ra and Ma mentioned:

Participants’ sportswear, sporting equipment, beverages, etc... can be shown by making new sections. (Ra)

Exercise programs are also filled with fitness products... Rather than being planned from the viewpoint of lifestyles, the places, times, and props of these programs are determined by whether there is sponsorship. (Ma)

According to Ra and Ma, program composition can vary depending on sponsorships and it can be even said that the kinds of sponsorships make or break programs. The possibility of receiving sponsorships seems to play an important role from the initial stages of program planning. However, producers do not seem to recognize the problems that may appear in this sponsorship-led selection of fitness products because products selected as such ‘look nice and make those who exercise look great’ (Ra). They take a narrow view about practical benefits and outcome of sponsorships. The important point is focusing on the foods, fashion, and even trivial mannerisms in daily lives of certain selected cities (New York, London, Paris, and Gangnam in Seoul) circulated according to these content production mechanisms and become examples of good taste. Furthermore, not only do these selections already contain experts’ advice, but also sponsorships that do not exceed a certain level are restrained by broadcasting companies even if they can provide capital necessary for broadcasting program production (Da). For instance, media groups refuse minor brands’ sponsorships even if those brands propose sponsorships first because the lifestyles that are shown by media groups should be special ones selected by officially recognized experts such as famous star trainers, interior designers, chefs, skin doctors, etc. that can act now in legitimate culture areas.

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<sup>40</sup> £5,800

<sup>41</sup> £23,215

Producers generally accept these conventional production environments without resistance and make efforts to make ‘interesting’ programs in these environments (Da, Ra, and Ma).

‘CJ Media is in a deficit state. If there is no sponsorship from the parent company, CJ food, it is impossible to survive’ (Ra). The broadcaster’s financial status makes producers seem to be actively accepting sponsorships. With this, concerning the fact that the value of the producers is related to the status of broadcasters, they recognize that their position will be lowered when the status of broadcasters falls. The acceptance of such a sponsorship program makes producers functional workers. Producers that recognize these situations can justify their technician status by believing that they are making interesting programs depicting good lifestyles that are already approved by experts or through many officially recognized procedures (Da, Ra, Ma).

In conclusion, producers tend to practically admit channels’ finance and structures while they think sponsorship-oriented program production is not desirable for channel identity and producers’ creative program production. This point will be examined more fully in the next section. In the next section, I examine another situation of shifting power relations between production team and the owner presented in decision-making processes.

#### **5.4 Decision Making Processes**

This section focuses on the E-O figuration of decision-making processes in TV body-making programs. A characteristic of cable broadcasting companies that produce short and simple programs with small manpower and capital is that producers are relatively free from vertical censorship found in larger organizations. These environments can provide conditions that enhance the possibility for producers to think freely and develop within the roles given to them. Currently, in cable TV, when the directions of programs for the next season have been determined at the level of broadcasting companies, the subsequent selection, planning, and organization of programs are determined through meetings of individuals in charge. Cases appeared where these rational procedures and processes are sometimes unilaterally ignored due to the excessive intervention of company owners or sponsors. Programs that will never pay in themselves and programs just for provision of an assortment or for images only in the eyes of producers sometimes continue for a full season. Sometimes, even when

programming has been determined through rational decision making processes, the programs are just discontinued if the company owner says that they are not interesting. Ra explained why he had to advance the production time:

This season is produced and programmed earlier than the last season. The decision was made by the vice president's instruction.

According to Ra, these company owner-centred decision making processes appear even in the field of production by producers. Company owners' influence seems to act considerably even on the selection of cast members, which is generally understood as producers' territory. When questioned about this situation, producers either avoided the question, indicating that 'it was not under our control', or simply responded with silence. As exemplified by the self-deprecating expression 'We have no other alternatives', this situation was shown to inspire a sense of loss of autonomy in producers (Da).

Even if producers sympathize with sponsorship-oriented program planning and composition in an attempt to justify these processes and exert their influence within the processes, they are made uncomfortable by situations where they are assigned to excessively sponsorship-oriented programs or to those programs that are sponsorship-oriented to the extent that program marketability is undermined. As Da noted:

Although these programs should have both good ratings and sponsorships, they should have at least one...If ratings are not good, they should make good money with many sponsorships ...If not, they should be interesting and thus have good ratings.

Money-making programs are necessary from the viewpoint of broadcasting companies and the producers' role is to make programs that toe that line. However, producers know well that programs in which sponsors intervene too much will mean excessive exposure of products which will eventually lead to lower ratings. As Ra added:

The situations vary with sponsors. Some sponsors are too meticulous and others are not. Some sponsors revise every moment... When a program has met a meticulous sponsorship, the program becomes tiresome. Such programs eventually die out sometimes...When we have met a somewhat generous sponsor, we are comfortable to work.

Although, on the one hand, this shows that decision-making processes directly affect the enhancement or undermining of producers' will in actual work environments, on the other hand, this also shows that producers voluntarily agree to and actively accept

market-led program production in which they can exert their capability. That is, even if producers voluntarily agree to market-led environments and express their capabilities within them, they psychologically resist and make self-defence barriers to cope with irrational decision-making systems in these processes, claiming that ‘we did not plan the program’ or ‘we followed superiors’ instructions’.

In these environments, producers were shown to have dual criteria for program production: functional production and creative production. Mixtures in contents and forms were being generalized in TV fitness programs. However, the most important thing is that the activeness and autonomy of program creators enables them to plan new body-making programs or contribute to the production of programs based on more public lifestyles. Ra and Da mentioned the possibility for them to produce novel programs and sometimes produce seedy and low quality programs to compete with terrestrial broadcasting within the poor structure of cable TV.

The voluntary agreement of producers to the reduction of program production costs may lead to environments where expertise or reliable information is neglected. In addition, sponsors regard functional roles as more important than producers’ autonomous imaginations. However, producers recognize the reality where they are required to make programs that provide revenue in such environments. Therefore, these programs can be regarded as different forms of advertisements made in the shape of specialized lifestyle programs.

## **5.5 Creative Cultural Work**

In the previous section it was apparent that as the producers recognize the limits of their functional works, they focus more on the creativity on the programs. During their early producer’s socializing process, they experienced a sense of ‘no matter how the program is created, it is useless if the audience turns away’ (Ra and Da), so they do not seek to express their own creativities, but instead to cater to public tastes. There are three limits in dual aspect between skilled and creative workers.

First, producers maintain a tension between informing about ‘good taste’ or legitimate practices and entertainments. Producers already recognize ‘if the content is too serious and educational, the audience will remain outside’ (Ra and Da). As shown in the power relations between producers, sponsors, and the owner in the previous section,

they have to appeal to the audience. Thus, producers mix their informational content with entertainment elements. Da noted that information-oriented programs gradually become entertainment-oriented programs:

Originally, the broadcasting system should be art. Programs should be made into art, but instead all of them are created into advertisements in order to survive. Now, the broadcasting itself is all like advertisements.

According to Da, this tension between a good program and commercialization for producers is related to a dilemma between expertise through knowledge obtained from the substance of contents, and publicity in relation to the consideration of audiences' tastes. Ra and Da explained their criteria in making body-making programs:

I am a broadcaster. Basically, it is very crucial how the public accepts my programs. Whether the audience feels fun and that there are elements they feel interest in are important. (Ra)

I want to deal with senior fitness. But who is accountable? Do you lose your sensibilities? My boss rejects my ideas. The reason is that fitness programs that are broadcasted on TV should be made realistic, neither to be too difficult nor to be too easy to fit audience' levels. (Da)

Despite such dual criteria, Ra and Da seek for identity of their programs in relationship between lifestyles and their audience. To them tasks should be more public. They argue that programs should fit audiences' tastes and sympathize with their lifestyles rather than delivering knowledge of expertise.

Second, producers have to make the programs without considering their own beliefs, identities, and tastes. The production system and practices of producers show that producers of fitness media work act as mere employees, rather than creative producers of contents, in bureaucratic production structures and market-led environments. In an unstable labour market, producers ceaselessly had to move from one channel to another (Lee, 2012). Therefore, they can perform tasks not related to their own identity and preferences.

However, even under such circumstances, their history of TV fitness program production and know-how present conditions that require producers to play the role of creative mediators. Da shows that in the process of making *DW6* programs, correspondence conditions between the channel and personal identity induce an individual's autonomous interest and capabilities to lead to the planning of a new program. As Da noted:

Women should be pretty but they have a limited amount of money they can invest so as to become pretty; all the money is gone as educational expenditures for their kids. People watch programs only when they become ones that teach methods for them to become prettier with such a limited amount of money. They have an appealing power to *azumma* [married women]. In particular, married women, housewives of this era, in other words *azumma*, are a minority group in Korean society...Programs planned and broadcasted in this process are evaluated as contents for housewives different from existing styles and become publicly successful.

This case shows the meeting conditions of the channel and the personal identity in the process of making the program induce individual autonomous attention and ability thus leading to the planning of a new program. When lifestyles with such tastes are planned, a realization of program production will be enabled when producers' right to autonomy is guaranteed free from the inferior production environment and compulsive conditions of sponsorship. Such conditions become the ground for producers' will for differentiation and are subsequently realized as creative and productive programs.

For example, Ra felt the need for new forms of program, knowing that it was difficult to draw attention from men with luxury programs centred on entertainers like other programs. Accordingly, he adopted a new form for *EM2* that 'ordinary' men could approach with comfort as opposed to Season 1 of the program - where models and entertainers with great bodies appeared. In other words, a program with ordinary-looking performers that contained accessible language was created rather than a program armed with specialized knowledge or *momzzang* entertainers distant from *ajeossi*. Produced through this process, *EM2* not only enables producers to receive attention from the audience because of the large number of participants and money prizes referring to the programs' websites, but also plays an important role in determining new tastes in muscularity and exercise methods. The program attempted to introduce the production studio as a gym in a way that was not attempted in existing style programs. This novelty started from producers' understanding of their target audience and will to differentiate it from existing programs.

All ideas proposed in meetings receive the question, 'Can it be a picture?' Time distribution among items is also determined by whether each item is funny or not. Producers' ability to draw fun effectively is usually expressed by 'has a feeling'. That is,

the value of fun is also a criterion for ability recognition or evaluation among producers. Therefore, they have an obsession with fun. As Ra noted:

The entertainment department producers share this; something like an obsession with fun. Somehow, they feel that a program has been made well only when it is funny and interesting.

However, to the question, ‘Why do you pursue fun?’, the producers tended to merely repeat rote answers such as, ‘If a program is not interesting, viewers will not watch it. Why should an unwatched program be made?’ They were already internalizing the value of these programs as a genre. In the process of production, the value termed ‘fun’ is merely a scale for evaluating producers’ abilities, and individual producers are considered to have internalized the value of entertainment programs as a genre. Besides, the fun referred to by those involved in broadcasting who were producing the same program had diverse meanings. Writers’ criteria for fun were different from those of producers. They regarded that real fun was creating an impression rather than making viewers laugh or being fancy to attract viewers. As a main writer of *EM2* noted:

New and creative ideas are important, but rather, if the audience have fun from watching programs, why not keep it. The real fun of the program makes the audience secure.

The work of producers is considered as relatively crucial while the writers’ work is of relatively less importance. Producers determine the overall direction of the programs, coordination between the field of managerial and production, and charging of total and final production. Writers perform the basic work related to total production from planning, ideas, materials research, contact with participants, and creating scripts. Writers write the stories and producers’ tasks are to create the picture from their stories. Thus, the standard of fun between them is different. In the production process, ‘fun’ is a core logic that controlled producers practice. Although this sensibility also existed amongst non-producers, producers internalized and shared it. This shared value has expanded to include the logic that outcomes should be fun regardless of processes.

Third, for producers visualization is as important as catching the eye of viewers with novel and fun programming. TV fitness programs do not merely communicate with their content items but also tend to communicate with visual images. Muscle images are utilized to form *EM2*’s identity. Ma explained how he visualizes the muscles basically:

When videotaping, we adjust camera angles so that muscle movements are easily seen or shown in slow motion... When editing, we treat contracting

muscle areas with CG (Computer graphics) because viewers can see only when we point out those areas.

However, having styles as images is different from ‘style is content’. The goal of producers is to create stylish body-making programs (Ra, Da, and Ma). The producers’ wonder ‘Would a picture be produced?’ is informed by various considerations such as ‘how to show muscles as stylish’, ‘which body models are chosen’, and ‘how the programs have stylish identities’. As Ma noted:

We try to show muscles stylish in diverse ways... use black and grey tones to emphasize the feeling of the male body and sustain the image of masculinity... produce stylish images with fast editing of visual signifiers... Special logos like *EM2* and *XTM* are inserted in the middle of the programs.

Another reason why visualization is important is because of the sensibilities of advertisers and sponsor companies, who are the major customers of these programs. Ra explained why visual excellence is important to them:

Among others, advertisers or sponsorship companies of fitness products consider how their product may be shown effectively. Indeed, it is an absolute marketing program because all 100 participants exercise while wearing their training clothes, as do the trainers.

The value of this program was recognized among those working in the fitness industry. Therefore, as this program has proven to be a success, not only could higher sponsorship be obtained, but the program was also able to achieve a monopoly of sponsorship by certain high-end brands.

In conclusion, E-O figurations of the broadcast sector in the production process have influenced program products. Producers are pursuing an interesting element for producing differentiated and innovative body-making programs. If producers make a popular program, their positions in the company are promoted, a lot of sponsorships can be held, and their abilities are socially recognized. The next section will look at what strategies are being used to create body tastes in media texts.

## **5.6 E-O Figuration of the Body in the Fitness Media Texts**

This section examines fitness media texts in *EM2* and *DW6*. Media texts related to the body perform key roles in mediating fitness culture (Smith Maguire, 2008a). The

role of fitness programs should be to convert confidential private tastes into public tastes and to reshape private tastes and practices according to new public norms. The dominant image of the existing body plays an important part in new narratives of body reproduction (Smith Maguire, 2008a). Through such functions and roles, they need to reflect on the process of self-planning, identity of tastes, and self-control, and to share certain cultural tastes and symbol values (Lewis, 2008b).





The producers' creative works are related to delivering legitimate body culture (Bourdieu, 1984) through E-O figuration of the body. TV body-making programs begin with the premise that fit bodies are elements of symbolic capital that can change human life. Delivering good body tastes to fitness consumers is connected with reproducing the belief about making consumer bodies. The construction of legitimate body culture requires the stigmatization of the vulgar body culture by revealing their less civilized/capitalized bodies and capital/habitus. Through analyzing these fitness texts, I identified five body discourses: the reproduction of differences, stereotyping outsider bodies, changing outsider bodies to established bodies, idealized established bodies and homogenized bodies.

#### *5.6.1 Reproduction of Differences*

The fitness media reproduces the social beliefs about bodies. The differences between the established bodies and the outsider bodies on the programs are identified by their looks, fitness competences, and manners. Star trainers are called *'muscle boosters'*, *'masters of life fitness'*, *'brains of fitness'*, and *'world champions'*. Established bodies show good taste. On the other hand, the bodies of participants are presented as distasteful by being labelled *'fat musician'*, *'40 inch waist Miss Korea'*, *'100kg Cinderella'*, *'tadpole belly'*, etc. It depicts the outsider bodies as in need of improvement in the direction of good taste.

In each episode of *EM2*, 100 challengers followed the motions in the studio after trainers demonstrated how to exercise each muscle part. From the scenes of episode 11, unlike star trainers' proficient and accurate action, they showed low fitness capacities that feature incorrect motions, profuse sweating, and a willingness to quit (see table 5.1).

**Table 5. 1:** The body differences between the star trainer and the challengers





Program	Linguistic text	Visual text
Ep. 11, <i>EM2</i> #1	Dae: Slowly... Up...going on... Feel the back of the thigh is enough to burst out.	
#2	Dae: Keep the upper body upright...sit and straighten... Do not give up. You can do whatever if you win the battle with yourself. You can make horse-like thighs.	
#3	(rough breathing)	
#4	My legs are shaky...I feel as if I came back from hell.	

The trainer showcases their knowledge about fitness, exercise methods and skills, as well as their toned muscles and aesthetically pleasing appearances. He suggests problems regarding the body shapes of participants and prescribes exercise methods suited to those problems (#1). However, the participants have no clear knowledge about the exercise methods including techniques and steps. Therefore, the participants' motions following the trainer are mostly incorrect. Moreover, some participants do not fulfil their exercise times and give up during the course of the training. The verbal orders of the trainer sound increasingly stronger. However, the contestants on *EM2* do not follow the motions properly. The trainer continuously says, 'Do not give up. You can do if you want to. You can do whatever if you win the battle with yourself. You can make horse-like thighs'. He emphasizes bodily rewards like weight loss, visible muscles, and strengthened physical fitness. (#2). However, the participants' exhausted looks were continuously shown close up (#3). Their expressions tell the viewer that they have nearly given up. One participant says 'I feel as if I came back from hell'. He thus admitted the limitations of the outsider body. The media reproduces a belief on the differences between the established bodies and those of outsiders.

Female celebrities appear as diet mentors in order to magnify the abnormality of female participants even further on the program *DW6*. The programs repeatedly

emphasize contrasts that maximize the deviation of non-fit females through videos where female celebrities weigh 40kg to 50 kg. In Korea, a social stereotype about the female slim body is that her weight should not exceed 50kg. Female participants are made to stand side by side and their body images alternate (girl group members' slender legs and sexy hips and the participants' slopping thighs and bulky hips) and close-up techniques. In episode 3 of *DW6* (see table 5. 2), Yu-jin So's slim body (#1) was presented.

**Table 5. 2:** The body differences between the female celebrity and the challengers

Program	Linguistic text	Visual text
Ep. 3, <i>DW6</i> #1	Voice: The first special mentor, Youjin So.	 A still from the show showing Youjin So in a black bikini, standing on a stage. A yellow subtitle at the bottom reads: '완벽한 바디라인의 소유자 멘토 소유진!!' (Perfect body line owner mentor So Youjin!!).
#2	Youjin: I'll show you a demonstration.	 A still from the show showing Youjin So in a red shirt, demonstrating an exercise in a gym setting with other participants in the background.
#3	Eun-jeon: How does she get such thin thighs?..she is one person who lives in a different world .	 A still from the show showing Eun-jeon in a red shirt, speaking. A subtitle at the bottom reads: '몸보리가 정말 기다워요' (My body is really so thin).
#4	Bora: I don't want it. This exercise is not for me. My body couldn't follow it.	 A still from the show showing Bora in a blue shirt, struggling with an exercise on a large exercise ball. A subtitle at the bottom reads: '이런 운동은 정말 힘들어요' (This kind of exercise is really difficult).

Yu-jin told of how she manages her body in everyday life and showed how to do Crossfit. (#2) By expressing her body through focusing on things such as her \_such thin thighs' and \_something different', the differences between the fit body and the outsider body were highlighted (#3). The best compliments (perfect and fancy bodylines, defect free body shapes, dolls' body shapes, luxury body shapes, sexy, perfect, attractive) are given to her body. Names that emphasize abnormal female bodies (fattie, Shrek woman, 40 inch waist woman) are given to female participants' bodies. However, the challengers could not control their body motions (#4). Finally, Yu-jin So's fit body and the challengers' non-fit bodies were compared in their body shapes, exercise performance, and manners.

Broadcasting dialogue, subtitles, and names are used to identify differences between the established bodies and the outsider bodies. The programs rank superior bodies and inferior bodies. They tend to clearly visualize the standards for ideal body shapes and related differences in deviating bodies. The visibility of different bodies is secured by having the participants, star trainers, and celebrities stand on the same stage. Numerous conditions for body shapes eventually become grounds for pointing out participants' bodies as defective subjects that require extensive corrections, and because of the deviation from the established body shape. The outsiders' bodies and movements become laughing stocks. The bodies of star trainers and celebrities and the bodies of challengers are always divided into two groups: those that should be envied and those that should be mocked. The body-making program may rather reinforce the stigmatization of non-fit bodies. Under the genre of entertainment, these programs make creative and disparaging expressions towards non-fit bodies. Such rude and defamatory scenes appear frequently throughout this program. McRobbie (2004) considers a participant who is denied his or her real life and endures hardships like slander and verbal abuse for the purpose of portraying a victim in these programs. MCs and experts show sympathies to the victims and create a blessing mood by giving body-making opportunities to them.



### 5.6.2 *Stereotyping Outsider Bodies*

Lookism provides a useful tool for understanding discussions about distorted stereotyping of outsider bodies. It reduces the value of the body on the basis of morphological boundaries within particular frameworks. In Episode 10 of *EM2*, a man with narrow shoulders was described as *eojobi*<sup>42</sup> while the broad shoulders of a swimming athlete were described using the metaphor of the Pacific (see table 5. 3, #1).

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<sup>42</sup> Named after the first character of men who have narrow shoulders in Korean.

**Table 5. 3:** Stereotyping narrow shoulders

Program	Linguistic text	Visual text
Ep. 10, <i>EM2</i> #1	Male MC: I envy swimming athletes' pacific shoulders. Female MC: Dae, who is a participant who has a narrow shoulder? Male MC: so called <i>_eojobi_</i> (laughing..)	
#2	I try to avoid people who have wide shoulders in advance if I see them.	

Participant no. 18 was chosen as an example of non-fit shoulders by the trainer. On the program, his narrow shoulders are stigmatized as a mark of a cowardly man lacking masculinity by associating them with his explanation of why he avoids the men who have wide shoulders on the street (#2). General descriptions about narrow shoulders can be seen in the form of formal representations of the outsider body by the presenters and experts who have fit bodies on the programs.

The established and the outsider body images are constantly shown on the programs. The participants used modifiers emphasizing that their uncommon difficulties were because of their non-fit bodies. The imperfect body is shown on every episode, as described as *\_tadpole belly\_*, *\_visceral obesity\_*, *\_skeleton\_* (skinny body shape), *\_eojobnam\_* (man with narrow shoulders), *\_BB-bullet muscle\_* (small muscles), and *\_superfine-fibre legs (thin)\_* in *EM2*. The programs provide *\_we images\_* and *\_they images\_* of bodies and form the tastes around *\_good bodies\_*. This can be summarized in table 5.4:






**Table 5. 4:** We image and They image

Body part	We image	They image
Abdomen	Six-pack or Eight pack	ET belly Tadpole belly Visceral obesity
Thigh	Horse thigh Honey thigh	Superfine-fibre leg
Shoulder	The Pacific Cannon-ball muscle	<i>Eojobnam</i> (man with narrow shoulders) BB-bullet muscle
Body shape	Fit body	Skeleton (skinny body shape)
Physical strength	High	Low

However, most participants who have the outsider bodies did not resist describing their bodies on these programs. Rather, this suggests that they have internalized the outsider mindset that was heavy on guilt about their non-control of their own body management. Elias and Scotson (1994) pointed out how negative expressions used to refer to other people within societies or groups is used as a form of stigmatizing tool that is meaningful in established and outsider relations. However, outsiders cannot get back at the established group through the use of slander because of the asymmetrical power differences between the two groups. An outsiders' insult is not meaningful to the established. Outsider groups feel weak and inferior.

The moment when one challenger's non-fit body is expressed as something terrible, her poor life becomes tragic. Now the challenger denies her life thus far and pays gratitude to the experts who change her (see table 5.5).







**Table 5. 5:** One participant's disorder

Program	Linguistic text	Visual text
Ep. 3, <i>DW6</i> #1	Bora: (suddenly stopped) Too annoyed. I do not want to exercise any more. Voice: Her will for diet is disappeared and she is full of complaints.	
#2	Trainer: Do it exactly. If you don't follow it, you have to do it continuously.	
#3	Voice: She rejects training as well as diet. (subtitle) the worst incident on <i>DW6</i> Voice: 'Cup noodle' prohibited from training camp? She is even breaking a rule to keep in mind in training camp.	
#4	Voice: She is crying alone in the room. Producer Da: You cannot give up by yourself since the last chance. Bora: There's so much stress right now. I cannot control myself.	
#5	Bora: I feel my body is too heavy. Doctor: It's difficult to exercise in your state, pregnancy.	

Bora is now just a victim whose actual life is denied in exchange for the goal of the program. She should discard all her personal tastes about her body (#1). Responses by an irritated trainer who looks at her are emphasized through the cameras (#2). In the mean time, a lot of defaming remarks like having neglected oneself emerge (#3, #4). The challenger includes the lower class, outsiders of our society ('21 years old unmarried mother gave up her daughter for adoption' and 'she is pregnant again'). The doctor's medical diagnosis and advice causes blame for her to be converted into having sympathy from the audience even if she did not do her best at the program as a participant (#5). But more importantly, this process makes her uncontrolled body stigmatize a complete outsider while emphasizing the fact she met her boyfriend during the period of training time.

The established group used the word disorder to criticize these outsiders (Elias & Scotson, 1994; Elias, 1978; Dunning & Hughes, 2013). The blame for these disorders was not assigned to a lack of understanding of their body conditions, but rather was used to degrade challengers who participated in the program but failed in some way to control their emotions and showed their anger at the strict training and diet. They were depicted using outsider images that reinforced the perception of their non-fit bodies, low physical fitness, rule-breaking, absence of tenacity, lack of dietary and emotional control (cry, angry, and shout) and an inability to perform exercise tasks without seeming wrong and clumsy. The outsiders' non-civilized body images on the programs can be summarized in table 5.6. The participants were internalizing social prejudice about non-fit persons in Korean society as outsiders in relation to bodies. They were insensitive to the process of showing their bodies plainly (camera close-up). In the socio-cultural environments where obesity is regarded with hostility, those who are obese and those who are not obese have hierarchies dependent on normal persons' eyes (Rail et al., 2010; Sykes & McPhail, 2008; Nam & Koh, 2011). Social views about human bodies cause those who receive those views to internalize their sense of shame and guilt and have this sense develop into a sort of self-discipline (Foucault, 1977) mechanism to regulate their own behaviour (Tischner & Malson, 2008). The outsider body was affirmed through lack of knowledge of the body as well as physique and a lack of emotional control.

**Table 5. 6:** The outsiders' non-civilized body images

Category	Linguistic text	Visual text
Body shape	Voice: The body is left alone so far.	 <p>(Ep. 1, DW6)</p>
Physical fitness	Voice(radio actor): His already aged and hardened body.	 <p>(Ep.1, EM2)</p>
Clumsy exercise methods	Sun-Yi: I am too fat, so I cannot follow the exact motions.	 <p>(Ep. 3, DW6)</p>
Violation of rules	Taking an appetite suppressant	 <p>(Ep. 10, DW6)</p>
Diet control failure	Min-Jung: Who made chicken !.. I do not like everything (Threw food on the table).	 <p>(Ep. 2, DW6)</p>
Control of emotions	(Anger, crying, showing her feelings) Ha-ra: What!	 <p>Ep. 6, DW6</p>



### 5.6.3 From the Outsider Bodies to the Established Bodies

TV body-making programs teach how to survive in competition and place emphasis on rewards only survivors may get. Such rewards are related to self-identity of

–pride” rather than what is material. The programs ceaselessly underscore that *momzzang* is the way to enter into a legitimate culture of our society. In this process, those who fall short of the standard are stigmatized as lacking in efforts, irresponsible, and lazy, and thus become the subjects of criticism by viewers as well as experts.

As the program progressed, there were changes in the challengers’ positions on both programs. The people who changed moved to ‘the best outsider group’ and the people who underwent no changes or whose bodies became worse moved to ‘the worst outsider group.’ Participants who have changed bodies made up their existence and identity by showing their location and status to all other people like in French court society<sup>43</sup> (Elias, 1983). The positions of the challengers who had undergone visible positive changes moved more to centre stage and they had chances to do interviews with presenters and partake in games with star trainers. For the men with changes, their scenes of progress are continuously captured in the spotlight. Some participants who show positive body changes have ‘we’ identities and images with their trainer group. In Episode 11 of *DW6*, Min refers to one challenger as ‘Our Sara’, indicating acceptance via ‘we’ language. In addition, a participant (Gyu-on) in Episode 16 of *EM2* joined a gym that Dae operates as a personal trainer after the end of the program. Unlike the relations between a trainer and a challenger on the program, they have the same training suits and share the training lessons (see table 5.7).


**Table 5. 7:** The changes in ‘the best outsider group’ positions on the programs

Program	Linguistic text	Visual text
Ep. 11, <i>DW6</i>	Min: Our Sara can do anything... You're not alone.	
Ep. 16, <i>EM2</i>	Voice: trainer Dae’s personal training for making Kim a trainer. Dae: You consider me as a member and explain how to grab grips as I have taught you.	

<sup>43</sup> Louis XIV monopolized all the power and privileges requiring the loyalty of the nobility by using the bait of upward mobility. All of that power was distributed according to identity and sequence. The spaces at the Palace of Versailles are different according to the size and structure of sequences as well as the name. Court etiquette was subdivided depending on the identity and sequence of events, and all kinds of granular privileges were tied to these. The manners of the court were made more perfect largely owing to the competition among those who seek the privilege. It reproduced tension and distinctions by having each aristocrat acting as a watchdog against each other.

On the other hand, the participants with poor records underwent hellish training (challengers No.75, 4, 81, 86, Ep. 9). The challenging men with a weak mind ‘they image’ that departed from their initial resolve internalize the fact that they are being punished for not having exercised steadily (see table 5.8).



**Table 5. 8:** The worst outsider group’s position on the program

Program	Linguistic text	Visual text
Ep. 9, <i>EM2</i>	Han : Your bodies have been changed little... I will show you a real hell. Participant: You can blame me because I did not do well as much as I prepared.	

In Episode 9 on *EM2*, the four challengers who do not have tasteful bodies are stigmatized by the media. Their bodies are referred to as risky, problematic, valueless, and in need of management by experts. There is no indication that each body is invaluable on the programs. They had the lowest position in the outsider group. Finally, they received disgrace and scorn from the group because of their bodies.



Compensation for self-regulation is described through the binary displays of participants’ bodies before and after the programs. Most reality shows make efforts to communicate this compensation more dramatically and affectingly (Franco, 2008; Bratich, 2007). In Episode 16 on *EM2*, challengers who finished in the top 10 succeeded in improving their health and appearance as well as finding their identities and family happiness. Finally, they have opportunities of shopping fitness goods and shooting photos of their bodies for rewards of enduring hard times for making the fit bodies (see table 5.9, #1 and #2).

**Table 5. 9:** Rewards for the best outsider group

Program	Linguistic text	Visual text
Ep. 16, <i>EM2</i> #1	Voice: Joyful shopping with changing bodies... sweet rewards for the future plans. (Gangnam D sport shop)	
#2	Voice: Top 10’s Photo, shooting for memorizing the present fit bodies forever. (Gangnam O studio)	

The programs are dramatic and involve a big appearance in the last scene (Boyd, 2007, p. 46). Two final winners appear on the screen as the hero and heroine (see table 5.10). The presenters mentioned the following changes:

**Table 5. 10:** Two final winners and their happiness


Program	Linguistic text	Visual text
Ep. 16, <i>EM2</i>	Voice: Initially received the lowest scores in all of the physical fitness tests. He survived ... changed... gains not only perfect body change but also family happiness...	
Ep. 11, <i>DW6</i>	Voice: They came back home after four months camp. Sun-yi's husband: (lifting his wife) Light! Well done!	

TV body discourse makes individuals manage social risks by prescribing self-technologies like making positive relations with oneself, improving communication skills as self management, and pursuing family happiness. In this context, the programs set happiness as the goal one must pursue and offer their particular diverse practices for achieving this goal. Thus, they open their lifestyles up to viewers while at the same time intervening directly with individuals' problems.

#### 5.6.4 Idealized Established Bodies

The body-making programs that stress publicity accentuate equality that anybody can have a good body or six pack (see table 5.11).

**Table 5. 11:** Making luxury abs on the program

Program	Linguistic text	Visual text
Ep. 16, <i>EM2</i>	Men's romance...luxury abs... you can make a clear six pack with <i>Extra.Ordinary Men</i> .	



The method to make a good body that is introduced by them is not monopolized by special people and can be utilized by anybody if they are willing to do so. These programs introduce how to conduct exercise with ease and also show alternative

methods. These programs also underline that special appearances may be imitated as much as people want to.

The programs also introduce a small number of elite muscular body shapes and exercise methods. They emphasize that lifestyles introduced by them are for a small minority of the highest class. The influence that celebrities have on the public is as substantial as a company's influence on society. In the past, the 'wannabe' phenomenon saw people following a star's specific routine in the past like *Madonna Wannabe*. Today, however, more extended forms of wannabes are emerging – i.e. those who follow a specific celebrity's overall life including his/her body, fashion, aura, attitude, and lifestyle.

In *EM2*, wannabe celebrities who have superb body shapes are suggested – among those included are Rain, Seong-Su Kim, and Tae-Hwan Park. In the 10<sup>th</sup> episode, the fitness life of Seong-Su Kim is introduced (see table 5.12):

**Table 5. 12:** Wannabe

Program	Linguistic text	Visual text
Ep. 10, <i>EM2</i>	Voice: Soft charisma... Luxury body.	
	Kim: I've got a workout... Helps with diet and six pack... Crossfit became popular in Korea ...(Gangnam Crossfit)	




The presenters of *EM2* introduced Seong-su Kim as a 'wannabe body recommended by the program' and 'luxury body with soft charisma' (Ep. 10). His profession, fashion, diet and professional lifestyle was presented on television. Unlike outsider bodies, celebrity bodies show group charisma. Elias and Scotson (1994: 103) describe the established group (villagers) as having 'a mild form' of such charisma. The exclusiveness of the established body performs a social function in that it maintains the priority of the group's power:

The collective identity, and as part of it the collective pride and the group charismatic claims, help to fashion his individual identity in his own as well as in other people's experience. No individual grows up without this anchorage of his personal identity in the identification with a group or groups even though it

may remain tenuous and may be forgotten in later life, and without some knowledge of the terms of praise and abuse, of the praise gossip and blame gossip, of the group superiority and group inferiority which go with it (Elias & Scotson, 1994, p. 105).

Idealized established bodies could be found in the star trainers. This is demonstrated by phrases such as: ‘World champion Min...luxury abs with thoughtful self management... eye catching chocolate abs,...Gorgeous muscle beauty’ and ‘golden ratio of their fit and beautiful muscles’ (see table 5.13).

**Table 5. 13:** Star trainers’ bodies

Program	Linguistic text	Visual text
Ep. 11, DW6	Voice: Min...Global players participated in World bodybuilding contest... Luxury abs made thorough self-management . subtitle: world champion’s perfect muscle	
	Voice : Female bodybuilders ...healthy and sexy.. poses with prides. Subtitle: golden ratio of their fit and beautiful muscles	
	Hee-jung: I am in the heaven.  Sara: Their fit bodies are very pretty. I want it.	

The level of commendation they receive is evident in quotes such as ‘I am in heaven’ and ‘Their fit bodies are very pretty. I want it.’ ‘Praise gossip veering towards idealization’ (Elias & Scotson, 1994, p. 105) that introduce the ways in which star trainers have made their collective identities more solid. In the process of persuading the body challengers, Western-type muscular bodies along with Western-oriented language, products, and brands are used to generate positive implications and expose the Western-oriented ideology of the body-making programs.





### 5.6.5 Homogenized Bodies

TV body-making programs apparently help the participants to find their own bodies through a differentiation from others according to their own particular personalities. However, in reality, a small group of men and women in their 20s to 40s

are encouraged to dogmatically consume the items allowed to them according to the codes that the rest of society has set. This subsequently encourages the group's external homogenization processes. Their personalities are expressed in terms of whether they can shape the bodies that the programs suggest, and not in terms of self-improvement that do not conform to normative expectations. In this regard, they are interpreted to be learning the trends of specific times through the programs rather than finding their own styles. This brand of trend-oriented learning does not deliver difference-based personalities, but generates differences between small groups and homogenization within a small group. Eventually, although the two programs emphasize their roles as an assistant for helping people find their own styles, they are revealed to dilute the personalities of the individual within the process of bodily homogenization like *Gangnam Style*.

Challengers who succeeded in transforming their body shapes have the established and civilized bodies (see table 5.14).

**Table 5. 14:** The process of bodily homogenization

Program	<i>EM2</i>	<i>DW6</i>
The first episode	 <p>(Ep. 1)</p>	 <p>(Ep. 1)</p>
The final show	 <p>(Ep.15)</p>	 <p>(Ep. 12)</p>

In the first episode of *EM2*, the challengers could not access the stage that the MCs and the star trainer were standing on; challengers were marked as outsiders by their location. However, on the final show, the challengers who succeed in making fit bodies could join the MCs and trainers on stage (*EM2*). The MC and the participants' bodies are homogenizing compared to the first episode (Ep. 12, *DW6*). The MC of *DW6* described one participant's body change by exclaiming, 'She changed to *Gangnam Style*.' Their bodies and those of the established group (MCs and trainers) have similar looks, habitus, and manners.

The civilizing process of the body traces the path through which the more aggressive humans evolve into civilized men equipped with refined manners (Elias, 1994; 1969; 1982; 2000). In the earlier episodes of the programs, participants showed increasingly unrestrained behaviours and emotions without concern for the other participants and media staff. During early participant observation, they expressed to the media staff that they were uncomfortable. Some female participants shouted ‘Give me water!’ ‘It’s too warm!’ During the break time some laid down on the stage and took off their trainers. However, in the last episode, they behaved like gentle ladies showing good dialogue, positive attitudes to others, and exceptional manners. In the process of making their bodies, there occurred an internal and external change of the body for them. As aversion and shame about their less-civilized bodies increases, their bodies become civilized, so their ‘bad’ manners change into ‘good’ manners. As such, broadcasting transforms the non-standardized and abnormal outsiders’ bodies into bodies with images more aligned with the established. In this process, the bodies are homogenized: appearance, fitness competence, manners and emotional control.

## **5.7 Symbolic Violence**

*EM2* is presided over by two MCs, three trainers, and one female comedian. They start the program with ordinary chats and insert some lines that trigger laughter and exaggerated responses. They are required to possess broadcasting senses as well as expert knowledge. Ordinary chats and laughter in a lifestyle program are sometimes interpreted as strategies to make special lifestyles seem accessible to common people (Bonner, 2003; Taylor, 2002). Realistic problems like the prices of desirable products, individuals’ unique tastes, and practicality disappear together with pleasant laughter. Since words indicating non-fit bodies are treated as jokes or humour, the violence to outsider bodies is not revealed seriously. In other words, the element of laughter makes problems of reality—what cannot be bought or what is difficult to buy - more pleasant, turning them into trivial problems. Collective composition and laughter that allow the making of a good body to be misunderstood as ordinary culture operate as a buffer zone of spatial distance and distance between classes.

How they look does not necessarily correspond with the demand by the programs. Challengers who obviously have their own tastes show resistant attitudes. They express their resistance to experts’ tastes that are different from their own to an

extent that producers cannot control. At the end of these programs, challengers finally accept experts' proposals willingly, but, in this process, any disapproving facial expressions or rejection of silence are shown as non-civilized on the screen. When challengers adhere to their tastes, their body is stigmatized as an outsider's body.

*DW6* program makes female differences compelled under the gender cultural system into differences of individuality. These programs entrust them with dual roles of professional and loved women. Such aspects appear as one form of self-realization or expression of individuality by individual women. It has a tendency to conceal the aspect of suppression. As Maguire and Mansfield (1998: 128) noted:

Permeating the network of interdependencies evident in the *exercise-body beautiful complex*, hegemonic ideals are supported by the media, fitness industries, diet and health technologies, and fitness sciences. These social institutions are underpinned by patriarchal codes determining acceptable uses and displays of female bodies.

Socio-cultural suppression becomes the suppression of individuals and at the same time individuals willingly sympathize with it for self-expression. Therefore, such aspects of female differentiation tend to strengthen the existing gender cultural system. However, differentiation of gender roles in Korea does not appear only with such covert methods. Most lifestyle programs advise women to be as feminine as possible and underscore men's masculinity for social success. The first step of the makeover process of men who appear in *EM2* is to have them show their masculinity to women. The value of masculinity is expressed as capabilities of the established to own the body and efforts to have such capabilities.

## **5.8 The Virtues of Making Fit Bodies**

These programs continuously emphasize gazes by others or the gaze of society as a whole. The challengers' family and friends are invited to share their thoughts on the challengers' bodies and loved ones' messages are identified by the challengers. This process is a tool to objectify their appearances through the views of others before any bodily change occurs. They identify how they are ashamed or how bad their body tastes are through extreme language. What should be improved by the challengers is brought into relief and their individual tastes are underestimated: *How can the body be so?*

Responses from experts who are surprised with challengers' body shapes or pitiful looks at the applicants also underscore the fact that the challengers need improvement and should reflect on themselves. The programs use shame as a tool to stoke feelings of deficiency for their present being. Meanwhile, such shame calls our attention to the fact that our existence is others' thoughts about us (Palmer, 2008). The present condition of individuals is negated and their past and future are lauded simultaneously. Both their youthful past and their happy future with a good body shape are celebrated. In this process, economic and social problems of their reality disappear and only the issues of desire are dealt with.

These programs constantly create anxiety in order to emphasize consumption. The feeling of anxiety of modern people who are faced with insecurity and fear about their life amid economic, social, and cultural differences may be offset by the belief that they may secure a social position commonly recognized by the society. TV body-making programs suggest that such social positions may be obtained by consumption of fitness goods or acquisition of *momzzang*. These programs contain a materialistic ideology. Such an ideology is transformed into diverse values as if they are non-material. Goods of high price change into valuable goods and *momzzang* into the value of happiness and success. In this process, the role of programs is to convert economic issues into cultural issues and incessantly encourage consumption.

These programs provide information on wise selection and deal with how to live, rather than revealing the goods directly. This process is made with viewers obtaining certain cultural symbols and values, which is done through the process of identity and self-dominance (Lewis, 2008b). In the end, making a *momzzang* is at the mercy of individuals' efforts. To them success means having the established body images so that they behave in the manner they learned through broadcasting programs and compose their life with a positive mind. Lifestyle programs are to rewrite the legacy of identity politics with a series of selections by consumers (Palmer, 2008). Such self-identity is obtained so it is not fixed and everlasting. The reason why Bauman (1987) noted that self-identity is inevitably flexible in a consumption society and people should prepare for changing it occasionally is that such an identity is a commercialized self. A major function of body-making programs at present is to plan a commercialized body.

## 5.9 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to look at how the E-O figuration of the body in the fitness media is represented through production processes and texts. First, I looked at E-O figuration among the broadcasters in the two TV body-making programs in multi-person games on several levels (Elias, 1978). The producers and staff's positions are placed hierarchically reflecting Korean bureaucratic and authoritarian organizational culture. Another shift in power ratios happened when other participants (sponsors, representatives of the company) entered into the fitness media field. The producers have to follow the instructions from the top line except on matters of production. There are various relations among them: management-production team, main broadcasters, the outsourced, full and part time team, and trainers/writers. Consequently, the E-O figuration of media production influences these fitness texts.

The accomplishments of producers depend on how they create and differentiate and popularize programs. These stood out in the producers' creative works, 'would a picture be produced?' Their utmost criteria when making the programs is pursuing fun elements like E-O body images, languages showing E-O body characteristics, refined body culture, ideal body models, body changes and compensations. The established and the outsider body images (Elias & Scotson, 1994) in the fitness texts are constantly shown to the people and they form the tastes of the body. There are no concerns about non-fit bodies. Starting with self-criticism from the people who have non-fit bodies, clumsy exercise methods, control of emotions, violation of rules and diet control failures show the unflattering image of the outsiders. The programs emphasized the virtue of consumer bodies in order to increase body shame. The media emphasized the symbolic value of the fit bodies continuously. Finally, the bodies are homogenized in their looks, fitness competences, manners, and emotional control on the final shows. In the next chapter, this thesis will look at cultural intermediaries of the fit body.

## Chapter 6

### Cultural Intermediaries of the Fit Body:

#### TV Producers and Star Trainers

##### 6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 investigated the roles of producers in the production process of body-making TV programs. Chapter 6 views TV producers of fitness related programs and star trainers as cultural intermediaries of the fit body. The rapid growth of culture markets is attributable to the increasing role of cultural intermediaries as producers of tastes that give meaning and value to new cultural sensitivity and experiences (Bourdieu, 1984; Crompton, 1992; Featherstone, 1991b; Lash & Urry, 1996; Cronin, 2004; Smith Maguire, 2008a). Material production of symbolic goods conducted in the field of cultural production will be incomplete if it does not include the work of producing a belief in the values of those goods (Bourdieu, 1984; 1996). Bourdieu (1996, pp. 290-1) explained the ultimate principle of something becoming an art by borrowing the principle of magic effects as expressed in Mauss' *A General Theory of Magic*. Mauss' principle consists of three elements: the relationship between the tools used by a magician and the magician himself or herself; the relationship between magic and its audience; and the entire social world where the magic is crafted and exerted. If these things are converted into artistic effects, they describe relationships between: the (physical and conceptual) tools of artistic works and the artist; the artist and his appreciators; the entire society. Hauser (1982) summarized a critic's mediating role as an artistic expert as falling within two roles: newly excavating artistic modes and guiding and newly interpreting their values, and engaging in aesthetic education of the audience.

TV producers and star trainers deliver good taste and lifestyle of the fit body through their cultural works. Their culture-mediating activities constantly contribute to the propagation, acceptance, and transformation of a legitimate culture of the body in the entire social space. This process is not linear but is intricately interwoven with the regime of mediation (Cronin, 2004). The main focus is how they have planned and reproduced the belief of the fit body through the fitness related programs. In addition,

this chapter looks at their forms of capital, expertise, and devices (storytelling, body models, and intellectualization) for reproducing the value of the fit body. Finally, this chapter will discuss the issue of their class position in the conclusion part.

## 6.2 TV Producers

This section examines the role of TV producers as cultural intermediaries of the fit body based on the interviews with five TV producers who made or make fitness-related programs in Korean main terrestrial broadcasters and cable TV (Ga, Na, Da, Ra, Ma). It is difficult to decide upon objective success criteria for cultural art products, so the discourse behind evaluating and certificating the quality plays an important role in creating value and justification. Therefore, the roles of producers as cultural intermediaries need to be investigated in both mediating goods and producing cultural discourse related to the fit body. To this end, this section will look at producers' creative work, expertise, and reproduction.

### 6.2.1 Creative Work

The program *Diet King* \_created' by Na is evaluated to have become a legend of body making programs in Korea. Therefore, media products made with his participation answer the question, \_Who planned the products?' to become excellent planners' products. The concrete production process termed program production is completely erased through the declaration, \_This will definitely succeed. I can make it succeed.' In addition, when innovative ideas produced through agonies over \_What will make people happy' are regarded to determine the products, media labour acquires new methods of presentation. In this case, the quality of an individual that has creative abilities plays a critical role in informing what media labour is. Here, those elements of discourses that have been produced recently surrounding the identity of labour evenly show their appearances – work as self-realization, work as expression of creativity, work as the manifestation of the capability for social cooperation, and work as self-projection.

Producers emphasize that producing a TV program is a labour of creating new things. They play a role as cultural planners by justifying the intellectualization of new specialization areas including serious analysis in fields like music, fashion, design,

leisure, sports, and health. The cult of creativity (Moor, 2008, p. 422) can be found in Ra. His new idea for fitness program is as follows:

This has changed the GYM show...Previous health-related programs focused on helping people lose weight ... “Have you watched Get It Beauty?” Let’s make another Get It Beauty about fitness. Let’s shift a little part of the focus on people to exercise.

A program has to be new, creative, and provide a guaranteed rating. Ra mentioned CJ’s ‘only one’ spirit and that he has been making an effort to bolster the brand *EM2* which is a program focusing on what he refers to as a ‘dynamic gym show’, ‘get fit show’, and ‘ashow that teaches the right way to exercise.’

TV fitness programs provide insight into various issues related to the body. The producers provide Korean bodies as the locus of ‘cultural problems’ in daily life. Through those programs, they interfere with Korean body issues using ‘particular devices’, ‘forms of influence’, and ‘cadres of experts’ (Smith Maguire and Matthews, 2012: 559, see also Moor, 2008). The most common way for them to encourage body management is to ensure belief in its positivity. Providing a certain piece of information on body management is not simply done in an objective way, but rather it is made on the premise of the evaluation that it is necessary or worthy for any reason. Featherstone (1991b) mentioned that combining body management with stylized images provides a passport to obtaining whatever is good in terms of one’s physical life. As Da noted:

What is representative is success stories on domestic entertainers’ diets or housewives’ recovery of a virgin body shape. In actuality, some entertainer played a great role in making weight training popular through a successful diet case.

Throwing such positivity into relief ironically concurs with stimulating individuals’ drawbacks and sense of shame. The reason is that in order to maximize the positivity of body management, its contrast with physical drawbacks at present should be necessarily experienced by individuals. Ma explained why he did:

Their body is brought to the fore to a maximal extent in order to show which condition their body is in. That their body is in a serious condition is shown through diagnoses by doctors. Problems in their life resulting from their body are presented and why they should receive help from this program is shown.

A program infuses new faith in fitness mediators with respect to the two conflicting values: health and appearance (Smith Maguire, 2008a). Severe diet and

anorexia are negative, excessive and pathological ways of physical management, while physical training through fitness is an entirely different regimen. Moor (2012, p. 565) said that the role of cultural intermediaries should be re-devised as ‘culturalisation.’ Culturalization of the fitness industry can be easily executed through simple cultural marketing activities, but it could also be done in a higher level: by doing things as increasing the value of the product through design and contents during the production planning stage. Industrial production, audiences, and artists are formed within a cultural context (Negus, 2002). The program provides information on physical training, attempts to stimulate people’s desire and motivation and resolve their issues, and produces norms on what could be a desirable way of body management.

#### *6.2.1a Commercial and non-commercial*

Terrestrial TV programs introduce health clubs and products in more common and general ways of maintaining health, while cable TV programs seek more stylish and consumption-based approaches. In addition, health-related programs in terrestrial television were produced without accepting sponsors in order to eliminate commercial elements (Ga and Na). On the contrary, in the case of *EM 2* and *DW 6* which are cable TV programs, the beginning of the planning was interlinked with the commercial planning of CJ’s brand showcases.<sup>44</sup> Ra and Da of CJ E&M recognize branding of the program as a corporate mission as well as their mission:

Since our company is a commercial broadcasting company, this program is extremely preferred by advertisers. PPL [Product Placement] cannot but be done in any case...Since 100 men wear branded clothes or shoes when they exercise, this is a program like absolute men of marketing. (Ra)

Unlike terrestrial producers, Ra and Da are employed by a private company. As a member of this organization for profit, their mission is the pursuit of corporate profit by producing programs. They reproduce the logic of the broadcaster in the fitness media field.

In the media production process as shown in Chapter 5, producers have dilemmas in performing their work under a bureaucratic production structure and

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<sup>44</sup> The mother company is CJ Food.

market-oriented environment. In an unstable labour market, the competition to enter the ranks of main broadcasters among TV producers is severe. Therefore, the producers have to show their profitable achievements to guarantee their status. As a result, they do things that are sometimes unrelated to their true identity and preference. Da and Ra revealed that they were not interested in the knowledge in program contents and materials until they worked as producers:

I was actually working on making of travel programs and I don't know how I ended up taking a role on this program. (Da)

I did not take this job because I wanted to produce a program, but my boss in the company told me to take this program. (Ra)

The production sites obstruct creativity and stifle a sense of achievement because of the direct pressure from a sponsor company greatly influences each individual in his or her own working space. Such an environment makes it markedly difficult for producers to have time to think about the true meaning of their careers and their roles within the organization. Thus, these producers do not work to create their own program but follow blindly imported programs without serious consideration for their implications, unavoidably adapting to a system which does little more than glorify the production of advertising programs.

While the producers recognize sponsor-centred program production is not desirable to channel identity and producers' creative work, they admit it is necessary to the structure of the program given the financial realities of the channel. Rather, they apply these sponsor-centred programs to the dimension of lifestyle and related information, often expressing their creativity in the programs by mixing and matching all genres (news, culture, and entertainment) and content (education, exercise, and beauty). The producers showed tendencies as 'proxy consumers' (Ennis, 2005, cited in Moor, 2007, p. 59) that they are aware of the target audience's characteristics as their own properties – thus, they produce programs accordingly. However, producing programs to proactively respond to market conditions is markedly different from passive production due to the forcible intervention of market.

### *6.2.2 Expertise*

The basis for TV Producers' expertise stems from their 'professional and cultural capital, subjective dispositions and preferences' (Smith Maguire and Matthews,

2012, p. 554). This authority guarantees autonomy in producing programs. According to the interviews, they were guaranteed autonomy in producing programs, except when it comes to their budget. The constraints are expressed in the interviews with Ga and Ma:

We have to follow outside orders regarding non-production matters, such as production cost execution or programming. (Ga)

I lead almost everything... As this is a profit-making company, we have to obtain approvals for production costs and budgets estimated by the channel from the president. (Ma)

The field of media can be viewed as a space in which members have the same structural factors. These factors include the broadcasting stations' characteristics, ratings, and production conditions. The participants mentioned that their biggest constraint is ratings. The second factor was the amount of time they can spend on production. In time-related issues, not only production time but also the given amount of time for a program itself is another factor that limits producers' autonomy (Da). There were also other factors such as opinion differences between casts and producers and production cost. In the next section, forms of capital that undergird producers' authorities will be discussed.

#### *6.2.2a Forms of capital*

In Korea, there exists a bar exam, the Civil Service Exam, the Foreign Service Exam, and Judicial Notice. The word 'media exam' was created to reflect the difficulty that exists in entering the media industry. As the word indicates, TV producers in Korea have status as specialists and they earn reasonable compensation and high salaries.<sup>45</sup> A high proportion of producers employed by Korea's major terrestrial broadcasting companies from 2004 to 2006 went to Korea's top three universities (so-called SKY universities). The rate was 65.6% at the Korea Broadcasting Station, 63.2% in Munwha Broadcasting Corporation, and 85% in Seoul Broadcasting System (Song, 2007, see table 6.1).

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<sup>45</sup> 'Re-challenge if you devote to your life' *Hankyoreh* Jan 1, 1989 (26); 'Drill the press gateway 1 of 200' *Kyunghyang* Nov 22, 1989 (12).

**Table 6. 1:** Comparison of those employed by broadcasting companies in 2004

Media	Seoul National Univ.	Korea Univ.	Yonsei Univ.	Other	Total
KBS	9	3	9	11	32
	65.6%			34.4%	100%
MBC	6	3	3	7	19
	63.2%			36.8%	100%
SBS	6	5	6	3	20
	85%			15%	100%

Reorganized based on data from Song (2007)

Producers (Ga, Na, Da, and Ra) were also from prestigious universities. Ra, who was scouted by a cable TV company from a terrestrial broadcasting company, said the reason for transfer was the ‘Korea university’ network.

I began to work as a producer in 1999. I majored in Biotechnology. It was not suitable for my aptitude... My father worked in KBS not as a producer, but a technician. It also influenced me a lot. I have worked largely in the sports area. At first, I worked for SBS sports, then KBS and CJ. I transferred jobs through my senior.

Competition among broadcasting companies to scout terrestrial producers who produce or produced popular programs has continued; in particular, this accelerated with the opening of cable channels in 1996. As a result, conditions of annual salary contracts between producers and broadcasting companies have changed and some producers became independent from the companies as freelancers.

In addition to academic capital and social networking, TV producers have their own job habitus. Each broadcasting company holds production presentations of its representative programs to publicize their beginning. Producers (Na, Da, and Ra) noted that popularity of the programs they have produced ascended their position from producers to ‘star producers’. The capability of producers as seems to be coming from an environment where independent planning ability, autonomy of production, and will of differentiation of producers are guaranteed interactive factors. Their job habitus is evident in how they speak, their method for explaining things, and their thoughts on program production and ratings. Producers’ cultural capital plays important roles in the formation of fitness tastes.

#### 6.2.2b Lifestyle

There is an intermediary condition that can communicate tastes of individual or a specific class socio-culturally through lifestyle intermediaries as they envision creative programs for taste development. First, there is an independent planning ability that is revealed through the intersection between lifestyle and the inner tastes of a producer's own proclivities and predilections regarding the desires and cultural palate of a specific class. Independent and active creativity seems to be doubled when the inner tastes of producers and identity of the channel's specialty are consistently matched. Kuipers (2012) interviewed TV program buyers based on aesthetic and professional criteria. Her classified results showed that there was a high level of overlap in lifestyle and work as characteristics of cultural intermediaries as Bourdieu suggested (1984, p. 590).

TV producers have similarities in their lifestyle and work. Three male producers (Da, Ra, and Ma) and one female producer (Ga) all had irregular lifestyles that included rare exercise and heavy eating (fast food). This obviously runs counter to the notion of a healthy lifestyle. When asked about this, their answers were the same: I don't have much time to exercise because of work. They all said that they could not have a healthy lifestyle or find a way to look good because of their tight work schedule. Excluding one female producer, the male producers almost never paid attention to their dress. Male producers emphasized excuses Busy work caused me to have unclean clothes ...I couldn't even go home for one week (Da). They would rather show their status through their wrinkled clothes and beard and untrimmed hair. But their clothes are mostly expensive brands. Also, Da says that it is not possible to use the facilities during work hours even if each broadcaster has a health club on site for employees. He noted that:

TV works in flux. I don't know when I go outside for shooting...the various things that do occur on the inside. If I have time for exercise I'll do it, but I can't because I have to look out for the bosses.

As producers promote from their production position to the management positions, the individual time given to them increases accordingly. Their appearance from the established status in the company is quite different from the incumbent. The fact Na has a slender body shape compared to other producers reflects his established position in the company. He explained why he does exercise:

I go to the fitness centre 30 minutes per day, 3-4 days per week... I am now very sensitive to it now that I am beyond my mid-'40s. My worry is that I acquire a

fat belly despite the fact that I am slim... Because I am working with alcohol and perform night work, writers often talk about my belly.

Na mentioned the relationship between his age, fat belly, and work. The fact that his body is evaluated by others is important for him and leads him to self-management and exercise in everyday life. Despite their typically poor fitness, they are producing fitness-related programs and suggesting ideas to others about the value of *‘health’* and *‘looks’* as well as ways of representing these things to the general public.

TV producers learn about fitness culture through consulting with professionals, reading magazines, and watching subject-relevant TV shows (Ga, Na, Da, Ra and Ma). The TV shows and magazines the producers refer to were limited to those of affluent Western countries. That is why Korean lifestyle is becoming more and more Westernized – the social legitimacy of the professional knowledge and iterative learning of global lifestyles are beginning to reflect each producer’s preference and taste. As a result, producers re-interpret all the knowledge they have acquired. The producers believe that studying other media content will strengthen their eye for beauty. The cultural legitimacy of Western cultural forms is what gives them strength and courage when they have to push through a decision at the broadcasting site. First of all, the fact that the producers consider Western fitness culture as the instructive luxurious culture responsible for informing their lifestyle and taste; secondly, producers believe Western lifestyles were obtained by rational knowledge; and lastly, the material value of the Western fit body and professionalism were considered sophisticated.

#### *6.2.2c Proxy consumers*

How do producers view the tastes of consumers? The ability to read the market means that the individual’s subjective knowledge (capital) can be the source of their expertise (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2010). Media producers presume and make ideal audiences based on speculations about audience response from partial experience and various kinds of indirect evidence (like program evaluation and market research) in order to fill the defect that they cannot get simultaneous feedback (Fairclough, 1995). Media workers were performing a role as *‘proxy consumers’*, a fact that depended upon them possessing empathy for their audiences and their fitness experiences (Ennis, 2005 in Moor 2007 & 2008; Kuipers, 2012). *‘They were part of the same demographic group as of the target market’* (Ennis, 2005, p. 92, cited in Moor, 2007, p. 59).

As presented in the previous section, fitness consumers' dispositions are perceived by producers as their own aspects in making the programs related to fitness. For example, Ga suggested the direction of the program and read its consumer as a married woman with a child. The titles of the corner on the program reflect her ideas: 'California Gifted Children and Food' and 'Jeju Island's Healing Spa'. As she noted that:

I make this program in a manner that fits people's tastes. Personally, I was fortunate... I am a woman and was greatly interested in health after childbirth.

This probably was well reflected in the program, helping increase its ratings.

Ga considered that the audience wants various information with speed with respect to both content and style. Ra catches hold of 'macho' as Korean men's disposition. He reads Korean male fitness consumers as follows:

Korean men tend to resent losing to others. They are also reluctant to ask others questions. They believe that they know the right way of working out. A lot of people go to the gym, but a majority are working out by themselves.

Besides, Ra understands personal training problems in Korean Society and reflects male demands for hard weight training to the program with the direction of giving the exact information. As he noted that:

The viewing rate was highest at the moment when we introduced how to use fitness equipment. This means many people are exercising; but that not as many know the right way of using equipment before participating in personal training sessions...How about PT lessons? I doubt that personal training would provide proper information.

Ra considers both audiences who cannot take PT lessons and those who did not learn properly based on his experiences. According to Nixon (2003), personal experiences as consumers are vital to constructing ideal consumers for the advertiser's mediating work. As indicated in the interviews, the producer's personal preference and experience were reflected in the production direction, item selection and target audience. It was demonstrated that Ra takes a Korean man's point of view and that Ga takes the Korean housewives, mothers, and daughter-in laws' point of view on health and appearance.

Fitness related programs deal with human bodies, so producers need to check their body conditions before choosing participants for the objectification of producers' ideas. Producers' other criteria for healthy bodies takes into account both physical and mental aspects. All the producers are using a 'medical test' to identify the participants

with respect to whether they are appropriate or not. In case of Ga, she passed all of the medical verifications and gained medical doctors' advice and medical books to check participants' body conditions (before/after) and captions on the screen. Da hired the medical doctor group related fitness to choose the suitable participants for the show.

Da and Ra explain how many trainers are coming 'to be popular' or 'with fake experience'. Even though the trainers are selected after auditions, the social capital of trainers was actually the deciding factor with respect to whether or not the trainer would be hired. Producers have relative power as gatekeepers versus trainers. Producers choose star trainers and participants based on what counts as an established and a redeemable outsider body. The producers use their networks as devices for the objectification of star trainers' qualities, including their careers and leadership. Star trainer Han said that he had various experiences and previous experience in media appearances (professional capital). However, he was actually introduced to the broadcast station by the owner of the sport centre that he was managing.

### *6.2.3 Reproduction of the Value of the Fit Bodies*

This section examines how TV producers as cultural intermediaries reproduce the belief through symbolic goods related to a fit body. They suggest three criteria when it comes to selecting participants: story-telling, body models and intellectualization.

#### *6.2.3a Story-telling: A body with special story*

The first criterion producers present is 'a body with special story.' For example, the stories are focused on how those who feel pain due to non-fit bodies, star trainers, and entertainers were reborn with bodies of established images from their former outsider body image. Personal feelings and honest responses—which used to be seen as irrational—began to be visually tailored to be suitable for the TV screen. Na explained the importance of sincerity of personal stories:

Diet King was envisioned while we were trying to find the best concept for visualizing an individual's willpower. This is why the participants' personal stories mattered a lot more than their physical conditions.

Na showed the process of change from non-fit bodies to normal bodies. The distinctive way of making the program is that there were 'no failers or losers in the program unlike other programs that adopted a survival game' (Na). His strategy is hope.

Reality programs and variety shows adopt a wide range of communication tools, including both monologue to conversation. As an analysis of *The Oprah Winfrey Show* demonstrates, the show is not merely a talk show but a medium to educate and enlighten the public using people's voices (Illouz, 2003). And yet, the sense of distance within this form of media cannot be felt because the show adopts a story-telling method that consists of the sharing of personal stories and experiences, and as a result, people experience a quasi-social relationship, watching the show, as if they are making conversations with the people on the show. Na decided that one star trainer's personal stories are quite proper for the broadcasting, noting that:

To highlight his body, his story was essential...When his family moved to Canada ... he was a skinny body. Black students bothered him ...he tried to protect himself from them...he created a large body. ...his body makes a sincere story.

A trainer's unique body-making story can act as cultural capital to himself because it provides him with a means through which to be differentiated from other trainers and can become a creative element of program production. In reality shows, painful personal experiences and voices are processed in order to become suitable cultural devices. Tomlinson (1999) observed that even intimacy has been standardized, and argued that the standardized intimacy does not guarantee inter-connectedness. Suffering and confessing participants are represented as others. These participants are also simultaneously learning self-management based on the lessons from the stories so that they can overcome the adversities of themselves: this is the reality of electric proximity provided by the media. The truth is that personal pains are taken out of context for the purposes of broadcasting, and the announcers convert private experiences and relationships into more universal and general values. This strategic standardization of production techniques on stories about racism, violence, and trauma now safely reaches the audience. Personal stories about pains and healings are standardized into a cultural commodity with definite economic value. Autobiographical stories are reworked to fit the production standard as receiving special meaning.

#### *6.2.3b Body models*

The producers' secondary strategy to reproduce the value of a fit body is to show various body models. These include bodies of well-managed celebrities and star trainers as well as those of challengers with relatively unhealthy and non-fit body

shapes. The selection of body shapes depends on the direction of the program planning, genre and ratings. Ra explained the current muscle style by mentioning Star *momzzang* figures. As he noted that:

The most sought-after types of body include the bodies of Sang-Woo Kwon and Byung-Heon Lee and Seung-Won Cha<sup>46</sup>.

He translates and interprets the value of the fit body by using figures. He considered both the male and the female audience. The producers mentioned that some male challengers want the body types that their girlfriends or wives have characterized as having the ideal body value.

The most commonly used method for reproducing the value of the fit body on the screen is to visualize the non-fit bodies by using images and language. As the visibility in differences is the leading production condition of the stigma (Beatty & Kirby, 2006), producers select the body type to be on the broadcast. Producers show the value of the fit body through a comparison of images juxtaposing the fit bodies and non-fit bodies. The basic and important goal is to find interesting ways to show changeable bodies on TV. Therefore, producers do not present bodies that are too slim or too fat (Ga and Da), as follows:

We do not seek intentionally skinny people... There is nothing in slender people.

Everything is normal ..., it will be impossible to make such a program. (Ga)

Ga avoids choosing participants who have well-managed bodies based on her past experiences because most of them show good health conditions in medical tests. Broadcasting needs problematic bodies. Ra puts priority on a transformable body in choosing challengers. To him, a body of an extremely overweight person is not an attractive device. He focuses on flawed body shapes and particular body parts, instead of overall body shape. He points out problems of particular body parts (e.g. tadpole type, unbalanced type, twiggy type, muscular type), and provides a customized training regimen for each of them.

In comparison, Da focuses on unrealistic body shapes in order to maximize the dramatic effect of the program. The program employs various techniques to show that the participants' body conditions are in an extreme state:

The program features photos of inside the abdominal part to show layers of fat like a tire, ultrasonic images of fat dissolved in blood, and adds captions to

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<sup>46</sup> Korean *momzzang* male stars

highlight the warning message... The follow-up scenes show the challengers' daily living and how they are leading an isolated living, avoiding contact with family, friends or people in general.

Da mentioned how links between obesity and the risk are made evident in a variety of ways through the program. Obesity is produced as a discourse of the risky body (Herrick, 2007). The danger of obesity is maximized by a combination of medical knowledge, the aggressive intervention of the program, and visual strategies. The obese body on the program tends to be portrayed as dependent on normative perspectives from its surroundings (Foucault, 1977). In other words, this shows how various perspectives and discourses within a society can define an overweight body and ostracize it socially.

Another key factor was which star trainer to hire for the program. The bodies of star trainers serve as devices of cultural intermediaries (Smith Maguire, 2008a; Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2010). For the producers, choosing star trainers is an essential decision in creating value for the program. Da noted that:

If the star trainer is already widely known to the public, the audience can easily relate to them. However, if a professional becomes the host of a program, the program could become too abstract and difficult to understand. The difference between a professional host who is popular and one that's not will affect the viewer ratings very much.

Akin to a 'dealer-critic system' (White & White, 1993, pp. 94-9) in an art circle, TV producers and star trainers influence the production and consumption of 'fit bodies' both directly and indirectly, and work as cultural intermediaries. Connoisseur inclination—an early-stage role of a critic—could be a fundamental part of a lifestyle for gentleman and aristocrats (often equated with a class with taste) at least in the UK and France. Bourdieu saw the emergence of Manet and Impressionist painting as a change in an artistic sphere and in the power relationship, rather than just as a change in artistic style (Grenfell, 2004, pp. 102-3). He argued that the role of the dealer-critic is to interpret the dynamic of the new sphere and practice it within the mechanism of change. They moved in a way that discovers genius artists that can create colossal profits and promote speculative sales (White & White, 1993, pp. 156-7).

In comparison, TV programs made by a TV producer-star trainer team reveal a dominant taste for muscle-building. The popularity of six packs, chocolate-bar abs and horse-like thighs highlighted in the media also reflects a change in the sphere of the fitness regimen, more than a change in the mere style of fitness. These two cultural

intermediaries have different status in the field of fitness. However, they began working together to deliver the value of ‘fit body’. Producers plan cultural body projects. Trainers have critical eyes and knowledge to recognize which participants’ bodies are redeemable. Producers mentioned experienced star trainers in the broadcasting identifying these bodies better than others (Da and Ra). Thus, the producer and trainers perform as cultural intermediaries of the fit body by influencing the production and consumption of the program directly or indirectly.

### 6.2.3c Intellectualization

The third standard producers present is fit body culture as refined culture and Gangnam’s established group culture. According to Kuipers (2012, p. 600), ‘All cultural production is based on belief. The value of cultural goods, from TV programs to highbrow art, is never given; it is always socially constructed.’ A translation of the value of the body is directly and indirectly related to the motive of consumers. Ga’s interview is associated with the formation of the program's value:

Items are a half-step ahead of the public tastes, stimulating curiosities and the necessary things that people do not know yet. The subject of the body is changed from time to time.

Ga focuses on middle-aged women rather than young women in order to differentiate the product from a competitors' program (SBS) being broadcast at the same time. The topics covered include adult basic vaccination, cancer, Alzheimer's disease, anti-aging and diet secrets, and children's illnesses. This program delivers practical values in terms of health and appearance, but it also gives a symbolic value associated with being a *good* mother, a *good* wife, or a *good* daughter-in-law at the same time.

Ra selected invisible core muscles in the first episode in order to mediate the value of the fit bodies. His choice made the audience see invisible muscles that are easy to overlook in common people. He made them seem like essential and stimulating curiosities. As he noted that:

I worried about the core training because this dealt with invisible muscles, ... there were arguments about this concern and whether it made sense for abdominal muscles to be the focus of the first episode, ...but it had the highest ratings.

Producers have to instil a sense of belief in the audience that values that are invisible or that seem inaccessible are indeed visible, possible and accessible. Through this process,

they can deliver the symbolic values of the bodies. *EM2* is not a professional exercise program, nor an educational program. Rather, this is a program categorized as within the category of performing arts, entertainment and lifestyle. However, it passes on the values of the dominant culture by adopting advanced strategies, so the characteristics of mass culture are veiled. Currently, there is an intellectual entertainment genre that mixes historical themes, advanced exercise programs, and arts.

Another image of Gangnam in Seoul is that there are many rich professionals and their children's enrolment in prestigious universities is higher than any other area. The visibility of Gangnam as a space of consumer culture has significantly intensified. Aesthetic preferences and lifestyle changes play important roles in the formation of urban landscapes in post-modern society (Zukin, 1989; Savage & Warde, 1993). Da explained why he selected the Gangnam scenes:

For a modern and chic background, we choose Gangnam as the first choice.

Currently, the dramas show who are living in Gangnam. The upper and rich...

We shoot at Cheongdam-dong, Apgujeong-dong and Shinsa-dong Avenue.

A specific city image in the lifestyle programs in Korea is concentrated on an area of downtown Seoul called "Gangnam". As shown in the interview with Da, the city image space itself is referred to as Gangnam. A lifestyle program contributes to the expansion of lifestyles in a specific space by symbolizing them. Such images have been created around a specific space, yet they are expanding beyond national boundaries as they create a new reality of an internationalized capitalist society. What they imitate as they consume is an imitation of lifestyles of a real specific city and class where they desire to be. Such imitation makes a sensitive issue of class difference to be transformed into a question of styles and tastes (Palmer, 2008). That is to say, class differences based on economic differences have been changed to an issue of cultural choice regarding private style and taste, creating an illusion that hierarchical differences are reduced or vanished among people.

### **6.3 Star Trainers**

Star trainers appear in a TV fitness related program as either facilitators or members of a panel. Their expertise in a program is a source of knowledge that producers rely on to create lifestyle programs as well as a means to objectify an

individual's private routines by using job names like *personal trainers*. This section examines their mediating roles of spreading faith in having muscles, translating muscle values or the value of fit bodies, and evaluating or criticizing how these bodies are based on the interviews with four star trainers (Dae, Han, Min, Guk).

### *6.3.1 Creative Labour*

#### *6.3.1a Creating bodies*

Star trainers design stars' bodies. They implement *concept training* for celebrities' fitness. They not only design celebrities' bodies in the short and long term, but they also pump important regions in studios to help provide good representations of stars' bodies by media. Guk explained nature of bodybuilding of entertainers as follows:

Their bodies are trained to be suitable for the characters they perform in the movie. For example, Min-sic Choi in the movie *Crying Fist* was trained to be a boxer. It took two to three months to create a body like a boxer... In case of movies, our job was not revealed externally but assisted from the backside.

Star trainers always have titles that they have made, consulted and designed for some celebrities and even do invisible work as cultural intermediaries. The biggest difference between star trainers and general trainers is that the former has a career in which he or she effectively *made* famous celebrities bodies. For example, Dae includes the celebrities' names – Hoon and Gangin – in his curriculum vitae. Showing the changes in stars' bodies in the media guarantees a demand for his knowledge and skills of the body.

In addition, star trainers change casts' bodies in the programs. They appear on broadcasting programs as star trainers acting as experts in participants' missions. Dae and Han designed exercise programs for challengers' bodies and played the roles of motivators and advisers for exercises. The trainers helped to change the bodies of outsiders to fit the established image of bodies, and in doing so they delivered the value of fit bodies. Trainers believe that the general public cannot make a body like that of an entertainer. However, trainers in broadcasting program send a message constantly to the viewers that they can also have a fit body like that of the star trainer if they try hard enough.

#### *6.3.1b Problems associated with star trainers' positions*

Trainers recognized that they are presented as the position of entertainers, not experts. Through contracts with the broadcaster (salaries, content information, coordination, feedback delivery process, autonomy), the trainer is in the position of B. Gang (2013) pointed out Korean's rankism that shows I can be A to someone or B to someone. Just like established and outsider relations, trainers are B to the broadcaster, but they can be A to the participants on the program. They are caught up in multiple power relations in the fitness field relative to their position within the regime of mediation as shown in the figure 5.1. Producers admit trainers' body making know-how and knowledge, but they do not provide the same authority of position enjoyed by a doctor, acupuncturist, or nutritionist. They are one of the casts that producers need for new and creative planning. As Ga noted:

Cast selection features those with expertise comparable to that of a doctor or acupuncturist...Professors of nutrition can guarantee the reliability of the program...I've thought to cast professional trainers on the episode of special diet, but I didn't ... I decided to cast celebrities who have fit bodies.

However, star trainers still take pride in their title and craft even though they received a spotlight in broadcasting like the disavowal of profit motive for Bourdieu's cultural intermediaries (Bourdieu, 1980). They do not consider themselves as equivalent to other famous entertainers. They wanted to stick to their own job rather than their media activities. Min noted that:

Athletes cannot be run or operated like entertainment companies. If we concentrate on other activities including media, the value of the product will plummet. The fit body will be broken down... It is not a good sign when we are used as a sports star by an entertainment company.

However, due to a limitation of time and ratings in broadcasting programs, star trainers must compromise when it comes to their schedule somehow. The trainers did not explain their broadcasting-related limitations in detail because they are currently involved in broadcasting. The next section examines trainers as service industry workers in Korean society.

### *6.3.1c Service industry workers*

Personal trainers are known as star trainers like celebrities through broadcasting activities, but in reality they are service industry workers by running or belonging to health clubs. In this sense, a personal trainer can also position themselves on the

frontline of the service industry (Smith Maguire, 2008a). Dae explained why he has to be a chameleon in his centre:

I change as a chameleon in every time zone...one customer is a man, another; a woman. Some are students, some are employers, and others are employees. I am a different person and a different resource for each member.

Most face-to-face service labourers in Korean society (where service activities are merely considered a form of ‘care giving by women’) are forced to deal with customers and to manage their own emotions in order to satisfy the customer. They strive to give their customers positive feelings by helping them to select a good outfit, conveying proper facial expressions and having good diction (Seo, 2009, p. 126). Dae emphasized that smiling is essential for trainers. In reflecting on this matter, he said that:

I look at personalities... their growth environment... school days, previous work. I consider capacities and appearance, but prefer a crush smiling<sup>47</sup>. Smiles are out in conversation.

Workers who perform emotional labour can suffer real negative consequences over time in the form of physical or emotional illnesses such as ‘Smile Mask Syndrome.’ (Korea Research Institute for Vocational Education and Training, 2013). According to Dae, the stress of customer service can take its toll:

The nature of trainers... some trainers are born with the right disposition, so they don’t need to... but some are very stressful. We meet overly severe customers... they treat us as their servants.

Dae explained trainers’ status relations with customer service: trainers can be established, but also outsiders. Emotional labour has been known to provoke complaints, stress and alienation of the people who perform it (Hochschild, 1983; Mann 2004). However, not all emotional labourers get stressed out by conforming to the emotions, as some adopt their own emotional resistance strategy (Gatta, 2002; Pierce, 1995). To a limited extent, they try to apply a microscopic response strategy in order to overcome the tension and conflict that can arise with customers. As Min noted:

I throw something and see the reaction to both good responses and negative feedback during the lessons. Praises [are about how they are] pretty, sexy, and beautiful, when they workout. It’s a basic service mind-set, not a true heart ... Members already know it’s only words for customer service.

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<sup>47</sup> Smitten expression.

Min basically performs customer service tasks whenever he gives good comments about clients' bodies that make them smile. Hochschild (1983) defined emotional labour as encouraging or suppressing one's emotions to make someone else feel better. This requires effort to understand the manner in which these emotions operate (rule of emotion or emotion mode) and how strong or weak these emotions are (strength of emotion) and also maintaining these emotional states over time (maintaining emotion). In this context, emotion has value for profit seeking and has been processed and commercialized for the promotion of surplus value.

### *6.3.2 Expertise*

The qualification for star trainers has to include some licenses, which are just as important to a trainer as his or her success in the market. In Korea, where the lifestyle market was created relatively recently and is not sufficiently sophisticated, the qualification of experts is not an absolute guarantee of success in the market. The practice of academic elitism in Korea is also exploited to consider the alma mater of lifestyle experts as indicators of their likely success in the market. In particular, some trainers are so deeply involved with elitism that they claim themselves to be holders of world champion titles, winners of local competitions, or official trainers of certain celebrities. Their real roles are to grade the individual taste of bodies as well as molding the preferences of the public taste into what they consider to be *good taste*.

#### *6.3.2a Forms of capital*

In Korea, the previous dominant discourse was that student-athletes did not consider students in school to have been raised steadily in academia (Im & Won, 2012; Lee, 2008). Two major aspects of the problem appear related to *Hakbeol* and athletes in Korea. First, the trainers are internalized with social prejudices that athletes are ignorant. It shows their outsider positions competing for legitimate culture. Second, the issue of graduating from universities was very important in the trainers' world. Trainers who are located in the outsider position of academic capital showed in an interview on views about occupational cluster trainers, Dae and Guk said:

The reason why present athletes study is because they want to correct the view that athletes are ignorant. (Dae)

People usually ask which university I graduated from at the first time... But I often think I should have graduated from H university. In this world, school network is important. My representative is from H. He has a much wider network. If I graduated from H, my position would be better. (Guk)

Two trainers explained how academic capital and other human networks have been important to their professions. Academic capital is no exception for athletes. Particular schools invest in specific sports and training for athletes because of alumni that hail from a specific school or operate within the associations (Lee, 2008). Their academic capital can be a block to athletes or players on the national team or even those with outside occupations. This issue is related to the employment problem of graduates majoring in physical science. Han mentioned why he gave up on being an athlete and entered the path towards leadership:

I recognized that it was impossible to make the national team. ... My capacities were not even, but there were also other variables. Physical Education students think to be leaders if we cannot to be players... Being a coach in a high school is almost impossible if I do not have any connections with it.

Han showed his thwarted ambition like other cultural intermediaries (Bourdieu, 1980; 1984; Durrer & Miles, 2009: 233). Bourdieu refers to the new occupations as partly a response to fears of downward mobility (1984). If they cannot be successful as an athlete, they would rather become a physical activities coach. However, to become a physical education teacher was very difficult due to the high competition, so most of the graduates majoring in the field of physical education turned their steps into a career as a trainer (Dae, Han, Guk). This interview result will be also consistent with why other general personal trainers chose the job in Chapter 7.

### *6.3.2 b Lifestyle and body tastes*

The four star trainers share similar professional experiences such as having been athletes in their adolescence, entering the departments of physical education and participating in bodybuilding competitions thereafter while developing their bodies. The trainers have their own preferences in terms of their own expressions of what constitutes a fit body type. Dae and Min, who work as international bodybuilders are focused on the creation and nurturing of a body that is faithful to the profession even if they sometimes receive negative responses about their body. As Dae and Min noted that:

I would like to make large muscles – though not too large. Currently, I am approximately 177cm in height and 83kgs in weight. I would like to become at least 85kgs with muscle mass. (Dae)

The body that I want strongly on the strength of the skin... my goal is bigger and stronger balance. (Min)

However, Han and Guk, who are no longer bodybuilders, prefer the creation of so-called ‘banded muscles’ (Alexander, 2003) that are large but not ‘ridiculous’. As Han noted that:

I liked large bodies when I was a body builder. Now, I like bodies that are appropriately large and not ugly when seen by others. I like figures that make good clothes fits.

Even Min – who had been a Las Vegas World Champion – assesses his body as not a good body in Korea. He said that women even expressed his body as being ‘creepy’ or ‘nasty’:

My body has become too big in Korea. In the USA, I am not called a bigger or muscular guy but a sexy guy... In Korea, my body is told to be too big...the body of Rain [singer] is a trendy type... Americans are congenitally larger, on the other hand, Koreans prefer slim bodies.

Min explained ideal fit body type in Korean society. Unlike Korean situation, in the West, masculinity is defined according to the degree of the body's muscles (Yang et al., 2005). As shown in the research (Leon et al., 2005; Yang et al., 2005), the increase of ‘Muscle Dysmorphia: MDM’ cases reflects the Western male’s obsession with the size of his muscles. Min also noted that, ‘Western bodybuilders are from wealthy families, but that it is not the case same in our country.’ Four Star trainers mentioned that they typically held several part-time jobs in order to raise money to pay for their ability to build muscles in their initial bodybuilding training. Trainers believe that the occupation of bodybuilding is much less affordable in Korea as compared to the West.

### *6.3.3 Reproduction of the Value of the Fit Bodies: Branding Muscles*

‘Cultural intermediaries become devices themselves in the sense that their biographies, attitudes and embodied capital serve as occupational resources and guarantors of credibility’ (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2010, p. 412). Trainer’s bodies are the perfect device for delivering the value of the fit bodies like role models and guarantors (Smith Maguire, 2008b, p. 220). The muscles of trainers shown when muscle

exercises by body part are performed are borderline godlike from the perspective of the guests. This is akin to Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural consecration' (1984, pp. 230-44). Here, cultural consecration refers to the process wherein onsite actors give meaning to objects and humans through certain rituals and the objects/humans are elevated in status ontologically like changes made by the Holy See in the Catholic Church. This cultural consecration progresses in diverse ways through systems to secure legitimacy for itself via culture production sites and continuous maintenance of these sites. In this process of cultural consecration, several expert actors play core roles. Trainers bring to the process of consecration not only showing their muscles but also presenting their own body-making stories including failures and successes, secrets for making other non-fit bodies, and their various talents like diction, humour, and other mild forms of charisma. This section pays attention to how four star trainers perform branding of muscles by talking about their specific body stories, showing their bodies, and delivering their cultures.

### 6.3.3a Story- telling

As with Turner's (2010) comment that celebrities are those who sell themselves as commodities, star trainers' personal charm should be seen as part of what they sell and they should be able to express it. Min says that the price of his body increased by 20 times compared to the past: 'I received ₩500,000<sup>48</sup> as an advertisement model fee in the past. Now, I receive approximately ₩10,000,000<sup>49</sup> for even a home shopping paper advertisement'. Min says that to increase the value of a person's body, both body management and 'talent' are necessary. Min noted that:

Trainers' bodies are naturally good... Even if the body is good, ... if there is no talent that can be shown with the body, the body will not be valuable... He has a good body and dances well... He is a doctor and speaks well. Persons with good bodies. What is his occupation? Athlete? Trainer? That is not special.

Min shows his self-legitimation aligning expertise or talents with physical capital and a cult of creativity. They not only give help on exercises and diet menus but also describe stories about success and failure in their performance of missions as mental mentors. For these trainers who make themselves into commodities, telling their own stories is not optional but rather it is indispensable.

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<sup>48</sup> £290

<sup>49</sup> £5,800

The value of fitness through stories appeals fitness consumers' sensibilities beyond their rationale and gives more special meaning to the fit bodies. The stories of body-making experiences offer something new, surprising, fun and impressive. As Dae noted:

One interesting fact, most men already have abs. So where are they? In your bellies, but not visible, hidden by your fat.

Dae provided motivations to make abs with fun and interesting stories 'Everyone has abs' and 'they are hidden by fat' instead of telling these stories like 'you must exercise hard for abs' or 'you must invest a significant amount of time, money, and efforts to make abs'. He emphasized self-management of diet and exercise in the natural and safe way. The trainers on TV programs inform us with new facts about abs, information about abs like top and bottom exercises and wrong exercises/body shapes. As Dae and Guk noted:

Need to know for sure ... abs exercise is divided into top and bottom. (Dae)

Weight training is all about balance. If there is movement in front, back movement is needed as well. Among celebrities, these regions are not in good shape. (Guk)

TV fitness programs fixed the time period at intervals such as 2 minutes, 1 hour, 3 days, 15 days, 4 weeks, 8 weeks, 10 weeks, 16 weeks, and three months. I asked one trainer how the time period was decided. Guk noted that:

Once the target period is decided, more people exercise harder. I present specific numbers including time and exercise sets. There is no scientific basis...If somebody feels the period is too long and sets are too many, the question is: who can endure?

In fact, the trainers show 'quick training' on the programs. Each episode (*DW6*), two trainers open their secrets how to change the challengers' bodies and stars' bodies with the moving story-telling of '2mins Quick Training': 'two inches from your thigh in two minutes with blue team trainer Min', 'Getting rid of belly fat' and 'Girls generation's body making secrets'. This is not mere story-telling, it is captivating narration with the introduction of exercise and star trainers' fit bodies.

### *6.3.3b Star trainers' bodies*

The star trainer's body is the best device for branding muscle products. Each trainer's body is introduced on the programs: 'star body maker and muscle booster, trainer Dae', 'Fitness World Champion, trainer Min and his Western body that Koreans

cannot have.‘, ‘perfect masculinity, trainer Guk.‘ These descriptions show the different shapes of distinct muscular bodies. Trainers have their own bodies to showcase their fitness knowledge and technique.

From the story of the body-making process, the programs suggest consumer preferences to star trainers‘ muscles and lead participants into developing a sort of taste. The media enquires about particular tastes in muscular bodies rather than ideal male body types. Look at one interview conducted at the press conference:

Reporter: which body is more to your taste between *Girls' Generation*<sup>50</sup> trainer Kim and world champion Min ?

Stella (Presenter of *DW 6*): I am more familiar trainer Min’s body, a so-called luxury muscular body because I lived abroad for a long period of time.

Star trainers‘ bodies are delivered to audience as tastes for the fit bodies. At the same time, star trainers have tried to manage their bodies more thoroughly in an attempt to demonstrate the perfect fit bodies. As Smith Maguire (2008a, p. 187) presented, they are perfect participants as both producers and consumers within the fitness field. Trainers were sensitive to their appearance on the screen. They were not satisfied with their swollen bodies. Han has continued to lose weight for the broadcasted fit body. Dae also tried to show the sharpness of the muscles and not focus on losing weight. During the interview in the waiting room, he ate his food depending on the time. He mentioned that, ‘when shooting, I adopt a salt-free diet.‘ Additionally, he pumped up his body by doing push-ups before shooting because he wanted to show his fit body perfectly.

An uncontrolled body acts as a factor that makes the self insecure because we live in an age in which social value is given to the size and shape of the body, which in turn has an influence on the individual's identity and self-esteem. Dae continuously monitored broadcasting to improve his problems. When I visited Wanna Fit Studio (run by Dae), I could identify that he promoted his studio by turning on his TV corner ‘*KNOW BODY*‘ and displayed posters and snap photos related to *EM2*. He explained why he turned on the monitors:

Since I am operating a company, my appearance in broadcasting has public relations effects. After turning on the central monitor, I try to adjust my speaking style, voice, and tone.

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<sup>50</sup> Korean-pop girl group

Dae was constantly making efforts to increase the value of his own brand. He did this by working on his body while also improving his speech through careful monitoring of how he talked. The everyday awareness of his appearance comes to match his images to the criteria of media normalization. Featherstone (1991a) points out that people's perceptions of the body in consumer culture are dominated by the other body. Dae's body is a self-conscious *'body - for - others'* for particular groups such as the *petit-bourgeoisie* (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 207). Trainers become objects in a market of symbolic goods.

However, trainers expected their position to change as their own body grows older. They have invisible competitions. They considered 20s body is the best as a 30s body is already aging. The standard of the body for them is more stringent than the general population. As Min (aged 29) noted that:

Min: When I saw myself, I am one of fitness products...Business of the company. I can do more than 10 years.

Choo: After that?

Min: Rather than not able to work, the area of the occupation is limited, ... Young people replace ours... now, I drove out old generation. Someday, the ambush appeared and push me...21 or 22 years old, taller, very small face, and the body is also good. ... they will be paid attention.

Although Min has a young body, he already knows that eventually he will be displaced by trainers in their early 20's. Consumer society has stigmatized people who are in their 30s more than those in their 20s, and people in their 40s work hard to look like people in their 20s or 30s. Aging means the devaluation of the individual in a society and the emphasis on valuing the notion of eternal youth. Aging is an object to be controlled, but ultimately human frailty and mortality cannot be avoided.

### *6.3.3c Intellectualization*

*'Nothing is more distinctive, or more distinguished, than the capacity to confer aesthetic status on objects that are banal or even common'* (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 5). The overall features of the working class body (posture, tone, attire, etc.) are typically not highly appreciated as long as the created body differs according to different social classes. Muscles displayed in each layer of class have differing meanings. There is a difference of the bodies among the people who make fit with personal trainers in the fitness centres, exercise by themselves and do not exercise at all. The established body

group through the consumption of legitimate body culture are to be distinguished from the people who cannot have their own preference. Consumption is a class system that emphasizes social difference.

Min mentioned that the members of Club M -for which Min is the representative have fit bodies. The primary purpose of their personal training is not for the management of health, but rather for their appearance. He described their body management as \_luxury or lavish body making. Body management is beyond the level of body care. [It is a] lavish investment in the body.’ He added that:

Having a six-pack does not mean we are healthy. Like women who buy cosmetics and accessories as a way to invests in their body, one invests a lot in his/her body by paying for expensive surgery to remove fat or hiring a personal trainer. Managing the body has expanded to indulge luxurious bodies.

Min mentioned that a person's worth is evaluated depending on their abs:

Abdominal muscles have become brands. Since people want slim but fit bodies, many exercising persons have abdominal muscle lines. These days, all entertainers have abdominal muscle lines...the same entertainers have different commodity values depending on abdominal muscles.

According to Min, abdominal muscles have become symbolic capital among the public and celebrities. However, there is a big difference between making muscles accurately and recklessly. Making muscle needs correct knowhow and hard work that requires time and money. Without this process, muscles cannot be evaluated highly. In particular, celebrities’ body prices are set according to their abdominal muscle shapes. They are distinguished from chocolate abs, six pack, eight pack from the normal abs. Therefore, celebrities’ fit bodies are distinct from others in creating their own value. Min mentioned that the reason why body manias have taken hold so much is as follows.

Pictures drawn by famous painters -when seen by such people- the pictures contain values, thoughts, or souls. When most people see them, they are only curious about the prices of the pictures. This is also the case with thoughts about bodybuilders’ bodies. People say that bodybuilders’ bodies are gross. We are also beautiful if we just have six packs on the abdomen and lines... It is art. How hard was it to make the body? Is it possible?... These differences relate to our viewpoints... When seeing clothes made by famous designers, general people react saying, How can I wear those clothes? ...The clothes are not worn by models only as work.

Min's thought coincides with Bourdieu's (1984) comment indicating that a person's exclusive possession of artworks is a way of acknowledging that they have refined taste about art. Consumption occurs differentially in that it occurs according to classes and is differentiated according to patterns of consumption that contribute to the formation of classes through distinguishing oneself from others.

Finally, the value of having a fit body is strengthened by its distinctiveness as a special class. In the *EM2* and *DW6* programs, this class is viewed as an established group that includes celebrities, sportsmen, entrepreneurs, and politicians. As a result, its ideas are reproduced through the special spatial images. These programs make the lifestyle of the specific group achievable through the consumption of goods.

#### **6.4 Conclusion**

This chapter focused on two groups as the cultural intermediaries of the fit body: five TV producers of fitness related programs and four star trainers. By interviewing such professionals, their mediating roles are investigated in terms of creative work, expertise, and devices for reproduction of a belief on the fit body.

In discussion with cultural intermediaries and their class position, Smith Maguire (2014, p.19) points out that 'there remains a lack of attention to the new bourgeoisie fraction of cultural intermediaries and their relationship to the new petit bourgeoisie occupations.' In this chapter, TV producers and trainers have different strata of cultural intermediaries. These two occupations have similarities in class characteristics, as they both do not own means of production and possess professional technique and qualification. However, they are different as one requires physical labour and the other requires non-physical labour. Another reason for insisting upon hierarchical division between physical and non-physical labours is that transference between physical and non-physical labour classes is relatively limited (mobility closure). Since there is a clear distinction between physical and non-physical labour when it comes to transference between the classes (Goldthorpe, 1987, p. 48), the distinction between physical labour and non-physical labour can be useful.

The professional class that does not own means of production can be included in the upper class when reflecting recent research trends (Koh, 2009; Hong, 2005; Hong & Koo, 2001) on the service sector that are emphasized in the division phenomenon in the upper middle class. This class is separated from the white-collar class as they have

professional knowledge and license, or have practical control power over labour process within organizations according to their hierarchy.

Forms of capital depend on certain occupations for showcasing their authority – especially the two cultural intermediaries that have differences in their body capital. Trainers have priorities in fitness capital, but they have relatively low academic capital. Producers have low fitness capital, but their academic and social capital is higher than those of trainers. Educational background has been a major path for transferring between social classes in Korean society and is utilized as an important matter for class reproduction (Hong, 2005). Besides, educational capital is also an important medium when it comes to social network.

As shown in magic, the dealer-critic system, and in cultural consecration, cultural intermediaries have the power to construct a certain facet of culture as being legitimate and worthy. The belief in the benefits of the game comes from the authority of the cultural intermediaries. Illusion as a collective belief in the sacred value of games and betting items is the conditions and the product of games (Bourdieu, 1998b). People are unconsciously conditioned to the field of symbolic power. They are also consciously controlled. He views that a sort of illusion intervenes here. Illusion unconsciously causes mis-recognition and consciously induces re-recognition.

The emergence of cultural intermediaries should also be explained within the historical origin of fields. A quantitative increase in the public consumption of fitness leads to the emergence of special magazines, literary criticism, newspapers or weekly magazines about fitness, fitness centre brochures, *momzzang* stars, and trainers producing them. In this process, various cultural mediators appear. On TV programs, the appearance of producers who plan and produce fitness programs and star trainers is most noticeable. This circular causal relationship becomes possible only when it is institutionalized while – amid the objectivity of social amusement – relevant parties enter into the amusement simultaneously and pay attention to the amusement. In doing so, illusion can be created, which is the injection of agents who play games with good game skills and skilful game participants who enable the existence of games. In addition, questions about the meaning and value of artistic productions are inevitably discovered within the social history of the field that is connected with the components of a special aesthetic tendency for which each field appeals under its own conditions.

TV producers and trainers combine the traditional product called body building, the value of which has been lowered, with new muscle styles in the field of mass

production. For example, the previous 王 (Wang, King in Chinese) -shaped muscle is refined and renamed as 'six-pack' and 'chocolate-pack'. In addition, the authority of experts is employed to emphasize that body-shaping programs are intellectual processes. Along with this, they combine various genres and styles of body shaping, knowledge and information on high-quality body shaping with entertainment elements. Moreover, these programs suggest ideal models through the bodies of trainers, and occasionally provide the body shaping stories of these trainers. These programs also emphasize that body-making processes are highly intellectual by nature. By defining the scope of how to perceive and evaluate the symbolic goods of the body, which have been produced in the fitness field, they add or remove the values of the body.

In summary, this chapter showed that 'the new occupations reproduce both consumer economy and the class positions of their practitioners' (Smith Maguire, 2014, p. 19) and their work is a multiple regime of mediation (Cronin, 2004). The next chapter will look at fitness club figuration (clubs, members, and trainers) and how their positions are distinguished and reproduced by their fitness capital and civility.

## Chapter 7

### Fitness Club Figuration: Site, Member, and Personal trainer

#### 7.1 Introduction

Chapter 7 looks at fitness consumer figuration from the perspectives of clubs, members, and personal trainer (PT)s with a focus on the Gangnam (south-of-the-river) district, which has a relatively affluent image, and the Gangbuk (north-of-the-river) district, which has a less prestigious image.

The spaces and their organizations called the fitness field (Bourdieu, 1984) and the fitness figuration (Elias & Scotson, 1994) are made by reflecting a variety of interests and class struggles; so the production process of the space is at once a process of repositioning the power structure. Individuals' cultural behaviours in ordinary life contain the symbolic system reflecting social conditions and become an indicator enabling class classification. This is because symbolic images given to cultural practices such as literature, music, fashion, and food are recognized, differentiated, and evaluated among social members to reveal class differences. Such class differences are found in fitness culture as well.

Fitness clubs in Gangnam and Gangbuk have become symbolic spaces to show the gap between established and outsider groups. The separation of these spaces, and of their associated norms and bodies, reflects class divisions. To this end, *Gangnam Fitness Club*, located in Dogok-dong, and *Gangbuk Health Centre*, located in Gwanghwamun, are chosen. These two centres share a commonality in that they started their businesses in the same year, 2004. Looking at the socio-historical background of the two clubs, another commonality is that they were both created as a result of a gentrification process: as a part of the 21st century urban development projects, old-fashioned buildings were torn down to build mammoth office towns and residential and commercial apartment complexes in their places. Firstly, a comparative analysis of the spatial significances of *Gangnam Fitness Club* and *Gangbuk Health Centre* are performed with narrative inquiry (Klein, 1993; Maple & Edwards, 2010; Creswell, 2007; Connelly & Clandinin, 2000).

Secondly, the E-O figuration of fitness members and habitus in both *Gangnam Fitness Club* and *Gangbuk Health Centre* are examined (Gangnam 12: Gangbuk 12). The members are divided into 4 groups according to their fitness habitus (body shape, fitness knowledge and technique) and socioeconomic status based on their data: the established body in *Gangnam Fitness Club* (Gn E), the outsider body in *Gangnam Fitness Club* (Gn O), the established body in *Gangbuk Health Centre* (Gb E), and the outsider body in *Gangbuk Health Centre* (Gb O). In addition, I look at reproduction of the E-O figuration of members through habitus, civility, and cultural capital (food and English education).

Thirdly, the E-O figuration of personal trainers (PTs) and their habitus in both Gangnam and Gangbuk are examined (Gangnam 13: Gangbuk 11). PT is a new occupation group (Chapter 4) and cultural intermediary of bodies (Chapter 6) that has emerged due to overall improvement in quality of life and development of the sports industry; PTs are classified as either ‘\_experts in physical strength’ or ‘\_expert service workers’ according to the job classification in Korea (Korean Standard Occupations, Code 2874).<sup>51</sup> Different approaches will be employed depending on whether trainers work in Gangnam or Gangbuk as well as whether they work in private or public centres: Gangnam private centre (*Gangnam Fitness Club*), Gangnam public Centres, and Gangbuk public centres. Finally, this paper will examine the hierarchies of fitness consumer (club, member, PT) that are reproduced socially, culturally and spatially through these figurational processes in Chapter 8.

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<sup>51</sup> <http://kostat.go.kr/kssc/main/MainAction.do?method=main&catgrp=ekssc>

## 7.2 Fitness Clubs: Gangnam vs. Gangbuk



Figure 7. 1: *Gangnam Fitness Club*  
( Source: the author)



Figure 7. 2: *Gangbuk Health Centre*  
(Source: the author)

### 7.2.1 *Gangnam Fitness Club*

The appearance of the Tower Palace Complex, the new, wealthy village in the Gangnam district, can be simply described as a mammoth arcade within a city. The Tower Palace Complex exemplifies a new form of classification, differentiating itself from traditional ways in which the aristocracy excluded others. These new spaces are open to all, but they are also spaces for them only—spaces clearly separated from the rest. This place is not a readily accessible area like Gwanghwamun located in the centre of Seoul. As it is situated at the southern tip of Seoul, one would not normally visit the area unless one lives or works there. *Gangnam Fitness Club* is in a building with a silver, one-way mirrored exterior finish.

When one enters the building, there is a male concierge at the front desk. Dressed neatly and looking in his late 20s or early 30s, he reminds one of a body guard with a gentle image. He guides the visitors around the building. There are restaurants—Korean, Chinese, Japanese, and Italian—a brunch café, a clothing store, an insurance company owned by the building owner, a screen golf club, and Tower Palace Medical Spa in the arcade of the building. The restaurants, although pricey, are well known for their great food. Everyone can access these places, but only the members are allowed in *Gangnam Fitness Club*. Visitors will find it difficult to locate the stairway to the entrance of the health centre, and the elevator to the fitness club is off limits to non-members. Walking up the stairway from the first floor to the second floor will take one to the members' lounge of the fitness club. The elevator inside the health centre will take one to the exercise area of his/her choice, outside, and to the underground parking lot, where spaces are for members only.

*Gangnam Fitness Club* operated by Giant Hotel is a large-scale independent athletic centre located within an apartment complex. Hotel fitness club membership is purchased for both leisure and investment in South Korea. Membership is available for sale in the trading market. *Gangnam Fitness Club* initial membership deposit is ₩30,000,000<sup>52</sup> and the annual fee is ₩3,000,000<sup>53</sup> per person. When compared to the prices of the fitness clubs in hotels, they are somewhere in the middle range. The centre is equipped with facilities including a fitness gym, a swimming pool, a golf practice centre, and a sauna and spa.

Female concierges, dressed in black formal suits, greet incoming members and help them with their needs. In the second floor members' lounge, a room finished in all white, there are members drinking coffee and chatting. The elevator takes members to the third floor changing room, which is divided into two sections; the VIP locker room and the regular-member locker room. The wide aisles and big lockers provide extra comfort. The lockers, finished in dark brown, give an image of calm and stability, and the halogen lighting makes the facilities look more luxurious. In addition to the locker rooms, there is a sauna and spa (Korean-style bath system), powder rooms, rest areas, and washrooms. White sweatsuits, towels, and robes are neatly placed; there is no limitation on towel use. Extra attention is paid to the powder room and single-user vanity tables, providing privacy. The toileteries in the powder room are the products from the Dermatology Clinic and skincare product shop nearby. All items are neatly organized at all times. There is no sign of cleaning staff.

After putting on the sweatsuit, members take the elevator to the gym on the fourth floor. The total area of the gym is about 2,644m<sup>2</sup>. The Tower Palace Complex, the outdoor park, and Yangjae Creek seen through the single-sheet glass wall give the members a feeling of exercising outdoors. The pine trees, several decades-old and severely bent, planted randomly in the second floor outdoor park and the trees in the apartment complex contrast and symbolically enhance the image of the Tower Palace. Centred on the jogging track, 2.2m×151m, there is an aerobic exercise zone, a free weight zone, a massage zone, a hydraulic weight lifting equipment zone, a physical fitness measuring centre, squash courts, a group exercise room, and personal training rooms. The equipment is of the finest quality and well maintained. In the lounge, there

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<sup>52</sup> £17,322

<sup>53</sup> £1,732

is a chandelier hanging down from the ceiling and palm trees are placed around the mini bar.

The director of this club explains the hotel does not disclose members' personal information and also limits its media PR activities in consideration of members. According to him, 2 P.M. is the busiest time. The fact that couples can exercise together after lunch at the club indicates that they belong to the businessmen/professional class. He stresses that the members are not young; the age bracket and the exercise time of members to some extent reflect their socioeconomic status.

A female trainer greets a housewife member at the front desk in the entrance door at 2:30. The two start to walk on the jogging track. A couple are approaching them from the opposite direction. They look content and relaxed. About five female members are either walking or running hard on treadmills while watching TV. The more they sweat, the happier they look. Three housewives in their 50s are using the hydraulic weight lifting equipment in rotation. The climbing room in the middle of the exercise area starts on the second floor and extends to the fourth floor, surrounded by single-sheet glass walls all the way. In the waiting zone, there is a female member working out with a trainer and a male member working out alone. In the exercise room, there is a program guide outlining the programs at different hours, and three female members are doing stretching exercises before working out. At 2 P.M., the busiest time, less than 30 members are using the facility. Members do not make noises that may interrupt others' exercise. On the health gym wall, there is a notice for special programs for members' children tailored toward children who are returning from abroad during schools' summer break. This place looks very quiet and peaceful.

### 7.2.2 *Gangbuk Health Centre*

The Gwanghwamun district, where *Gangbuk Health Centre* is located, is the historic centre of Korea and the main centre of Seoul. The power of Chosun Dynasty emerged through the erection and re-erection of Gwanghwamun (1395), and the colonial power of Japan hoped to realize the rise of their imperialist power through the collapse of Chosun Dynasty and the dismantling of Gwanghwamun (1592). If the Park Chung Hee military regime tried to represent its ideology of economic construction and nationalism through the reconstruction of Gwanghwamun (1963), the subsequent political regimes tried to gain historical legitimacy through the restoration of

Gwanghwamun. There are government buildings, major domestic and foreign corporations, banks, law firms, numerous coffee shops, domestic and foreign brands, restaurants, the United States embassy, major historic sites, and modern cultural facilities such as Sejong Cultural Centre, galleries, and a huge bookstore in Gwanghwamun.

The flier for *Gangbuk Health Centre* and attendant ‘use-free’ coupons are inserted in the daily newspapers and delivered to the residents of commercial-residential buildings, stores, and apartment complexes in the neighbourhood several times a year. The flier includes advertising slogans such as ‘7-day Free Trial’, ‘Make your body firm, healthy, and beautiful’, ‘Fitness program created for you’, and ‘Seasonal sales promotions’ and advertises monthly dues reduction, reduced-dues hours, and new programs and equipment. It also describes the positive effects that their exercise programs can bring: ‘Results including short-term weight control and loss of fat, preventive treatment of various lifestyle illnesses in adults and heart disease arising from lack of exercise, and programs created for you.’ It also includes a map and telephone numbers at the bottom. A poster showing a muscular male and a muscular female is placed at the exit of Gwanghwamun subway station of number 5 line at the entrance of *Gangbuk Health Centre*. This image, displaying muscles reminiscent of Arnold Schwarzenegger’s in the ‘80s, comes across as being old-fashioned.

When I went to *Gangbuk Health Centre* to observe, Manager Kang and Fitness Counsellor (FC) Jung were at the front desk. Jung, who is responsible for fitness counselling, performs various tasks including showing different facilities to visitors and new members, selling health items, managing the janitorial staff, and managing the website. When Jung is absent, Manager Kang performs the FC’s duties. Manager Kang has been with this centre since it opened in 2004. When a member enters the Health Centre through the first floor stairway, the FC cheerfully greets him or her by saying ‘How are you?’ Then Jung notes the member’s attendance and hands over a locker key. To a first-time visitor, Jung and a health trainer explain dues, special features, traditions, and the popularity of the centre before taking the new member to the sauna facility, locker room, and the exercise area.

The additional lockers placed in the corridor leading to the locker room make the corridor look much narrower. A row of bath baskets with shampoo bottles and scrub towels in them are placed on the locker shelf. At the changing room entrance, there is a note reminding members not to leave shoes and that protein powder is on sale. In the

middle of the changing room, there is a display case with sweat suits and towels for use in it. In this space, in which the locker rooms, powder rooms, and sauna are located, women of all ages put on makeup and groom their hair after their exercise and shower. There is a full-time cleaning lady; after the members are done with their hair grooming, she picks up the hair on the floor and the towels.

Due to a large number of members for the given space, this place, unlike other health centres in the neighbourhood, is divided into morning and afternoon classes. The annual membership dues are ₩800,000<sup>54</sup>. To become a member, one has to sign up for at least three months (₩240,000<sup>55</sup>), and one-month dues are ₩130,000<sup>56</sup>. Depending on the customer, the dues are negotiable. The majority of members are office workers and they use the personal-development incentives they get from their companies to pay their dues. The FC says self-employed and middle-aged women can easily afford to spend this amount for themselves. The FC, however, did not want to mention the membership size and its composition.

Unlike other health clubs that have experienced periodic changes, *Gangbuk Health Centre* has been running well since 2004. Its popularity is such that the club is divided into two membership groups, morning (6 A.M – 5 P.M.) and afternoon (5 P.M – 11 P.M) groups. The dues are expensive compared to other places in the area and it offers restricted space. One attractive feature of this place is its location. Most of the health centres in Seoul are located in basements with no natural light due to high land prices. This centre advertises itself as being located on the semi ground floor, between the ground floor and the basement. This is how this centre differentiates itself from most other health centres. There is a bank on the first floor, a Chinese restaurant on the second floor, an Italian restaurant on the third floor, and a Korean restaurant on the fourth floor. Everyone can easily access any place in this building.

All new members get two PT sessions free of charge. The orientation trainer (OT) prepares a physical chart after taking body measurements. The chart is in English and contains information such as name, address, telephone number, starting date, last date, number of visits/week, age, height, and weight, etc. Trainers explain the body fat distribution to members and remind them of the need for exercise. The trainers also make note of any illnesses the members have and the areas of the body that members

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<sup>54</sup> £478

<sup>55</sup> £144

<sup>56</sup> £78

want to lose fat from. On the back of this chart, there are sections where members' lifestyles are recorded (frequent diet, favourite hobby, etc.), potential members can be recommended to the centre, and the status of dues is recorded.

Although the members' ages, socioeconomic backgrounds, and places of residence are varied, their lifestyles can be categorized according to the times they visit the centre. For example, housewives mainly come during morning hours. Older people usually come before noon, during the lunch hour, and after lunch, 2 P.M. while office worker mostly come early in the morning and in the evening. On weekends, there are many men in their 40's or older. Not all members come here to exercise, some come to take a sauna or a bath. Often these members stop by on their way home to take a sauna or a shower, and some women in their 50's exercise for only 20 minutes and spend more time in the sauna every day. The majority of members take a sauna after their exercise every day.

### **7.3 Fitness Members**

This section examines fitness members in both Gangnam (12) and Gangbuk (12) based on their interviews and participant observation. Participants' positions in the social space are figured out based on their occupational statuses and fitness capital levels using Bourdieu's social space model (1993). First, participants' place in the social space model is composed based on their occupations and economic capital levels. I used a separate paper to know their socio-economic conditions (see appendices). After collecting their data, the study on participants' occupations is classified based on the Korean Standard Classification of Occupations<sup>57</sup> of Statistics Korea. Koreans and their economic capital were calculated based on their incomes, and total assets were classified based on the present states of assets by quintile of annual incomes surveyed by Statistics Korea on business operator households. Secondly, participants' body capital is classified according to their body shape, fitness experience, knowledge, technique, and other sporting activities. The data was firstly acquired through interviews and then corrected after investigating the degree of their fitness capital in the fitness

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<sup>57</sup> It is divided as follows: 01 - managers, 02 - professionals, 03 – officers, 04 service, 05 - sales workers, 06 - skilled workers in Agriculture and Fisheries, 07 - craft and related, 08- machine operators and assemblers, 09 – simple labourers, 10 - soldiers ([www.nso.go.kr](http://www.nso.go.kr)).

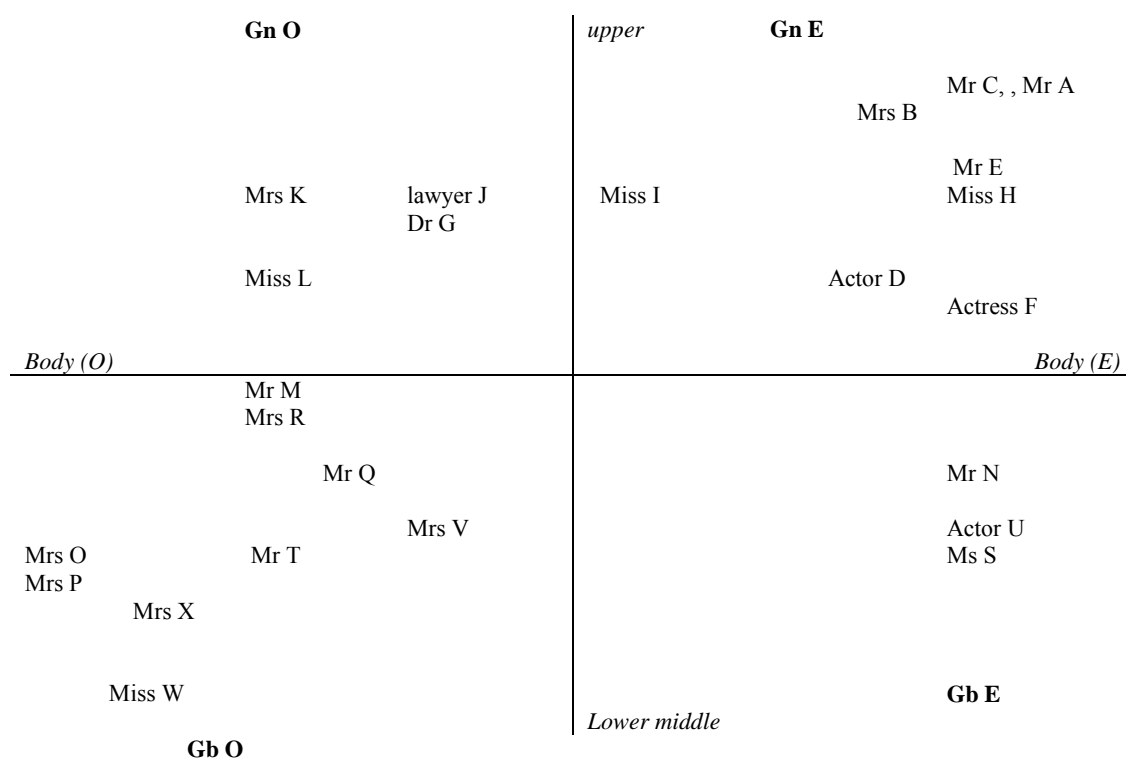
clubs. Body capital is divided by 7 points (high1-high2-high3-middle-low1-low2-low3). Thirdly, another social space model is constituted on the basis of cultural capital. Participants' cultural capital is divided by educational capital as a representative capital of the institutionalized form based on Bourdieu (1994). The criterion is a final education degree and it is classified: PhD - MA/MBA/MFA-BA- college - high school. Concerning Korea's academic capital, this chapter will look at the relationship between *Hakbeol* and body capital.

In this chapter, the fact that the entire social landscape can be divided into four groups in the spatial dimension based on the differences in the composition ratios and scales of economic capitals and cultural capitals will be borne out. Thereafter, the differences in body shaping habitus existing among the four groups will be presented as individual types. The purpose of this group classification is to show that the quantities of economic capitals and cultural capital possessed by a certain class do not always coincide with each other.

### *7.3.1 E-O Figuration of Fitness Members*

Participants in social space differentiated by their E-O figuration of the body (body shape(E-O), fitness knowledge and technique and socio-economic positions gather in certain spaces that identify them as members of the same class location: the established body in *Gangnam Fitness Club* (Gn E, 8), the outsider body in *Gangnam Fitness Club* (Gn O, 4), the established body in *Gangbuk Health Centre* (Gb , 3), and the outsider body in *Gangbuk Health Centre* (Gb O, 9) (See fig 7.3). Those in the same class location were found to have the same habitus, as reflected in their similar tastes and hobby activities (Bourdieu, 1984).

**Figure 7. 3:** Four groups in the fitness clubs



**Table 7. 1:** Four groups and their members

Body Socio- economic Position	Gn E	Gn O	Gb E	Gb O
	The established body group in Gangnam	The outsider body group in Gangnam	The established body group in Gangbuk	The outsider body group in Gangbuk
Bourgeoisie (including family)	Mr C, Mr E, Mr A Mrs B, Miss H	Mrs K Miss L		
Professional	Miss I	Lawyer J Dr G		
Actor	Actress F Actor D			
Self-employed				Mr M Mrs R
Actor			Actor U	
White collar			Ms S Mr N	Mrs O, Mrs P Mrs Q, Mr T Mrs V, Miss W, Mrs X
Total	8	4	3	9

See Appendix A for more information

As shown in table 7. 1, Gn E and Gn O are comprised of *Gangnam Fitness Club* members while Gb E and Gb O are made up of *Gangbuk Health Centre* members. Gn E and Gb E are the established body groups and Gn O and Gb O are the outsider body groups in each centre. Gn E consists of bourgeoisies (Mr C, Mr E, Mr A), their wives (Mrs B), their children (Miss H); professionals (Miss I); and celebrities (Actor D, Actress F). Gn O features professionals (Lawyer J, Dr G) as well as corporate executives (Mrs K) and their children (Miss I). Like Gn E, they live and work in the Gangnam area and have economic abilities that allow them to purchase fitness memberships regardless of price. The people included in Gb E are Mr. U (actor), Ms. S (Q airline manager), and Mr. N (journalist). They have managed their bodies since their twenties, so they have relatively fit bodies focused around weight training. Gb O is made up of petit bourgeoisie (Self-employed, Mr M, Mrs R) and white-collar workers (Mrs O, Mrs P, Mrs Q, Mr T, Mrs V, Miss W). For white-collar workers, self-development is important for surviving social competitions with other co-workers, so they are constantly involved in chasing the fashion trend of exercise.

### 7.3.2 *Body Tastes and Habitus*

Gn E members had fitness experience through generations and their ownership of a fitness club membership was a cultural behaviour in their ordinary life, and not something to show off. Luxury hotel fitness centres have the function of distinguishing and classifying social class by different degrees of capital and habitus. Gn O members did not have much hotel fitness experience and their hotel club membership was a show of ostentation and a symbol of their social success. An interview with Bong the director of *Gangnam Fitness Club* it was noted that:

...just holding their cellular phone during exercise. I am working out. I cannot talk now'... I will go out.' Most of them seem to show that they are doing exercise.

Like the director's explanation, some want to inform others that they are successfully managing their body. The reason why they boast of self-management in a fitness club is that it has a symbolic value of success resulting from trust, diligence, and a progressive spirit. In actuality, such self-management acts as habitus of professionals and entrepreneurs. Since the body has been established as physical capital and body management as a code of success in modern society, some people who obtain symbolic capital utilize their fitness club as a space for ostentation. Unlike group Gn O for whom

a fitness club serves as a spatial function to show off their social position, group Gb E sees the space as a venue to parade their body. By exhibiting their body to others, they reveal and show themselves off in order to differentiate themselves from others. Manager Kang of *Gangbuk Health Centre* explained their characteristics:

If the PT or other members do not pay attention to them, they move to another fitness club where they can receive a look. Those who subtly enjoy it hope others recognize them as their reward for continuous exercise.

According to Kang, those who have a beautiful body – or in other words, those who have the same body as what the society has prescribed – utilize fitness clubs as a space for their ostentation. The reason why a fitness club becomes a space for ostentation is that it is a space to make a trim body and to be evaluated against other bodies, and the body is a source of physical capital in modern society (Shilling, 2012). Such distinction appears in the form of ostentation. Gb E members did exercises in diverse centres from hotel clubs to public clubs; this group presented their bodies as models and emphasized that health centres were not important in body making. Gb O members registered with their health club using self-development costs supported by their company and therefore considered their cheaper membership as a virtue. This last group both envied paying clients and at the same time had negative thoughts about them, stigmatizing them as extravagant.

Gn E members maintained a fit body for a relatively long time and pursued a healthy body image suitable for their age, rather than being obsessed about ‘looking beautiful’ or ‘looking young’. While Gn E members did not express pride in their bodies, Gb E members strongly expressed their bodies in terms of ‘Twenties envy my body’ (Actor U) and ‘I have a full muscular body’ (Ms S). The muscular bodies of Gb E are symbolic capital in its members’ social lives. Actor U explained why he has made the body:

When I had my first children, I have thought about caring for my baby...diapers, milk, and education fees...my job is unstable. I can make money when people love me, so I need to attract their attentions...I don’t have anything without my body...so I started with it..I am an actor. I am selling myself. My body is money. If I don’t have any value as a product, I am meaningless. ... Making and maintaining a fit body is too hard.

In the case of actor U, his main reason for making a fit body was related to economic difficulties. The body is a carrier of symbolic capital for him. Just as we differentiate

ourselves from others through economic capital such as clothes, house, and cars; those who have a good and aesthetic body differentiate themselves from others through their physical capital. Ms S mentioned that she has worked out and invested money and time in herself. For her, exercise is for making a shape that connects with her image. The common things that appeared in Gb E members are an excessive obsession for the making of the body, narcissistic expressions of the body, and beliefs that the members received extensive knowledge of fitness. To them, the meaning of the fit body is to compensate for their relatively low social position and cultural capital.

Gn O members' bodies were neither overweight nor slim, and they did not have much interest in muscle building compared to the groups Gn E and Gb E. Most Gb O members did exercise in order to avoid the stigma of obesity or aging. In the case of women, their goal was to lose weight (Mrs O, Mrs P, Mrs R, Mrs V, Miss W, Mrs X). Gb O members were only sensitive to the numbers of their weight. Their main goal was to maintain their weight. They try to reduce their weight by exercising and taking diet supplements whenever they gained a few kilograms. Most of them are not interested in body shape and muscles. The body is not enough to have great significance to Gb O members to change their social status unlike Gb E members. Therefore, they do not endure the pains of the making of the body even if their bodies are often assessed as outsiders. Mrs. X of Gb O members shared her experience:

My body shape looks like that of an azumma... one day I chose one set of pants, ...but the clerk said there is no size at this shop... Waist size 29 is the biggest. I was very embarrassed at that moment.

Mrs. X mentioned that she has suffered from disadvantages and stresses due to her appearance while actively engaging in the aspects of social life. These problems are connected with lookism in Korean society. Gb O members have experienced loss of motivation from relationships with the opposite sex, bad rumours about their own bodies, self-doubt and constant self-evaluation, and clothing size insecurity. Korean bodies are suffering more than ever before due to the rise of excessively Western-oriented values and the indiscriminate logic of capital. Lookism accelerates human bodies toward commercialization and materialization.

They are employed to work as opposed to the capitalist class and thus their exercise is limited to the time that they spend at the fitness centre. In addition, the inconsistent criteria by which individual life and social life are measured make them

confused. Mrs V of Gb O members explained how hard it is to follow her diet plan as an employee:

I go to exercise after work or during lunch time. ..but I am employed,...My superiors can check me as unsocial in the form of promotion evaluation... when they had lunch together, I felt a little lonely even though it was by choice.

For Gn E members, fitness was the most basic exercise for basic functions of the body. In body making, they concurrently conducted fitness and other exercises (golf, tennis, climbing and ballet) and enjoyed focusing on the harmonious development of their muscles. On the other hand, the goal of the Gb E members was a muscular body itself. Regardless of whether the muscles developed in harmony, they concentrated on muscle generation. They had an obsession with the body itself and led their life with the body making at the centre of it, in turn limiting the breadth of their social life. Gn O members did not have much interest in exercise. They did exercise for their health and appearance but did not attempt exercise of high intensity to push their limits. Mrs K of Gn O members noted that:

I do not do exercise much except for running and riding. It is not fun. But I should do it. I only have fun about half the time. I take some rest while sitting in the sauna for a long time.

Mrs K does not fully enjoy body management in the fitness club. Gn O members obviously have a strong cause ‘for health’. They may derive pure fun and pleasure from exercise but obligatory health factors are the strongest factor influencing their actions. Lawyer J also recognized that a fitness club was a beneficial place but that it was also a place he did not want to go. It shows that he has undergone a lot of failures in his previous fitness aspirations. They learned golf for social success but their level of interest in it was low. A commonality between groups Gn O and Gb O was that they did fitness exercise compulsorily and mandatorily. Fitness space is where participants constantly change. Unlike other life exercise spaces, many people stop going in a few months after they join before eventually re-registering – so fitness centres continually devise diverse methods to allow members to register with them again. Fitness spaces exist with some degree of forcibleness and obligation under the name of health.

One of the characteristics of Gn E is that they have a capable coach when learning an exercise and therefore learn how to exercise correctly. They had the knowledge of how to select a proficient coach suitable for them. When learning an exercise (including ballet), they tended to look for a professional (Mr A, Mr C, Actor D,

Mr E, Actress F, Miss H, Miss I). Therefore, there are some professionals preferred by Gn E members. They recognized the importance of personal training; for them, personal training was not temporary but a continuous exercise program. Gn E members have conceived of PT as needed to address the various stages of issues concerning their ages, physical limitations, and ideal bodies. Actor D and Mr E explained why people need personal training:

The important thing is to understand why professionals need coaches...they need to exercise accurately, they have to learn what machines and devices should be used, they miss a lot parts. (Actor D, Gb E)

My age is changing and my body is entering its mid-40s. I need changes in my weight program. The early-twenties program cannot be applied equally to someone at my stage. (Mr. E, Gn E)

Due to their extensive experience in fitness, these members have good eyes for recognizing who professional trainers are. The process of personal training is not passive for Gn E members. Meeting quality coaches is very important to them. They mentioned how they work out with their own preferred trainers:

When I feel I need to create an ideal body, I contact my trainer and we work out together. He already knew my body condition...he knows what I need before I ask. (Actor D, Gn E).

I decide my expert PT... If the program determines, he can make me finish in a few months. I only follow it. If somebody makes a new body, it takes more than 6months- 1year. They can bear the cost,... I just pay 1-2 months, it's not a big deal. (Mr. E, Gn E).

These individuals understand the nature of fitness. They have their own knowledge and techniques from bulking up to detailing muscles. They have had their cultural capitals relating to fitness intertwined with PT lessons for quite some time unlike the outsiders. What was common between groups Gn E and Gb E in personal training was that both groups recognized the significance of personal training. On the other hand, Gn O members had relatively unfit bodies and had to receive physical training for a long time. A lot of time and cost were required for them to make a fit body and their failure rate was high. Gn O members had experienced personal training and knew that personal training enabled effective exercise but did not put this understanding into practice in their ordinary lives. However, Gb O members did not have much experience doing personal training due to prohibitive pricing. Mrs P and Mr T noted that:

I got 2 Orientation PTs. PT is an exercise that does not work for me. I like aerobics exercise. I am a hurried person by nature, so I don't like slow movement. I usually do exercises that I want to do. (Mrs. P, Gb O)

I don't feel the need for PT. I catch onto things very fast and follow rather soon. If I don't know how to do something, I ask health trainers how to use it...but PTs are trying to use young female members for getting lessons. They are not humble. (Mr. T, Gb O)

Mrs P and Mr T expressed the most negative views about personal training. Gb O members use health clubs more than other groups, but they are reluctant to pay more for additional services such as PT. They have short experiences in getting PT, and most of them believe that they have acquired enough knowledge and technique through this process. Also, Mrs P and Mr T do not trust PT. It is an entirely different dynamic from the established group that receives continuous PT. Gb O members were relatively sensitive to expenditures for exercise and had limits in purchasing sporting goods when they performed expensive exercise. Therefore, they preferred going for a walk and playing for inexpensive baseball or soccer clubs organized by their company or via the internet; their exercise games were not diverse (Mr Q and Mr T, Gb O).

Korean public health clubs (large size scale) offer a driving range (short) and simulator; so public members can access them to learn to play golf. In the case of white-collar workers in Gb O members, the purpose of learning golf is to make good relations with company executives. The general recognition concerning golf is that if men want to progress their career, they have to play golf to develop good relations with their superiors. Mr. T of Gb O members explained why he is learning golf:

Golf is necessary for me to learn in order to have closer relationships with my superiors. Sometimes they asked me: 'do you play golf?', 'How long?' 'what scores?'...The first time I heard that question, I was so embarrassed while my co-worker said 'yes... more than 3 years, ...under 80.' my director smiled at him. Actually, at the time I didn't know how they counted scores. ... I registered at the health club because I wanted to know. I still don't have a chance to go to the field. ...I plan to purchase golf clubs, but it's very expensive. New ones are more than ₩1,000,000<sup>58</sup>.

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<sup>58</sup> £578

As the general public takes part in various sports activities, some sports previously available to only the upper class undergo a process of popularization. The golf range in the public health centre is one of sites for the middle class to learn golf. However, there nonetheless exist significant differences between classes with regards to knowledge, technique, experience, and habitus. But for the middle class, the fact that they are even able to access channels through which golf can be learned is important; as they do not consider the manner in which they have learned previously to be legitimate any more.

### *7.3.3 Reproduction of E-O Figuration of Members*

In the previous section, the differences of body tastes and habitus among members were presented. This section will examine how members are distinguished according to their civility (emotional control, manner and etiquette), diet/food, and academic capital.

#### *7.3.3a Civility*

Mr A of Gn E members refers to newcomers with riches but without elegance:

Hotel Fitness Clubs should be a little different ...they should not allow the people who have money... they are not humble.. too selfish.

He believed that such outsiders are considered not modest but ‘selfish’. Like Mr A, Gn E members believe that a bigger problem can be found in centres that accept such outsiders as members (Mrs B, Mr C, Mr E). They also believe that the difference between hotel fitness and general clubs is found in how strict the rules for being a member are. Characteristics of class can be identified through the manner of a member because patterns of behaviour are steeped in class habitus. For instance, members of Gn E differentiate themselves from people of different classes through their restrained attitude. Director Bong described them as follows:

Some dignity can be seen in the incoming gait of the members visiting the gym. They never walk with swagger or look around for onlookers’ approval. They stare at one place and walk with moderation. They know what exercise they will do and distribute their time appropriately. They don’t make it their business to see how others exercise. They rarely show disturbance of their posture while they speak or act. They have shorter shower time and never spend a long time chatting. Other members gather and chat while taking a shower. They do not

show their anger by changes in facial expression or voice tone even if other members make a mistake. Rather, they overcome their feelings with laughter or jokes. On the other hand, some members speak in a loud voice and hurt other's emotions. This is always problematic here.

The director described members of the established groups in *Gangnam Fitness Club* as moderate and reliable as well as controlled in their emotion and behaviour. On the other hand, he mentioned that the opposite attitude and behaviour are found in the outsiders.

Such a moderate attitude expresses values of the ruling class such as self-management, self-control, and self-moderation accompanied by the control over their bodies (Bourdieu, 1984; Elias, 1994(1939); 1969; 1982; 2000). The moderate attitude of the established is socially acquired through experiences and learning in fitness centres over a long time. According to Featherstone (1991a), the main purpose of managing the inner body is to improve the display of other body as it relates to physical motions, control, and appearance. The moderate and disciplined attitude has been acquired through multiple and consistent experiences, melting the class habitus into their fitness behaviour. Thus, the moderate manner of the established who perform their exercises stably and with impeccable posture functions not only reveals their elegant class, but also differentiates them from people of other classes without showing off cultural assets.

The gossip about non-fit bodies plays a role in terms of stigmatizing the outsider as the lowest position. Non-fit bodies are considered to be essentially valueless within the fitness club community. The fit body group and some PTs believe that these unfit persons lack self-control and discipline. Ms S noted that:

Non-fit people look almost the same at the gym. When they use the treadmill, they walk very slow...they are sweating, but not drying... after using the machine, they do not wipe it...maybe they are newcomers...they look hesitant in how to act... (Ms. S, Gb E)

This includes a series of normative evaluations about the peoples' body sizes and shapes. The established image of the fit body is considered both respectable and distinctive. The fit body is described as being more civilized. There are 'higher degrees of self-restraint' and 'more firmly-regulated behaviours' in body appearance, exercise, and diet (Elias & Scotson, 1994, p. 153). In particular, some trainers mentioned that outsiders do not keep their appointment times, but they do demand to take lessons in full even if they are too late (Bean, Park, Young, Kim). They believed that there are some differences among members based on how successful they are in achieving the fit body.

The women of Gb O members are likely to give up if they think the exercise is too painful. Also, they are not likely to control their food. They exercise consistently so that they can eat and maintain weight, not for body shape or balance. Middle-aged women in groups Gn E and Gb E have relative priority when compared to Gb O. Gb E members mentioned typical *ajeossi* group: ‘they leer at others’, ‘interrupt’, ‘they do not control physical symptoms like burping and farting’, ‘they are loud.’ They are portrayed as not managing their emotions at all and acting as they want, they are regarded by the established group to have little awareness of the concepts of embarrassment and shame. Mr N and Ms S of Gb E members noted that:

There are some people who habitually drop dumbbells on the floor. Some shouted a little too loud. It was hard to focus on my exercise. I moved places.  
(Mr N)

Some look sideways at me. Mainly old men did ... it’s burdensome. (Ms S)  
Some members exhibit typical outsiders’ characteristics. They dominate machines and devices for a long time. After using them, they do not clean them (Mrs B, Mr C, Mr E, Actress F). During break time, they are disorderly by either talking loudly on their phones (Mr A, Actor D, Mr N, Ms S, Actor U) or sitting and lying on the machines (Mr N, Ms S).

As mentioned in chapter 4 on history, the issue in the symbolic boundary between traditional Korean middle-aged men and ‘new men’ was found among fitness consumers. The process of creating a stigmatization always includes the perspective of someone’s eyes and judgment. The social life at the gym emerges with the face-to-face interaction between the members and verbal/non-verbal communication. Their social life takes a form of play that has both a front and back, both mask and make-up. The distance and boundaries that separate individuals are not entirely psychological (Goffman, 1987). Features of the established group in the health clubs are experiences related to fitness, concentration upon personal exercise concerning their body condition, indifference to relations and incessant comparison to others.

The people who have mastered how to exercise properly and achieved the fit bodies showed outstanding levels of group charisma. The high degree of self-control, mutual control and conformity were essential to maintaining the charisma of the group (Elias & Scotson, 1994). Some female members express negative opinions about outsider bodies in the Gangnam centre. Miss H and Miss I of group Gn E consider overweight women as lacking self-discipline and being inherently feeble. People who

have fit bodies are embodied as dominant image of the body. However, the outsider body group feels a collective moment of group disgrace leading to low self-esteem, shame and disappointment. Miss W of Gb O members explained her feeling when she saw the established bodies:

I envy slim figures at the gym... Their bodies are well managed. They are great when they use machines... They are not tired of using steppers. ... I am too ashamed...I'm too fat.

She showed her emotions by using the words ‘\_envy’ and ‘\_ashamed.’ Unequal power ratios between the fit body and non-fit body create group charisma for some and group disgrace for everyone else.

### *7.3.3b Diet and food*

As for diet, Gn E members were controlling diet to an extent that it did not obstruct their family and social life. On the other hand, Gb E members insisted on foods necessary for body-building without any exception; they focused more on their body making than their social life. Gn O members made efforts to eat a small amount of high-quality food, although they did not care about the kinds of food. Gb O members did not consider the quality and quantity of food and did not practice self-restraint in diet. To examine their food purchase and tastes in dining out, the job of the men belonging to groups Gn E and Gn O was mostly that of a chief executive officer (CEO) and therefore they did not engage in their household affairs and simply evaluated whether the food their wife provided was healthful. Women in the groups Gn E and Gn O had housekeepers who made food in their house and were relatively free from making food. They wanted to take a rest at home and did not want to do household chores.

Discriminatory approaches for high-quality ingredients are inherently associated with power relations in the social hierarchies (Mennell et al., 1992, p. 66). Women in Gn E and the wives of men in the group purchased fresh goods of good quality regardless of their price, whereas Gb O females had faith that the benefits of expensive organic food were overstated. Members of the latter group focused on purchasing goods based on their price and quantity rather than their quality. In terms of where these purchases took place, women in Gn E used premium markets but those in Gb O used large supermarkets where prices were low. In accordance with the characteristics of their jobs, women in groups 2 and 3 did not have any interest in purchasing or making food. Groups Gn E and Gn O enjoyed eating a diversity of foods in restaurants with

good atmosphere while Gb O members insisted on Korean food. Gb O members had a strong faith that eating Korean food at home was healthful. Older Gb O members thought dining out was a waste of money and they frequented galbi (BBQ) restaurants when they dined out. They preferred pork to beef because it was cheaper and they were able to eat a large amount of meat. Their take-out food was mostly chicken and pizza. They considered food price relatively expensive in relation to amount. Gb E members had a high level of self-restraint; they ate chicken, sweet potatoes, vegetables, and fruits at appropriate times for optimal body-making. However, they paid excessive attention to their own body and had little interest in their social eating with their family members; they placed such importance on their body-making that they gave up dining out with their family members.

### *7.3.3c Academic capital and English education*

As noted in the previous chapter, South Korea is a *Hakbeol* society. The biggest concern of parents who have children that are students is the topic of English education. Potential access to the English education market and its utilization as well as whether or not they can give their children opportunities to study abroad give the upper-class citizens a strategic advantage in maintaining and entrenching their economic and social dominant status over the comparatively hapless middle class (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 246). Particularly in the fields of culture and art, there can be a strategic place for the class mobility – and in the case of English education these tastes can be acquired through relatively intense investment and effort (Choi & Choi, 2011). Gn E and 2 parents provide various educational opportunities to their children. Gn E's children have earlier experiences abroad than other groups (Mr A, Mrs B, Actor D, Actress F). Mr A and Mrs B of Gn E noted that:

My son graduated from Georgetown University in the US and now he is working in a Japanese company...My daughter is also studying in the US. (Mr. A)

My son is a car designer. He moved to the US when he was 16. He graduated from Pasadena. (Mrs. B)

Gn O members occupy the established position because of their high academic capital in Korean society. Lawyer J and Dr G plan to provide their children with opportunities to experience life in the United States with their relatively abundant economic capital. Lawyer J noted:

My son is six years old. He is attending English Kindergarten. ..My son wants to go to Washington, DC. I am thinking of sending him to English camp there.

Mr. N and Actor U of Gb E members thought the education of children is up to wives. Also, Ms S is divorced and separated from her son. These members do not involve themselves in their children's education significantly. However, Gb O parents have different approaches to education. Mrs. R and Mrs. V invest a lot into their children, but Mrs. P emphasized 'independence':

I want my daughter to study abroad. From age 5, she has studied with a native English tutor. I sent her to the US during Year 9. (Mrs. R, Gb O)

My daughter is now year 5, I am sending her to the Philippines to learn English. (Mrs V, Gb O)

My husband and I were working couples. I didn't care much for my son...Finally, he entered the college and now he works for a big company.... I always told him 'your life is yours.' (Mrs P, Gb O)

Mrs. R and Mrs. V have an academic complex. They are supporting their children to go to the high-rated universities to fulfil their dreams. Unlike them, Mrs. P was not involved with her son's education. Each group has provided different academic capital to their children. Habitus shared by the members of each group was formed in the fitness field as well.

Cultural capital (including fitness capital) is possible only through long-term accumulation of economic capital (Bourdieu, 1984). The reason for this is that the established of the body has a wider cultural breadth than outsiders and as a result can function as cultural capital and exert symbolic violence. Capitalization refers to the process of transition from particular individual resources (money, skills, learned, etc.) to authorized capital (Olivesi, 2005). The dominant group make social codes about personal cultural conduct. Hotel fitness lies in the culture of the upper class, and it has been as a symbolic capital formed by not just a cultural performance but also coupled with a number of capital and socio-structural backgrounds. In the fitness field, there is a legitimate culture defined by participants, and through this they recognize their capital is exclusive, refined and distinctive. Because legitimacy makes the established group rule out other classes and maintain a distance from them, participants entering the field would like to acquire and keep their legitimacy by converting their own assets into a

capitalized and civilized body, education, food, and manners. The established fitness capital strengthens the divide among participants.

#### **7.4 Personal Trainers**

The position of the PT as a new occupation group (Chapter 4) and cultural intermediary of bodies (Chapter 6) emerged due to the overall improvement of quality of life and development of the sports industry, which itself is classified into professionals in physical science and experts in body strength according to job classification standards in Korea. Personal training has been available to special people like athletes, celebrities, and entertainers, etc., but this previously exclusive tool is now gradually becoming more common to the general people; and nowadays, and there is a growing demand for personal training services (Brooks, 1990; Smith Maguire, 2008a). In South Korea, the term ‘Personal Training’ was used by US-based health clubs like California Wow Fitness (CWF) and Bali Total Fitness in 2000. These centres started to provide personal training that has mainly been run in hotel fitness clubs for the public.

A fitness centre in Korea can be divided into three types: a small-sized health club that provides only fitness facilities, a gymnasium-sized health club where personal training (PT) is run separately, and complex sports facilities (including hotel fitness clubs). Among these three types, a gym-sized public health club is the one where PT sales activity is most pronounced. Small-sized health clubs in Gangbuk are more interested in the re-registration of existing customers. Conversely, bigger, gym-sized public clubs in Gangnam and Gangbuk provide PT departments in gyms, ‘PT Zone’ installations where only PT customers can exercise, as well as continuous PT sales activity. On the other hand, in the case of hotel fitness clubs, PTs reside in an employee’s gymnasium and go to a fitness centre only when PT is required. PT between members and trainers are arranged by the manager, so trainers are not involved in PT sales.

This section examines the E-O figuration of personal trainers in terms of their habitus, civility (appearance, emotion control and manner), academic capital, cohesion, and gossips drawing from interviews with trainers in Gangnam and Gangbuk areas.

#### 7.4.1 Gangnam Trainers: Gangbuk Trainers

Trainers who worked or are working in the Gangnam area use the title ‘the top-seller, Gangnam PT’. Byung explained the meaning of this title:

Marked with modifiers like ‘outgoing Gangnam’ or ‘Specializing in Gangnam’... it is pretty easy to say that Gangnam is a rich neighbourhood... people prefer Gangnam. The word ‘Gangnam’ makes trainers feel special and distinguished ...I do not think much about receiving large payments.

Working in Gangnam provides Byung with symbolic capital that would be impossible for any PT or member to obtain in Gangbuk. Sang, who worked as a manager in West Fitness, described how trainers in both Gangnam and Gangbuk are different:

Gangnam members have higher levels of consciousness and consumption patterns to PT. I do not intend to disparage Gangbuk people. I am from Gangbuk. ... trainers who communicate with these members are different to the trainers who do not meet Gangnam members in the service mind.

Byung and Sang (both from West Fitness) mentioned that Gangnam trainers’ habitus is different from those of Gangbuk because they meet relatively affluent Gangnam customers. They note Gangnam trainers’ mind for good service, refined manners, and high levels of PT ability. They are proud of the fact they are working in Gangnam. However, it is rare to find original Gangnam people among Gangnam trainers. Gangnam members do not emphasize ‘Gangnam’, but the people who are not living in Gangnam attach a lot of meaning to ‘shopping Gangnam’, and ‘meeting in Gangnam’ because they lack Gangnam’s signature stamp. Park, who moved from Incheon to Gangnam, emphasizes how working in Gangnam is different from working in his old area:

I have moved through 3-4 places. Trainers cannot work for more than one year in a single location. The reason we moved was because of money. I had to consider my future; Gangnam is a good place for trainers to prepare and invest in their skills.

Jean working in Gangbuk also has the same idea that trainers need to move to Gangnam and new towns in order to make more money:

We have to leave if we cannot satisfy our income demands, ... Gangnam and new cities (Ilsan, Bundang). Lots of demand appears in economically affluent neighbourhoods.

But the problem is that it's hard for Gangbuk trainers to move to the centres they want. The trainer's job to recruit new fitness colleagues has been emphasized by social networking among trainers. Young, Byung, and Yang emphasized the importance of social capital among trainers:

Trainers who are working in Seoul have direct or indirect connects with other trainers: friends, friends of friends, and friends from senior college...If one trainer is evaluated to be bad, other trainers will avoid him. (Young)

When moving to another centre, the recommendation is vitally important for trainers. Now I am working here because the manager is also from CWF. (Byung)

For trainers, where we are coming from is important....not school information but this information that is concerned with my resumé, with where I have worked. (Yang)

Trainers working in Gangnam get new jobs in Gangnam areas while trainers working in Gangbuk stay at Gangbuk. Jong and Young have expressed envy towards the trainers working in Gangnam:

I know him. He published some books. One senior trainer told me his muscle building process on the books is wrong...he does not have good shape...too bulky...I think he is too commercial. (Jong)

I do not think outgoing PTs are the best. There are many good-quality trainers here. (Young)

Gangbuk trainers tried outsider attacks on Gangnam trainers but their power to change this social stratification is relatively limited. Rather, one trainer who worked in a certain public centre in Gangbuk said that 'oh, you are now in the worst centre in Seoul' (Jong). He internalized his position within the club as that of an outsider. He did not hesitate to provide a litany of excuses for why he was not working in Gangnam, and he also emphasized that he knew some trainers in Gangnam. Ju also mentioned that he worked in Gangnam before and that he did ample sales work there. Neither interviewee cared for the current centre in which they were working.

#### 7.4.2 Reproduction of E-O Figuration of Personal Trainers

Gangnam public PTs stigmatize Gangbuk PTs as ‘\_inexperienced’, ‘\_Their PT levels are for neighbourhood’ (amateur), ‘\_They do not even know what PT is’, ‘\_The *nogari*<sup>59</sup> trainers are killing time with unnecessary words’, and ‘\_They are playboys, flirts, and women chasers’. Gangnam PTs exclude Gangbuk PTs from the market by stigmatizing them with statements such as ‘\_their PT level is low quality’ and ‘\_they do not have good personalities.’ Why do Gangnam PTs consistently think they are outgoing and Gangbuk PTs have to be ashamed of not working in the Gangnam area? What are the driving factors behind Gangnam PTs and their collective charisma as well as Gangbuk PTs collective shames? The E-O figuration of trainers is reproducing through their habitus, civility (appearance, emotion control and manner), academic capital, cohesion, and gossip.

##### 7.4.2a Club habitus

Hotel fitness clubs hire experienced trainers and re-educate to make the centre’s trainers. In 2007, *Gangnam Fitness Club* introduced its own PT system through Master Z who had systematically learned PT in the West. Director Bong pointed out the problem of the existing PT system:

Most clubs introduced a Western-style PT system, but it detracts from the realities of Korean life.

*Gangnam Fitness Club* has developed their own PT system by balancing with Western and Korean ways. Given their educational level, career experience, and certificates, trainers who are working in the hotel clubs are already experienced, but they are hired formally after mastering 3-month internships. Bong explained why the club hires professional trainers:

They become formal trainers in our club after three months internship even if they are professional and experienced trainers. The focus is on learning our own club’s fitness culture, dress code, language, behaviour, responsibilities and customer relationship.

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<sup>59</sup> chat a lot with; overly talkative, but unworthy.

According to Bong, through these training courses, the trainers can acquire capital and habitus related to *Gangnam Fitness Club*. Trainer Tae explained what he learned from the Master trainer in the centre:

Main focus is how to be professional trainers in appearance, clothes, attitude, speaking ways, truth and sincerity...the master emphasized trainers' philosophies...healing members, not just making their bodies fit.

During the internship, he learned a specific club habitus that differentiated him from the other trainers with a civilized and professional manner. Throughout these processes, Gangnam hotel trainers have developed their own club habitus – but the public centres in Gangnam and Gangbuk educate their trainers' focus on PT selling systems. Some centres hire unqualified trainers and use them to provide PT to members.

Mr C, who invested two public health centres in Gangnam and Gangbuk, explained how PT selling system is running in terms of centres' economic profits in the public centres:

If you register for a health centre, you can get a beginner orientation 2-3 times. This is 'how to use a centre's facilities.' Through this process, we get members' information. We classified the customers' levels... main customer 'A'... 'C' means main customer inducing re-register..For example, we put a body mass index (BMI) in the first registration card. With it...a few months later. If he/she has changed in good way, we check his/her BMI again and show the member 'how you have improved'. It gets re-registration.

Like his description, most health clubs are seeking to make profit. In the clubs, trainers are hierarchically ranked depending on their level of experience like Team Leader - Senior Trainer - Junior Trainer - OT Trainer. OT Trainers are newcomers employed by the health centre with low salaries and who do hard chores in the centre. The issue is that new members do not know who good trainers are if they have not had a fitness experience before. People who have no experience with PT do not have a good eye for finding well-qualified trainers because their fitness habitus is not the same as that of the long-tenured members. Just as experienced members meet senior trainers, rookie members meet junior trainers. Trainers are trying to find PT potential clients and encourage current customers toward re-registration. They mentioned how they adopt the strategies:

Some member did not want to work out continuously because of the hard exercise and controlling diet required...I usually suggest to him 'who can lose

weight more in 1 year between us?’ I provide him with a motive in his plateau.  
(Young)

I continue to manage members' schedules. I texted him once or twice per day...  
Some women are misled by these messages. Some bad rumours are generated.

\_\_Trainers are playboys.’ (Jong)

\_\_PT is playing with clients.’ Star trainer Min already mentioned general trainers’ characteristics in that they use the sales strategies for creating loyal customers by preventing them from mastering the exercise program, wasting their time with chatting, and appealing to other genders. Min noted that:

When you start a normal training program, you can master it in two months. However, the people who take training lessons do not graduate when they encounter *nogari* trainers. These trainers make their trainees dependent. The members can not exercise without hiring trainers. Detailed education does not fit in there. They make people continue to re-register. Most health centres love good salespeople.

Min explained why they become outsider trainers. Selling PT is a frantic and lucrative business for them. They commonly have the idea that \_\_customer=money’ as their prevailing mindset. Why all the blame gossips are targeted at Gangbuk trainers? There is a difference between Gangnam trainers and Gangbuk trainers. Gangnam’s public trainers express that they are very proud to be working in Gangnam, and that their members from Gangnam are good fitness consumers who can invest their bodies. In turn, PTs in Gangbuk consistently mention economic difficulties, Gangbuk peoples’ characteristics of generally having low esteem of the importance associated with investing in their bodies; admitting there are many good PTs in Gangnam. \_\_We do not make money like the PTs in Gangnam (Jean, Kim, Young, Jong).’ Blame gossip buzzwords about outsider trainers are \_\_PT is Playboy’ and \_\_*Nogari* trainer’. The established trainers and members stigmatized the outsider trainers as inferior. Trainers are downgraded in their positions from fitness experts to sales workers in Gangbuk public centres that are overly concerned with PT sales.

#### 7.4.2b Civility

In addition to regional differences, the established and the outsider trainers are distinguished by their civility. Civilized trainers and less-civilized trainers identify themselves via appearance, emotional control, and manners (Elias & Scotson, 1994).

The most prominent appearance of trainers among the Gangnam private club and public centres in both Gangnam and Gangbuk is a dichotomy between distinguished and vulgar (Bourdieu, 1984). The trainers within Gangnam private club look tidy and professional because they are all wearing collared T-shirts and chino pants (beige) with no accessories complemented by neat and trim hair styles. However, some young male trainers in Gangnam and Gangbuk public centres often have dyed hair (too bright brown colour), ear piercings (both or one) and tight short pants along with dark eyeliner. Young and Kim in the Gangbuk explained why they changed their appearances:

Originally, I did not wear earrings. I want to look different...It's common among trainers though. (Young)

After being a trainer, I have changed my hair colour again...I go to the dermatologist for a clean face... trainers' appearances can influence clients' minds. (Kim)

They have two reasons for doing this: first, they want to make their bodies in their personally desired image; and secondly they want to attract clients for the sale of PT sessions. With the spectre of grooming looming large above in Korean society, young male trainers have duly considered how it is essential to remain closely-shaven as opposed to the appearance older (i.e. more than 30 years old, *Ajeossi*) trainers often sport, which features unclean hair and a beard. Considering some star trainers' appearance, these phenomena could be understood as particular elements of trainer subculture. Some are sought after for their own fashion styles, tattoos, tones, muscle clarity, piercings, and hair colours. They thought the bodies most accurately represented themselves, so they have tried creative things to make their bodies more perfect. They considered their bodies as art.

Like trickle-down theory (Simmel, 1957; Veblen, 1994), the trainers in the public centres have significant differences when compared against the established celebrity trainers' looks in fitness media. Most public centre trainers wear tight training wear. According to star trainer Guk, this style of training wear was worn first by star trainers and became popular through broadcasting. Because these tights style uniforms have a meaning as a commodity that symbolizes the consumption tastes of star trainers, the psychological desire to belong to the same cultural consumption group by having the same appearance and image acted so that those tastes have developed into a certain fashion movement. Regarding the motivating power for change in fashion: two competitive principles of imitation and differentiating power must act. The lower class

that follows the principle of imitation tries to obtain new status by adopting the upper class' clothes, and the upper class attempts new styles to distinguish itself from the lower class when the differentiating power of a fashion style has been lost in a manner as such so that Korean fashion continuously changes.

However, the trainers in Gangnam private centres do not try to showcase their fit bodies. If they go outside, they change their uniforms. However, the trainers in both Gangnam and Gangbuk public centres wear uniforms such as tracksuits that succeed in showing their fit bodies. Trainers usually wear uniforms, but some are wearing fitness suits according to their own personal fashion choices. Sometimes it is hard to tell the PTs from members in the health clubs, as they even eat lunch outside or take breaks while wearing PT uniforms. Sang mentioned how the problem of the outsider trainers exists:

When I went to teach PTs in the outside of Gangnam, I saw the trainers belonging to that centre were eating Ramen at a convenience store while wearing their uniforms... Their uniforms looked dirty. Uniform were their faces, but they did not have a basic mindset about what trainers should have.

In addition, trainers' habitus are related to their emotional control and manner. Trainers working in Gangnam membership clubs do not use unnecessary words or perform extraneous actions because they are dealing with upper-class members. There is barely any conversation between trainers regarding their other members. In addition, the established PTs do not work out in the hotel gyms – instead they work full-time in the centre, electing not to enter the gym if they do not have PT lessons. The fitness gym is for the members, not the trainers in the centre. However, the trainers in the public centres work out within the centre when they are not working in addition to chatting with some of the more familiar members. The public centres provide PTs with the opportunity to work out inside the gym instead of giving them a sufficient salary. PTs working in the public centres have thought of this as one of the merits of being a PT. Unlike the established PTs, they shape bodies without concerning themselves about members' exercises. Moreover, some PTs seek to show off their fit bodies to members. Mrs. R and Miss W of Gb O members explained how uncomfortable it is to work out with the trainers in the gym:

Equipment is lacking in the centre, some trainers often exercise without concerning members...they must not use it for members ... they chatted with members who took their PT. (Mrs. R)

When exercising, I talked with the trainer who I had previously for PT. Once is fine... I want to focus on exercise. (Miss W)

In the case of gossip concerning PTs, the overwhelming sentiment is that ‘they are playboys,’ in that the outsider PTs do not have a strong enough sense of self-restraint concerning their relations with frequent members. The outsider PTs believed that relations with members can be changed in a more discreet manner. Gyo and Ju shared their views:

We usually stay in the centre, so it is natural meet people of the opposite gender. Sometimes I have a crush on a woman and we meet and drink privately ... We are young men and women. Our bodies touch during the PT lesson... is this surprising? (Gyo)

Sometimes, the customers want to have dinner together. It gives me chances to understand them and share exercise and diet information. Sometimes, we drink together afterwards...(Ju)

Unlike the outsiders, established PTs are detached from the members. Yang follows the club’s regulations:

Private meetings with customers are never allowed to us. I am strictly committed to the rules. We are not women and men. We are PT instructors and PT customers.

The established PTs have high levels of emotional control, but the outsiders more readily expose their emotions. The public centres also recommend that the PTs do not meet members privately to prevent the relationship between the PT and the member from devolving overmuch from the professional into the personal. However, observance of this standard is not compulsory. Outsider trainers meet members in private to further their personal and business interests. Blame gossips are related to their weak control of emotions as PTs.

#### *7.4.2c Academic capital*

Trainers’ inferiority complexes related to academic capital make both established and outsider trainers continuously seek out academically-related capital. Trainers themselves are aware of those issues: obtaining fitness qualifications and credentials, the established trainers’ pursuits of graduate schools related to Physiology and Management, and the issue of having the Western license.

In the past, young people who did not study well wanted to be hairdressers, but nowadays they want to be trainers if they need jobs or are unemployed.’ Seong heard from the hairstylist when he went to the hair salon. He admitted her opinion with these reasons:

I'm really upset by the fact that qualified trainers and unqualified trainers have the same PT fees. Members do not know who is outstanding...There are too many trainers.

Seong pointed out the problems of a PT oversupply and a glut of unskilled craft-specific labour as a result of certification over-issue. In fact, more than 300 certification systems can be found in Korea, but most of them are unofficial or performed by arbitrarily designated fitness workers who were not trained in physical science (Oh, the director of Noble Fitness Club). As part of the effort to reduce overheads, owners or managers of fitness clubs often disregard graduates from physical education in universities as overqualified but employ low wage instructors or trainers (Coburn & Malek, 2012). Such circumstances are currently occurring in Korea as well.

The mood for learning is already built within established PTs. In the case of *Gangnam Fitness Club*, some PTs consider the PTs who are making fit bodies without a sufficient academic background as outsiders. Even though they have so many national certifications, they are angling to have international qualifications and complete postgraduate studies both domestically and abroad in their future. In particular, they try to distinguish themselves from the other trainers by mentioning their acquired NSCA certifications or preparation for these certification exams. For example, one of the differences between established PTs and outsider PTs is whether or not they have NSCA<sup>60</sup> certificates. Every Gangnam private club PT has one of these certificates, while only some of the Gangnam public centres PTs have them. Most often, however, Gangbuk PTs do not have a need for this certificate. This certificate has been translated into Korean since 2008, so it doesn't have as much exclusive value as it used to. However, it can still be one of the criteria for recognizing a trainer with a proper fitness mindset.

PTs invest a significant amount of money into their field-specific education, so they need a certain degree of basic economic capital. The established PTs who are relatively stable economically can invest educationally in short-term programs and

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<sup>60</sup> National Strength and Conditioning Association

graduate schools in addition to opening their own fitness seminars. Through these processes, they begin to accrue social capital consisting of relationships with other PTs. For outsider PTs, taking these programs is hard because of their tougher economic situations. Kim explains how hard it is to live for one month with a low base salary:

I cannot afford much...I am not one of the PTs who have a good academic background... I cannot even participate in seminars and training easily.

Kim explained the difficulty in taking these programs because of his economic status. He mentioned that his basic salary makes it hard for him to make a living from month to month in addition to lamenting his low educational capital. There are little *Hakbeol* networks among outsider PTs unlike the established PTs. Their human network is based on PTs who worked together in previous fitness club settings. The reason for this is that most trainers do not have a major sports-related department in the university. Their college community in Korea forces them to adopt an outsider image and a decisive level of stigma, so they do not want to reveal where they were from. For them their present positions as trainers are more important than their past academic capital. They believed themselves to be professionals removed from the stigma of the University hierarchical sequence. Therefore, their relations consist of largely short-term connections given the average tenure of a PT within one of these centres, so they do not have a strong cohesion like the established PTs.

Each Gangnam PT has his/her own mentors that encouraged them to start in this occupation. These sources hail from the schools, the organizations, ex-workplaces network, and current networks of the Gangnam PTs. They have both visible and invisible cohesions in connecting with the Gangnam collective identity. *Gangnam Fitness Club's* PTs are connected to the Master of the centres. Those who come from CWF are linked with ex-manager Sang, who is also linked to Taeyang University. They connected to a strong figuration of Gangnam PTs while separately maintaining each different figuration. However, Gangbuk PTs have relatively low levels of cohesion. Of course, each Gangbuk PT has his/her own networking, but it is partitioned via the individual centre as opposed to one unifying Gangbuk figuration. Statements representing PTs' opinions of this phenomenon take the form of 'A district in Gangbuk is better than B district in Gangbuk' (Kyung) and 'they want to avoid having the collective identity that they are working in Gangbuk' (Jong, Young, In, Gyo). They do not serve to express individuality in their working areas, just emphasize their centres' names.

Through interviews with Seong and Tae in Gangnam private club, it is observed that there are few concrete differences between Gangnam and Gangbuk PTs. They mentioned that ‘outsider PTs are common in the famous Gangnam clubs’ and ‘Gangnam PTs are not all good.’ However the biggest reason for this phenomenon of self-segregation is that reproduction of these social differences is entirely determined by each group’s level of cohesion as Elias and Scotson (1994) pointed out. Their extant social differences make Gangnam’s cohesion stronger and Gangbuk’s cohesion weaker.

## 7.5 Conclusion

This chapter focused on fitness club figuration (club, member, and PT) drawing from interviews and participant observation. First, I analyzed the spatial definition of the two health centres with narrative inquiry. Second, members were divided into four groups by fitness capital (E-O) and their socio-economic positions in the fitness sites. This is reproduced within their social and local hierarchies. Third, I looked at the differences between established trainers and outsiders in terms of club habitus, civility, capital (academic and social), and gossips. Fitness clubs in Gangnam and Gangbuk have become symbolic spaces to show the gap between established and outsider groups reflecting divisions through their fitness habitus.

Characteristics of fitness participants’ hierarchical class are in accordance with where they are located in the social space. By identifying their positions based on socio-economic capital and body capital in the social space, this chapter examined the characteristics of four Group members. Do fitness participants have differences in each space? The E-O figuration of the body in fitness clubs shows differences in their body tastes and habitus: selecting a fitness centre, body ostentation, social assessment, making muscles, participation in other sports, fitness manners and etiquette, eating control, and children’s education.

In the fitness field, the established body group’s civility or cultural capital - like moderated attitudes and decent manners - acts as a gatekeeper of the legitimacy surrounding fitness culture. Legitimacy admitted in this relationship is recognized as a scarce resource that cannot be gotten easily because it is attained over time and through long-term economic investments. That means the terms and rules used in the fitness field are myriad as well as the etiquette needed in relation with others in plenty of

situations. Continuous education, time, and money are required to learn these rules. In this process, economic capital and cultural capital are not completely independent. More importantly, established body group members in Gangnam acquire and maintain the legitimacy of fitness through generationally-inherited capital. Moreover, the manner of fitness education received by their parents is passed on again to their children. This finding shows that learned manners from the parents outreach to the next generation. Through these processes, the legitimacy of fitness culture is transferred generationally by converting the basis of class structure from hereditary wealth to possession of cultural capital.

Each group revealed differences in fitness capital and body tastes and habitus. However, body tastes are not separated in accordance with *Hakbeol* capital with the cross-comparison of academic background instead of socio-economic background. Educational levels of participants do not vary according to their socio-economic status. Most of the participants have BA degrees. But the important thing is who has prestigious BA degrees. This fact reflects academic-oriented society in Korea. In addition, trainers are inferior in their academic power. They try to overcome this academic complex by pursuing *Hakbeol* capital so they participate in various academic activities (certificates, diplomas, graduate school). However, the pursuit of academic capital was recognized only among trainers because the academic capital they have obtained is not part of legitimate culture. Even if trainers have high fitness knowledge, skills, and physical capital; their bodies cannot have first rights to normalizing the body unless they have legitimate academic capital in Korean society.

People are generally proud to live in Gangnam while people living in Gangbuk are more ashamed to speak about where they live. Also, Gangnam PTs have pride in the fact that they are working in Gangnam, whereas Gangbuk PTs hesitate to say where are currently working. Gangbuk PTs deprecate their positions under Gangnam PTs by expressing a sense of tangible inferiority. Gangnam PTs can stigmatize other areas' PTs based on their pre-existing social advantages that allow them the exclusive privileges of certain proprietary resources. They stigmatize them as outsiders by using the means of dissemination via blame gossips. A group image of Gangnam PTs represents the best image of all PTs, while the image of outsider group consists of the worst characteristics of the worst members. Gangbuk PTs have low cohesion, so they cannot resist these negative stigmatizations – thus, they internalize them. A trainer's habitus can have influence on club members who learned from other established PTs and the outsiders.

Therefore, the hierarchies of fitness consumer (club, member, PT) reproduce socially and culturally through these figural processes.

# Conclusion

## 1. Introduction

The principal aim of this chapter is to draw together the insights from the previous chapters with regard to how the fit body has been constructed as socially valuable and esteemed in Korea. In Chapter 1, I introduced some of the complementary links between established-outsider theory (Elias & Scotson, 1994; Maguire & Mansfield, 1998; Mansfield, 2005) and the fitness field (Bourdieu, 1984; 1993; Ferguson, 1998; Smith Maguire, 2008a). A review of some previous studies on Korean consumer culture, body culture and fitness culture was presented in Chapter 2. In this chapter, first, a summary of the research findings will be provided. Second, the theoretical and conceptual contributions of the research will be discussed. Third, methodological considerations will be presented. Fourth, the overall research process will be evaluated. Finally, the limitations and further suggestions of this research will be examined based on research findings, the accomplishments, and the limitations of the research.

## 2. Summary of the Findings

The purpose of this thesis is to explore how the fit body has been constructed as socially valuable and esteemed in Korean society within the context of Bourdieu's cultural field and Elias' Established – Outsider (E-O) figuration as theoretical frameworks. The summary of the key findings is as follows:

### *2.1 E-O Figuration of the Body in the Social-Historical Context*

Chapter 4 examined how the E-O figuration of the body in the fitness field and habitus has been presented in the social-historical context of Korea by referencing Korean newspapers. E-O figurations of the body in the fitness field and its constituent habitus were shown to be different by period: 19<sup>th</sup> century new men, 1970's social bodies, and the *momzzang* movement since 2000. Korean body-making habitus reveals similarities and differences in each period. Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Western-style

modernization of the body has been urged by the government and the upper class. One of the starting points was new modern schools that the children of the wealthy attended. The government demanded them to become new patriotic men, but paradoxically access to the Korean traditional body was denied and the Westernization of the body was promoted.

During the 1960-70s, Koreans' bodies were mobilized in various national projects in the process of reconstruction of the state with catchphrases like 'physical strength is national power' and 'north puppet.' Modernization took place in Korea as a result of the process of restructuring the country's structure and individual personality to fit within Western criteria. Various consumption patterns and spaces emerged within these spectrums. Health clubs in particular also emerged from this phenomenon. By going through this process, Koreans' bodies deviated from traditional shapes. Korean media reports that Korean bodies are competitive compared to Western standards.

Since 2000, Korean body-making in the third period has been conducted under the banner of a personal project with lifestyle discourses in health and appearance. TV body-making programs, universal health clubs, and ideal body models like star trainers and celebrities have an influence on fitness consumers. Concerning the globalization of the body, the criteria of the fit body seems to have become almost the same in both Western and non- Western society. As shown Chapter 4, the metrosexual images represented by David Beckham and Jang Dong-Geun on 'Gentleman's Dignity' are not different in their two respective looks. As the body becomes symbolic capital, *momzzang* is accepted as the established body criteria beyond gender, age, and class.

## *2.2 E-O Figuration of the Body in the Fitness Media*

Chapter 5 examined how the fitness media (production process and texts) has produced discourse about the E-O figuration of the body. To this end, two representative programs (*Extra.Ordinary Men 2* and *Diet War 6*) were selected and the processes of production of the programs were analyzed simultaneously by using participant observation and analysing the texts of the programs. First, in the production processes, the E-O figurations of producers and staff were examined. Producers and staff in the fitness media field showed dynamic relationships in coordinating their opinions about media contents. However, the final decision was made by the established management line that reflects Korean bureaucratic and authoritarian organizational

culture. The E-O fitness formation reflects the relationship between media teams and other fields, reaffirming forms of capital central to Korean social stratification. The producers presented the creative forms and contents of the programs within the pre-approved boundaries of safety. For them, the question of ‘would a picture be produced?’ is connected in that they can catch the audience’s eyes by pursuing fun elements like E-O visual images, languages that expressed E-O body images, refined body culture and models, and surprising body changes and rewards. In these processes, TV programs switched the economic issue of consumption to one where the body can become a symbolic representation of personal capital.

### *2.3 Cultural Intermediaries of the Fit Body*

In Chapter 6, the producers and star trainers of these two programs were regarded as cultural intermediaries connecting the consumers and producers of the bodies. By using interviews with them, I examined their occupational characteristics in terms of creative work, expertise and reproduction of the value of the fit bodies. Beliefs on the value of the fit body were being reproduced by producers through their creative planning of TV fitness programs and image production as well as by star trainers utilizing their bodies and superior knowhow on the subject of body fitness. The methods primarily employed were shown to be narratives about the body, presentation of body models, and presentation of the refined lifestyles.

Cultural intermediaries in French society have been regarded as a new middle class that has a relatively high amount of cultural capital. One of subjects of this thesis is a TV producer who is working in the main broadcaster sector within a relatively established socio-economic position. However, considering their family relationships, school days and status as producers in the outsider position, there are notable differences among them. The results of the cultural capital they have acquired seem to be same, but differences in their habitus can be seen. Under the uniqueness of *Hakbeol* society, the body capital of trainers is relatively lower than that of producers even if they have high physical and fitness capital. Finally, the producer’s high academic capital - despite a relatively non-fit body - is evaluated at a higher level than most trainers.

## 2.4 E-O Figuration of the Body in the Fitness Clubs

In Chapter 7, fitness consumer figuration was also examined in the dimensions of clubs, members, and trainers through participant observation and interviews. To this end, fitness centres located in two regions (Gangnam and Gangbuk) were selected and observed through participation. Additionally, interviews were conducted with the members and trainers. The fitness centres in Gangnam and Gangbuk were not simply spaces for exercise but symbolic spaces that both recreate and perpetuate socio-cultural hierarchies between members. The members were divided into four groups considering their fitness capitals and socioeconomic positions – and as a result, differences could be found in their styles of body consumption. Trainers who were working in Gangnam and Gangbuk were also being stratified depending on the locations of the spaces in which they were working, the customers they were meeting, their respective levels of fitness capital, and degrees of civility like emotional control, manners and etiquette. Whereas trainers in Gangnam had collective charisma because they were working in Gangnam, trainers in Gangbuk had collective shame over the fact that they were working in Gangbuk. Trainers in Gangbuk showed a tendency toward internalizing the stigma attached to them. Through these processes, customers in the position of the established were coming to meet established trainers while members in the position of outsiders were coming to meet outsider trainers. Thus, the hierarchies of fitness consumers were socially and culturally reproduced.

In conclusion, this research provides Koreans with a lens to view the *momzzang* syndrome including how the new body emerged in Korean society historically as well as its contemporary makeup. The thesis investigates the mechanisms that have led the current ideal body to have pro-Western values, and how the fit body has effectively become a form of symbolic power for Koreans. The body with these differences emerges by turning into power and capital. This indicates that in established classes, the inconspicuous transfer of economic, cultural, and social power/capital becomes possible between generations. On the other hand, the look of the outsider class that does not emerge with this new capital is rendered a disadvantage for social success. As these differences in look are reproduced into inequality in our society, they become especially problematic and require conscious criticism. Certainly, the development of the fitness industry and new medical technologies has provided an avenue for all individuals to

pursue fit bodies. However, even if people change their bodies, these new bodies cannot be properly understood without comprehending the broader social context and history of Korea and its people.

### **3. Theoretical Discussions and Contributions**

This thesis adopted the complementary usage of Bourdieu's cultural field and Elias' E- O figuration as a basis for theoretical frameworks. The two theorists have admitted discourse's relativity and diversity and tried to overcome binary oppositions like individual-society, agent-structure, and objectivism-subjectivism by integrating macro and micro components in their analysis. Sociologists have discussed similarities and differences between the two theories, but there are few empirical studies that exist which succeed in combining both theories. In this sense, this thesis is an exploratory study which shows how this approach can be useful by combining these two theories and using multiple methods. Using the concept of the \_E-O figuration of the body in the fitness field', one can look at Koreans' body-making phenomena through multiple perspectives including socio-historical Korean contexts, fitness media field, cultural intermediaries' occupation, and power dynamics within clubs, members, and trainers. However, there may arise unexpected factors when applying Western theory to Korean situations, so I tried to consider these in relation to my findings.

#### *3.1 Physical Capital*

This thesis pays attention to how physical capital occupies an important position within body, fitness, and academic spheres as well as today's society. To produce physical capital is to develop the body in a way that is valued in a social arena. Physical capital may be converted into other forms of capital: economic, cultural, and social (Bourdieu, 1978; 1984; 1986). The core of Bourdieu's social reproduction theory is presented by the body including symbolic value (Shilling, 2012). Bourdieu's distinctive body and Elias's civilized body are in many ways similar to that examined in the literature review. Their discussions on the body offer implications for understanding the commodification of the body in a variety of ways in contemporary society. Physical capital means owning power, status and symbols to be distinct from others while accumulating a variety of resources.

The second discussion is on whether individuals may have perfect physical capital. An individual's body is not perfectly completed. In so far as it is interlocked with the society it exists in, it cannot help being continuously affected by social, cultural, and economic processes (Bourdieu, 1984). Socio-economic position may exert influence on people's way of developing their body and on symbolic values attached to certain body shapes. Salary men and business men were different in their way of managing their body and their body shapes (Chapter 7). TV producers perceive that their body is non-fit but do not place top priority on building their body in their ordinary life (Chapter 6). The cultural capital they own contains more importance than appearance. Star trainers' bodies are ideal cases that show how physical capital can be converted into economic, social, and symbolic capital (Chapter 6). The production of physical capital differs among each of the varying socio-economic positions from the fitness members to personal trainers (Chapter 7), TV producers (Chapter 6), and the participant trainees on the two body-making programs (Chapter 5).

Bourdieu (1984) thought that symbolic values of the upper class' body may be converted into social capital and cultural capital and that such physical capital may turn into opportunities to obtain cultural capital. Nonetheless, that they do not have difficulty in maintaining their body's symbolic value does not mean that they have no problem or constraint in producing or converting their physical capital.

First of all, physical capital cannot be directly delivered or handed down. Making the body is a complicated and tricky process which may require a lot of time because of the non-perfection of the body (Connell, 1993). Besides, making the body is related to social class but cannot be entirely reduced to the problem of class. Bourdieu (1984) called physical beauty which promoted formation of different relationships and demolished closed structure of classes "~~fatal~~ attraction" (recited in Shilling, 2012, p. 151). In addition, physical capital cannot be purchased in the way people buy goods (Bourdieu, 1986). Individuals with various social backgrounds may invest more or less labour as is necessary to cultivate their body into something valuable according to their habitus and tastes. Even though individuals have made certain shapes of the body, there always exists a risk of theirs not being recognized as a form of physical capital.

One of the problems related to the conversion of physical capital is that the conversion rate of physical capital is not warranted with a certain type, unlike economic capital. Therefore, when physical capital is converted into another capital, a loss may result. Moreover, individuals select which types of economic capital and cultural capital

will maximize their investment in accordance with the amount and degree of varied capital that they own. Therefore, the established have a tendency to invest a considerable amount of time and money for themselves and their children in elite activities maximizing production and the conversion possibility of physical capital. As revealed in Chapter 7, children of the established class have correspondingly elite body making experiences and diverse educational activities. Elias and Scotson (1994, p. xxxvi) also pointed out that life experiences from one's youth are revealed in one's habitus as one grows.

### 3.2 *Hakbeol Capital*

The E-O figuration of the body in the fitness field can be changed by *Hakbeol* capital. The importance of academic capital to Koreans is such that people are stigmatized for their entire lifetime based upon the universities they attend. Their social ranks are determined by the calibre of universities they graduate from as opposed to the depth of education they have received. The relations among producers, writers, and trainers (Chapter 5), producers' body priorities from academic capital (Chapter 6), and trainers' continuous seeking for higher education and inferiority complexes (Chapter 7) show how *Hakbeol* capital exists prior to physical capital in Korean society. *Hakbeol* capital is also directly connected to social capital. As shown in the chapters 6 and 7, producers and trainers have been scouted by their own social networks.

Shame related to academic capital is different from that related to the body. Even if a trainer feels shame about his academic background, he cannot change his past academic career as Chapter 7 showed. The body is different – even if a person's rank and social position are low, his or her body can always be transformed. Therefore, Koreans' desire for body fitness exists regardless of age, gender, or class. However, as revealed in the interviews with producers and star trainers, bodies in Korean society are not simply compared based on their shapes. This is why the relatively less-fit producers' bodies are regarded as superior to star trainers' bodies in Chapter 6. A person's body belies his academic background, civility, and social networks. Furthermore, as shown from the interviews with the respondents, the relative feeling of loss toward their educational and economic capital was connected to the act of exercising and building muscles. ‘Without my body, I am nothing’ (Actor U), ‘I only have my body’ (star trainer Min), ‘I can do anything well with my body’ (star trainer Han), ‘Since I did not have a talent for studying, I naturally came this way’ (trainer Yang).

In addition, just as the parents' thoughts on English education were expressed through the interviews in Chapter 7, English has become more than just a foreign language but also a means to survive in this competitive market of cultural capital. H. Lee (2007, pp. 90-1) referred to the status of English in Korean society in this globalized age as an 'essential ability for survival,' a 'symbol of class difference,' a 'basic refinement of a global citizen,' a 'tool for national competitiveness,' and a 'reification of the product.' Thus, the subject of English arouses complicated emotions within Koreans such as a continuous desire to improve, a feeling of superiority from comparing oneself with others, a sense of defeat from not being able to accomplish one's goals, and an additional source of cultural burden in one's life.

Thus symbolic capital has the symbolic power as a justification mechanism that enables those who graduated from Seoul National University or the judges, defense attorneys, and doctors to be assessed higher than their actual values while enjoying excessive honour and authority (Kim, 2013). The reason why one interviewee, Mrs. B, of the established body group in Gangnam (Chapter 7), could maintain her current upper class status is because she obtained the set pattern of the upper class woman. This image is manifested from the socially represented ladylike manners and etiquette, elegance, and wealth combined with her educational background of *Gyunggi* Girl's high school and *Ewha* Woman's University, which is the hidden route of class reproduction. Powered by her parents' economic capital, the embodied cultural capital in the home was converted to institutionalized cultural capital, which is acknowledged socially through Korea's Western traditional musical arena where it is ultimately reproduced in a child's economic capital. Marriage to an upper class man added to this as well.

With this, a sense of awe and high levels of assessment for star trainers would seem sufficient to give them their requisite symbolic capital – yet for them this currency is not formed by mutual interchange or by the trainer's intentions. Since this symbolic capital is most similar to a unilaterally conferred honour or authority from a third party on anything from the ownership of capital, linguistic ability, appearance, taste, to lifestyle of certain people, the symbolic capital of a star trainer is always fluid and routinely runs a high risk of extinction. Even if there was no practical exchange between the trainer and client, it can be provided unilaterally by one party on a purely voluntarily basis without any intention or compulsion. This is considered as capital formed based on a voluntary agreement.

One unintended result from this research was the location of the star trainer in the fitness field. In the picture, the typical images of the producers and the trainers on the show are shown in a contrasting manner (see figures 8.1 and 8.2).

**Figure 8. 1: TV Producers**



Source: [https://fbcdn-sphotos-d-a.akamaihd.net/hphotos-ak-frc3/p403x403/1478921\\_599438680110904\\_2043815913\\_n.png](https://fbcdn-sphotos-d-a.akamaihd.net/hphotos-ak-frc3/p403x403/1478921_599438680110904_2043815913_n.png)

**Figure 8. 2: Star Trainers**



Source: <http://program.interest.me/storyon/dietwar6/>

The relationship between social status and educational pedigree becomes an object of mutual social confrontation as the sellers of the workforce try their best to execute the values of their degrees while the buyers try to obtain their labour at the lowest possible price. The education system plays a significant role in this struggle, and in doing so becomes the target of political competition itself. Since degree producers are interested in protecting the uniqueness and value of the degrees from their institution, the power of conferring the degree takes on a collective nature. Regarding the concept of a job, conditions responsible for the job (qualities required for the persons in charge), the assignment of position (wages and the ranking of wages), and the education system play a crucial combined role in the confrontation and conflict that occurs between the owners of the means of production and the sellers of the workforce (Bourdieu, 1996).

Bourdieu (1977) explained paradoxie as another form of incorrect cognition, which is an error in cognition that occurs when an unexpected event or consequence happens despite an individual actor's best intentions or expectations. For example, this may happen when a young man born in a farmer's family focuses on studies for upward mobility and receives a college diploma, but ultimately experiences frustration from an overall rise in the educational level and does not receive his expected reward: this is when paradoxie occurs. In this case, the individual goals of multiple persons coincide

socially to a point where the process of fulfilling the individual doers' purposes is hindered.

Generally speaking, trainers have been forced to respect the decisions of broadcasters when it comes to program production. It is at this point then that the value of their fitness capital arises as the next issue. The symbolic capital of the body in a certain society like Korea holds more than just the fit body but also the superior body that addresses the courtesy a person holds, his cultural levels, education, and social network. The bodies of Koreans were found to be in close relationship with the ideals put forth by Korean society with regards to gender, class, age, education, and income level. Cultural capital in Korea may have the potential to venture beyond its current status as a simple tool for analyzing class reproduction and identity.

### *3.3 Korean Habitus of Making the Fit Body*

Elias and Bourdieu's key mutual concept is habitus. Mennell (1994, p. 180) and Mansfield (2005, p. 225) have pointed out that an Eliasian conceptualization of identity and habitus can be a useful basis through which we can understand the differences between people. Habitus revealed through preference can be distinguished according to objective class or stratification hierarchies that cannot but include the relationship between dominated and subordinated (E-O). Habitus can be called a collective unconscious set of people in a similar position. Because it is mediated between class, personal cognition, choice, and behaviour, individuals reproduce the world with the common ways and provide cognitive and emotional guidelines they can sort, select, and evaluate through a particular method. If so, what is the unconscious collective habitus of making the fit body in the Korean presence? Based on the findings of this research, the Korean habitus of body making can be discussed in terms of the following themes: Westernization, authoritarianism, and collective imitation.

#### *3.3.1 Westernization*

The strongest discourse which penetrates the modern era of Korea is 'modernization=Westernization'. West-centrism started to exist internally through modern discourses and the West eventually became the object Koreans longed for. As examined in Chapter 4, the subjects who produced discourses on the modern body were the children of the upper class who went to foreign schools – in other words, elites who

received a modern education. Korea's modern class was recomposed based on educational level, rather than capital or labour. At that time, the population that received specialized education was very small but they took the lead in producing discourses. As presented in Chapter 4, they greatly influenced the formation of social ideologies, for example, by advocating 'New Men' in *The Independent*. The ideology formation process by the elites was a key factor for constructing modernity in Korea.

In actuality, many distinctly American things are noted as Western things. The reason is that for the past sixty years, the US led the formation of a relationship between Korea and the West. When the South and North were in division after the war, Korea and the U.S. built a military and political relationship through the U.S Army Military Government. It became the basis for American cultural elements to spread through all areas of the society. Westernization, as another term for enlightenment or civilization, emerged as a shock to all areas of society. It was the period when the nation encountered Western modernity for the first time, rather than enlightenment. From this period, civilization of Korean style (which Korea's traditional society had previously pursued) was treated as something uncivilized and a main focus came to be on changes of Western style. While shock by and accommodation of Western culture during the 19<sup>th</sup> century was made passively, the second round of Western culture accommodation after the foundation of Korea and the Korean War may be defined as a period of voluntary Westernization. Whereas the first round of the accommodation of Western culture was confined to the upper class, Western culture spread throughout all people during the second period of accommodation. In the process of industrialization, wearing a suit and shaving together with the growth of middle class came to symbolize urban residents who envision themselves superior to rural people; white collars superior to labourers in working clothes must have a meaning of uniforms for the middle class (Park, 2006, p. 34).

Amid post-war confusion and non-existence of styles, west-centred ideology imbued by the authoritarian government was effectively accepted by the middle class with strong subordination to the state and capital. In the end, this led to the rupture of tradition; as tradition was rebuffed as something old and 'the West' was worshipped as something new (Gelézeau, 2007, p. 191). In other words, they underestimated lifestyles of Korean tradition before the nation was developed in a Western way. The Korean society is prescribed as an intrinsic other by the West (Kang, 2004). As a result, the middle class started to form a taste about a new body while consuming abundant

materials with attractive modes of Westernized lifestyles provided by the consumption society under the same goal of wealth and upward class movement. As presented in Chapter 4, the bodies of *ajeossi* and *azumma* face the task of having to be reborn as a new body of *momzzang*. This has a process of being stylized in the society, again forming habitus of people, structuralizing class within the society, and accelerating the desire for upward movement.

### 3.3.2 Authoritarianism

The second thing to examine in body making habitus of Koreans is the established body group's authority. Authoritarianism of the established suppresses an autonomous and critical way of thinking and demands blind obedience to power, authority, or tradition (Habermas, 1995, p. 127). The modern society overcame such mental structures and gave birth to individuals who could think autonomously, but the state institution within the society still holds the appearance of past authoritarian bureaucracy and people's attitudes toward this have not greatly changed. In addition, as shown in the chapters 4 and 6, such appearances are mostly imitated through arbitrary interpretations of functionalism or classicism and project characteristics of modernization with lost identity.

Attention should be paid to the fact that people reproduce and revere another authoritarian group in the process of body-making in their ordinary life. Body experts (doctors, trainers) or the media in the post-modern society are designated as a new group with authority which produces faith about the values of the body in the chapters 5 and 6. Trainees who build their body in media programs or health clubs accepted their trainers' authority as something absolute and divine as shown, as in chapters 6 and 7. The background for their having such authority lies in how Koreans regard their teachers under Confucianism. Personal trainers in the West are defined as instructors with a functional concept, but in Korea they are like teachers in schools and the objects of great respect. The roles of Confucian values based on the hierarchical system's decision making and pushing for works in perfect order, as well as the strong group power in Korea's authoritarian society have some positively evaluated aspects. However, when one fails to belong to the established with authority, one's relative feeling of deprivation and alienation is maximized, economic inequality is aggravated, and class differentiation is promoted (Habermas, 1995, p. 26). Thus, this has been embodied by the middle class of Korean society in whom Confucian values were

traditionally inherent to form their habitus and be revealed in the society as authoritarian modes.

### *3.3.3 Collective imitation*

From the military dictatorial government, to the financial crisis, to the present neo-liberalism, economic equality has been blocked politically and structurally and as a result the public has longed for economic equality as manifested through social justice and the appearance of a fair society. Reality shows contain a sentiment that rewards should be given to the economically and socially underprivileged who have experienced extreme structural inequality. Therefore, the outcome of who will be a final winner is not an issue of the final winner alone, but also contains social meanings and symbolism. According to Williams (1977, p. 131), such sentiment is an expression of “the structure of feeling” into a cultural form. So, what is the true nature of the emotional structure underlying Koreans’ body-making craze? Collective crazes such as diet fever and appearance management are struggles to evade inequality and a feeling of loss coming from falling behind the line, but under neo-liberalism they are disguised as responsible voluntary behaviours to improve one’s life. Therefore, such an emotional structure reinforces Korean society’s collectivism and is ready to be displaced by the logic of ‘homogeneity’. In other words, collectivist conformism may be misunderstood as equality.

The wealth accumulation Koreans experienced in the process of industrialization and the resulting experience of upward class movement led to the equation that economic capital was symbolic capital and formed people’s habitus. Intertwined with upward class mobility, this appeared as the imitation of upper class modes and display of wealth. Based on collective inclination inherent in Confucian values and the military regimes amid the process of formation of Korean society, this was revealed as collective and uniform consumption modes together with the advent of post-industrial society.

The Korean upper class’ manner of display imitates that of the Western upper class. The middle class’s accumulation of wealth and the resulting experience of upward class movement amid a rapid economic growth process internalized the equation that wealth was equated with honour in those whose upward oriented and authoritarian disposition was strong. Accordingly, they came to follow the ostentatious mode of the upper ruling class that expressed its wealth externally amid social relationships; this is

also produced in a standardized form in the mode of displaying wealth and imitating the upper class in society according to their tastes.

The values inherent in Korean society and standardization forced by state power have formed a collective body-making habitus. Goods produced in society have standardized appearances focusing on the economic efficiency of the mass production system based on neo-Fordism. People consume the things that are produced through advertisements by the media, the second standardized tool, which encourages consumption according to the logic of capital. Such internal and external environments interlocked with upward-oriented aesthetic tastes established in society formed imitation toward the established group. This evidence is revealed as standardized modes in society. In particular, the upper ruling class' ostentatious aesthetic tastes became excessive from the military regimes as they were collectively imitated by the rapidly growing middle class – thus forming their habitus. As a result wealth accumulation occurred amid rapid economic growth processes and the resulting experience of middle class movement maximized their imitative aesthetic tastes toward the upper class.

The middle class' collectivist body tastes appear as standardized consumption phenomena and formative environments across society. In turn, they undergo the process of reproducing the upper class' imitative and collective aesthetic tastes. Amidst such processes, the portion of Korean society obsessed with accelerating symbolic struggle and elevation in position as well as suffering from fear of falling in social position is an ever-growing cross section. The concern is that such social stress may produce extreme social culture where decadence, violence, cruelty, and excitation are rampant. Individuals' formation of values is dominated by social power and materials and individuals are losing their independence and diversity. It should also be considered that it is revealed as a social problem of production and reproduction of universal and aesthetic tastes by the society.

### *3.4 Body Tastes*

One issue to be discussed based on the above results is what the legitimate culture of the body is in Korean society. In other words, it is a question of whether there exist differences between classes and their body tastes. As discussed by Bourdieu and Elias in their theories, in French society where high culture centred on the upper class' succession of traditional culture, cultures were differentiated according to classes.

However, the theory by Bourdieu with the French society as its model has been criticized for the reason that application to other societies with differences in social and cultural characteristics was prohibitively difficult. According to Crane (1992), in the U.S., there were diverse taste cultures selected and adopted by different groups according to their tastes, rather than some dominant culture, and these cultures were selected according to various backgrounds (for example, race, gender, age, and educational level as well as social classes). Bryson (1996) perceived that the middle class enjoyed more diverse cultures than the lower class in the issue of cultural tastes and therefore it was more effective to illuminate tastes or cultures each did not like, rather than operate on what it exclusively preferred. Under the omnivore theory (Peterson & Kern, 1996; Peterson 2005), the upper class was differentiated from the lower class by tolerant tastes, not exclusive tastes. Those with a lot of body capital may express their symbolic boundary or position while building their body and may also reveal symbolic boundary by not selecting the body with outsider images that are generally recognized as ugly. They make diverse sections of foods but abstain from greasy foods and do not overeat, keeping their distance from popular food culture and thereby trying to maintain a symbolic boundary as presented in Chapter 7. Moreover, those with much cultural capital prefer not a single high-end sport but various sports, which indirectly evidences the omnivore theory (Chapter 7). For certainty, the above results may reflect phenomena of a transition period in a fast changing society like Korea. In a study of Korean society, Yang (2009) also observed that cultural tastes are affected by education and occupation rather than class; with the former two as the more important factors.

In addition, Korean society has undergone very rapid economic growth and a level of high social fluidity as a result. In the midst of this process, cities and spaces for consumption were created without appropriate evaluation of what modernization was, which is having cultural capital of the Western style recognized within the Korean context. Following Western standards is evaluated to be culturally refined in Korea's socio-historical background (Chapter 4), producers, writers, and trainers' ideas about TV body-making programs (Chapter 5), the standards for *Momzzang* (Chapters 4-7), star trainers' opinions about Western body builders' bodies and positions (Chapter 6), and cultural tastes about the necessities of life told by health club members (Chapter 7). In other words, the legitimate culture of the body at present follows the body culture of the Western upper class.

The high and established culture discussed by Elias and Bourdieu is the Western culture encountered in the modernization process of Korea in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, not the body culture of the upper class originating from the Korean society's class system. The traditional body culture of the Korean upper class is not strenuously performing exercise but preserving the body their parents gave them. After all, the legitimate culture of the body in Korea boils down to whether or not to display tastes of Western style.

However, the theory that the upper class exclusively enjoyed high culture, thereby trying to maintain the boundary between the middle class and the lower class, is valid only when a mass media device that delivers culture and industry has not yet developed. Maguire's concept of 'diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties' on globalization (1999; 2005) can be applied in this research and his perspective is justifiable here because globalization is making unprecedented contributions to the democratization of approaches to culture and destruction of traditional hierarchies. As a result, cultural tastes are likely to be fragmented according to diverse demographic and social characteristics. Korean culture has many sub-cultures according to generation, class, occupation, region, and gender. In addition, the continuously increasing foreign worker population has differing ethnic, cultural, and religious backgrounds. The diversity of South Korean culture is ever-growing. The process of modernization, industrialization, and Westernization for the past century has made Koreans' ordinary life multinational, and a hybridity of cultural division is occurring therein.

### *3.5 Cultural Intermediaries and the Body*

Domestic body-making programs have continuously introduced methods to imitate lifestyles of famous figures and special groups through certified experts. In these programs, the experts emphasize that viewers can emulate special lifestyles that they introduce by learning them or consuming certain high-end brands. On the other hand, viewers' participation in body making TV programs and their frequency show that the possibility of exploring politics in daily life through such programs is not completely closed. However, this possibility is seriously lacking in domestic body making programs and symbolic violence shown in such lifestyle programs is excessive insofar as to offset such a possibility (McRobbie, 2004). In that such violence has underpinnings of class, attention should be paid to the fact that reminders of the inequality in classes are continuously triggered in consumer societies such as Korea's.

What lifestyle programs show causes directors to bring class differences into relief by using methods to emphasize differences and differentiation in the process of combining goods consumption and culture. The reason is that the impetus to change oneself with the help of experts is a fantasy where one can meet his desire to increase his rank by merely imitating the lifestyles of ‘special groups’. Therefore, those who follow them should incessantly imitate them and change themselves, which results in the perpetuation of the aforementioned cycle of continuous consumption.

The problem of hybridity is being raised in certain domestic lifestyle programs and causes one to actively adopt styles and content of overseas programs (Lee, 2012). Some research on lifestyle import asserted that positive hybridity was occurring as content containing each region’s sentiment was made even though the same formats were used in a global dimension (Oh & Kim, 2009). Nonetheless, the two programs that are the subjects of this thesis displayed outcomes contrary to the results of these studies. *Diet War* accommodated the style and content of *The Biggest Loser* (a foreign program) at first but changed its style and content with a new title of *Diet Master*. Producer Da noted that showing changes in the body shape of Koreans on TV was difficult unlike the body shape of Western people: an excessively obese body was not a popular item any longer on TV, and advertisers did not like pandering to such bodies at the expense of their comparatively wealthier and fitter clientele. Moreover, *Extra.Ordinary Men 2* was a unique program made with ideas by the chief producer. In the end, reality shows should consider many things – and those centred on entertainers and famous figures rather than those centred on ordinary people are the wisest solution for ensuring viewer ratings and preserving normativity.

Most producers who took part in the interviews had a tendency to deeply perceive the characteristics of consumer strata classified by the market or marketing of their broadcasting company as their own (and they produced programs accordingly). However, producing programs that actively cope with the market environment would be fairly different from passively producing programs within the market’s forcible intervention. In particular, lifestyle programs that directly involve consumption have the characteristic of being in close relationship with sponsors. Lifestyle programs of cable TV where sponsorship was more important than viewer rankings showed that the composition of programs may differ according to sponsorship sources.

Fitness lifestyles are not only related to individuals’ identities but also concern certain ways of life that cannot be merely converted into physical values – in other

words, the lifestyles of consumers are mediated by cultural intermediaries. The meaning of the concept of cultural intermediaries has been presented in the academic field (Bourdieu, 1984; Featherstone, 1991b; McFall, 2002; Negus, 2000; 2002; Wright, 2005; Smith Maguire, 2008a; 2008b; Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2010; 2014; S. Lee, 2010; Lewis, 2008b; Taylor, 2002; Hollows, 2003; Palmer, 2004; Bonner, 2005). This thesis divided cultural intermediaries of the fit body on TV largely into two professional groups—one a production group which includes TV producers who produce programs themselves and the other an expert group including star trainers who appear in their programs and introduce good tastes and lifestyles of the body.

According to Bourdieu (1984), that TV producers and lifestyle experts can be called mediators is related to characteristics of these new middle classes. These follow the upper class' tastes and lifestyles and have interest in disseminating lifestyles depicted as proper and just culture to the public. Interest in diverse lifestyle mediators shows their specific class characteristics; such interest is directed toward their roles as mediators (Lewis, 2008b). Specific studies of their roles as cultural intermediaries are lopsided toward new expert groups who give advice on lifestyles in programs or substantiate programs by appearing in them themselves. However, attention should be paid to the fact that producers of lifestyle programs directly engage in mediation of such lifestyles just like trainers. This thesis viewed that TV producers were not mere messengers—they also had the role of creating culture. According to Smith Maguire (2014, p. 19), 'both class fractions of new occupations are involved in the creation of wants.' In other words, producers who have control of creativity in their position as cultural mediators expand the scope of changes and possibilities. The reason why interest in producers' roles as mediators is scant despite their importance in the process is that special stress is only put on experts on new lifestyles rather than producers.

As presented in Chapter 6, in broadcasting programs, star trainers exist within overall program plans of producers, not separately as cultural mediators of the body. The width and scope of their autonomy varies according to the relationship they maintain with their broadcasting company. Trainers who appear in the programs initiate their job with a contractual relationship with their broadcasting company and are therefore outsiders compared to producers. The biggest reason for this is that broadcasting companies can recruit other trainers. Broadcasting companies judge that trainers get a lot of incidental benefits from appearing in their programs. Although

trainers have dissatisfaction with their treatment on programs, they mostly fully accept the opinions of their broadcasting company.

Previous studies of TV lifestyle experts (Lewis, 2008b; 2010; Taylor, 2002; Hollows, 2003; Palmer, 2004; Bonner, 2005) have excessively elevated experts' position including brands. These studies failed to consider the relationship between experts and broadcasting companies. In reality, Korean broadcasting companies do not give a higher position to star trainers than they do to themselves. In particular, given TV producers' economic, social, and educational capital in Korean society, they are positioned as the established relative to star trainers. After all, the value of the information or knowledge that lifestyle experts have is determined in their relationship with producers. Therefore, if a conclusion is presented excluding analysis of the established-outsider (E-O) figuration between TV producers and experts, it becomes a mere theoretical story about the reality and is limited in that it does not reveal the reality.

#### **4. Methodological Considerations: Macro and Micro**

Chapter 3 points out that there are theoretical and methodological links between modern and post-modern sociologies. Each methodological theme has influenced the research questions, the chosen methods, and the interpretation of the evidence. First, the research questions about the E-O figuration of the fit body in the fitness field (socio-historical context, media, cultural intermediaries, and clubs) are derived from my own identity (nationality, gender, age, etc). Secondly, the research strategy is based on diversity and relativity of theory and methods supported by sociologists like Elias and Bourdieu. I used the synthesis of macro and micro research to execute this analysis. Third, the methodology of involvement and detachment leads this research as a means of making knowledge that matches up with the reality about consumer bodies and fitness culture. Knowledge can be gained via a balance between an involved researcher's position and a more detached approach.

The dichotomous thinking that distinguishes between macro and micro is merely a small division at the analytical level – and many sociologists have been trying to establish a link between the two (Alexander & Geisen, 1987). Every detailed substance exists in the presence of some greater overall relation. The everyday life approach to class requires a comprehensive approach that incorporates both macro and micro elements. These class experiences and practices are concepts in which actions or

organizations are already totally internalized, so it is not meaningful to distinguish between the micro and macro with regards to the class study of everyday life.

Bourdieu's work (1984; 1993) seems to effectively overcome the limitations of the existing quantitative research methods behind micro approaches. Not only did he analyzed specific classes, but he focused on the contributing factors behind overall class structure and its daily reproduction. Therefore, his research on class concerning the condition of existence for overall social relationships makes the experience of research very difficult. Though he had used a number of qualitative and quantitative approaches himself, the assertion is that qualitative approaches are more appropriate than quantitative approaches to lifestyle analysis (Murdock, 2000). The need for careful consideration in applying his study to other countries with different cultural heritages and lifestyles shows a number of difficulties that exist within the study method (DiMaggio, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007; DiMaggio & Mukhtar, 2004).

Although Bourdieu showed the differences between classes as well as fractures within these classes, he still overlooked how the taste of each class was shaped in the commercial world. In other words, Bourdieu overlooked the dynamics and complexities of everyday life. Therefore, the Eliasian analysis of E-O figuration of the body that strengthens Bourdieu's study becomes one of the important resources for class studies that address phenomena within the everyday life of the Korean consumer. Elias's theories are combined with a microanalysis of everyday life and a macro-analysis of social change processes through the concept of figuration. An individual's class rank does not exist separately, but instead is interdependently and dynamically organized. The class is not pre-made but is formed and reproduced through various practices of daily life such as labour, education, social interaction, consumption, and language.

The E-O figuration of the body in the fitness field is viewed as a useful theoretical tool in explaining Korean body culture. The E-O figuration of the body in the fitness field consists of historical context (Chapter 4), fitness media (Chapter 5), cultural intermediaries (Chapter 6), and health clubs, members and personal trainers (Chapter 7) including macro and micro-level analysis. The change in figuration was observed with relation to the change in time. Thus, through socio-genesis analysis, the focus was placed on how the E-O figuration of the body occurred within the specific context of Korea's socio-history. In addition, the interdependent consolidation of the E-

O figuration of the body for doers in fitness media and fitness clubs augmented the types of power relationship that were observed from a micro perspective.

This thesis explored the ideas of a selection of scholars, as I discuss integrated theory and methods on both macro and micro levels, human figuration of the body, shame, cultural capital and social mobility, consumer lifestyle, cultural capital and styles of consumption, and we/they images/ideals of the body. As such, interpretations should be analyses that move between microscopic practice and macroscopic histories considering the particular situations where interpretations must be socially comprehensive. Expanding the scope of analysis as such is also the final goal of interpretations – coincidentally, the issue of Koreans' bodies is formed in this macroscopic layer. Whereas individual chapters, texts, and practices at the microscopic level only show part of Korean body fitness, interpretations show how those partial appearances are reconnected with historical conditions while simultaneously showcasing the issues behind the consumption and production of bodies at a macro level. Since the legitimacy of interpretations as well as that of theories is correlated with each other as such, both areas should be evaluated on their legitimacy through diverse forms of data – not from the viewpoint of absolute truth, but rather one that is more reality congruent in nature.

## **5. Evaluation of Research**

### *5.1 Evaluation of Research Processes*

This research started with the examination of Koreans' cultural production and consumption with the concept of the E-O figuration of the body in the fitness field. This thesis tried to derive a productive theory by combining theoretical explanations of cultural production and consumption and empirical data on them. Most of all, it was crucial to make the research issue specific. The essence of experiences and phenomena should be described exactly and therefore this research collected data using methods such as deep interviews and participant observation. Most of all, the selection of study subjects was important. For such qualitative sampling, two principles—of appropriateness and adequacy—were taken into consideration. For the principle of appropriateness, proper participants who could provide the best information on the study topic the researcher intended to explore were selected. Rapport should be formed

without failure and strategies for rapport were needed. According to involvement and detachment by Elias (1987), the researcher maintained a proper distance so that the relationship became a relationship between the researcher and participants. If the researcher became too friendly with the participants, it was impossible to collect objective data because the researcher heard only subjective stories; on the other hand, if the researcher failed to become friendly with the participants, it was impossible to interpret and describe invisible political and social power within the spots (Spradley, 1979; Silverman, 2000).

In studying cultural production and consumption of Koreans' body, my gender, age, social class, nationality as a Korean, and position as a mother enabled easy reading of political, historical, social, and cultural contexts regarding Korean society and the body as an insider of Korean society. However, excessive involvement may lead to a biased view. Thanks to fitness experiences in the U.S. and Britain, I had a detached attitude toward Korean fitness fields. According to Elias (1987), involvement and detachment are the basis of human activities and the process of *aneignung* (appropriation) occurs through these two. In Elias's theory on knowledge development, involvement and detachment were very important concepts that can help avoid production of ideological knowledge not free from a researcher's understanding, value, and emotions (Elias & Quilley, 2006). Elias' involvement and detachment shows that in relationships between a subject and the world, human cultivation process is possible in the dialectical process of participation and keeping a distance (Elias, 1987; 1998). This is a method to apply in an individual human's relationship with himself or herself, other individuals, or other objects and helps introspection of human thoughts and behaviours. By adopting this, I tried to generate new experiences on and knowledge of Koreans' body making in the process of thought and behaviour.

## **6. Limitation and Suggestion for Further Research**

This thesis deals with Korean consumer body issues with diverse evidence including *momzzang* syndrome and Gangnam styles. Research on the fit body has not been done in Korea to any significant extent. The thesis approached in the micro and macro aspects to shed light on E-O body relations in the fitness field. The issues of cultural capital, academic capital, and civility related to the body are presented. There

are many theoretical reviews about the synthesis of Bourdieu and Elias, but empirical research is limited. In this regard, this thesis is a theoretical contribution for Bourdieu and Elias' complementary usages. For subsequent studies, some limitations may be mentioned.

Firstly, there are bodies of literature that have not been central to the present analysis but which could cast new light on the present findings and be valuable in future research. Three bodies of literature in particular merit mention: post-colonialism, social capital, and gender issues. First, Koreans' *momzzang* phenomenon could be analyzed from the post-colonialist perspective. Throughout history the experiences of the charms of the US and the desire following from it, which remains active in the collective unconscious of Koreans, is an impact that cannot be easily erased. It should be noted that unless the colonial past of Koreans' body is overcome, colonialism inevitably continues. In this frame, post-colonialism scholars (Fanon, 1967; Said, 2003; Bhabha, 1994) are shedding new light on their historical analysis by including viewpoints of the Third World and ethnic minorities. Meanwhile, the utilization of a new language in researching the postcolonial body will rearrange the unequal elements amid the collision of temporal and spatial boundaries as well as dominant and minority discourses. Second, research on social capital will be essential for understanding Korean society and body. Accordingly, social capital may be the concept that emerges in discussions over how individualism can be converted into communitarian concerns in Western politics and cultures (Bell, 1993). Studies on social capital exhibit three conceptual perspectives: (1) social networks and embedded resources (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988, 1990; Lin et al., 2001); (2) involvement in local communities or civic participation (Putnam, 1993, 2000; Jarvie, 2003; 2008); (3) generalized trust or distrust (Coleman, 1990). In Korean society, as the concept of nepotism (school, region and blood ties) reveals, social capital may have a strong conceptual characteristic as resources for individual success rather than having a public characteristic (Nam, 2010; Lew et al., 2007). Future work should consider how social capital in Korean society is associated with the middle class's lifestyle and consumer culture. Those studies are required to examine the implications of social capital in the process of social stratification, along with cultural capital, via the body culture. Third, this thesis suggests drawing the topography of gender studies in a new manner. As shown in this thesis, women can no longer remain a singular group bound together on the basis of a common experience of oppression and discrimination. Thus, the topography of gender studies is likely to show complexity within gender, class,

race, generation, sexual taste, and cultural segmentations (Waylen, 2013, p. 65; Peterson et al., 2010). As Korea has become a multicultural society, gender studies should cross the boundary between men and women, and open a new horizon for research toward the issues of inequity and power between marginal and minority groups; teaching the value of human coexistence to all Koreans (Lee, 2013; Gang et al., 2009).

Secondly, in this thesis, in the process of separating the three stages of the socio-historical changes of the body, the first criterion is belonging to the body between the country and the people. This thesis has a limitation that body discourse during the Chun Doo-Hwan Regime was not included. There is a relatively long interval between the Third Republic (1963-1979) and the 2000s. If this time period had been included, this thesis would have been more useful in discussion.

Thirdly, as acknowledged by Elias, researchers cannot be neutral between involvement and detachment. However, I tried to follow this principle for gaining relative and diverse findings. It is not easy to develop a project with a perfect balance in the theories and methods and presentations of findings. In addition, discussion on three factors – gender, age, class – did not make for a point of balance. This matters because this research focuses on the more symbolic boundaries of the body like E-O relations rather than social boundaries of gender, age, race, and class.

Fourthly, this thesis also focused on the process of production behind TV programs and their texts. If concrete studies of actual consumers are conducted in the relationship between producers-consumers based on the results of this study, the characteristics of fitness lifestyles and programs are more concretely systemized. In addition, since studies of lifestyles are directly connected to consumption, studies of consumers of TV fitness programs can be connected to deeper discussions about the relationships between consumption, media, and consumers. Since consumers access diverse channels in the globalizing environment, studies of these are expected to give another socio-cultural implication. In addition, if participant observation of the process of making bodies by the contestants who participated in the programs and interviews with them were also conducted, this study might have been able to bring about richer discussions.

Fifthly, another feature is the matter of cronyism in Korean society. The research on cronyism has been approached in three directions: regional discourse, network as social capital, and communal familism. This thesis examined respondents' networks focused on their academic and occupational backgrounds. In Chapter 5,

producers are scouted by their social networks based on their universities and previous workplaces. For trainers, the move is being made through networks from their schools, associations, former workplaces, etc. In particular, most of the trainers I interviewed are local, not from Seoul and there are regional moves from non-Seoul to Seoul and Gangbuk to Gangnam. They used their human networks for their social mobility. Thus, a need for research on locally-driven cultural capital is raised. Appearing prominently in this thesis, the distinctions of living and working between Gangnam and Gangbuk were the capital to the trainers and members. For Bourdieu, an important motif of developing concepts of cultural capital is discovered in that he was also from the southern countryside, not from Paris – showing that people's hometown, place of residence, work areas are enough to be worth discussing as cultural capital.

Lastly, the studies reflect this reality, as previous enquiries into lookism were mainly focused on the appearance and productivity of labour (Hakim, 2010; Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994; Biddle & Hamermesh, 1998; Kim et al., 2012). The problem with these studies is that they do not properly explain body power relations between individuals with established body images and others who have outsider images. When we encounter the phenomenon known as lookism, we should first go back to the most basic questions that the research demands: in other words, 'where does body power come from?' Since the 1990s, the public's interest in fitness has spread widely through Korean society. After *Momzzang* syndrome (2004), the topic of the body has emerged, but current academic research related to the field of fitness and body is far from plentiful. Looking at how many Koreans show passion for body management, Korean academics prefer a big topic. In this academic climate, this research will be a starting point for paying attention to the cultural production and consumption of Korean body.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Gangnam Members

**Table 1. Gangnam Members-Background**

	Name	age	Gender	Job	Marriage	Education	Residential/ workplace	Type of vehicle	Type of housing	Income (year, US\$)
1	A	54	M	CEO	Married	MA	Gangnam	Benz	Apartment	500,000
2	B	62	F	Wife	Married	BA	Gangnam	Benz	Apartment	300,000
3	C	49	M	CEO	Married	MA	Gangnam	BMW	Apartment	240,000
4	D	45	M	Actor	Married	MA	Gangnam	Land rover	Apartment	-
5	E	42	M	CEO	Married	MBA	Gangnam	Audi	Apartment	120,000
6	F	32	F	Actress	Single	MA	Gangnam	Lexus	Apartment	-
7	G	39	F	Medical doctor	Married	Ph.D	Gangnam	Hyundai Santa-fe	Apartment	250,000
8	H	27	F	Office worker (father: CEO)	Single	BA (US) 5Languages	Gangnam	Lexus	Apartment	36,000
9	I	40	F	Senior director	Single	Ph.D	Gangnam	Hyundai Genesis	Apartment	100,000
10	J	45	M	Lawyer	Married	MA	Gangnam	Lexus	Apartment	-
11	K	48	F	CEO	Married	MA	Gangnam	Hyundai Sonata	Apartment	84,000
12	L	22	F	Intern	Single	BA (Canada)	Gangnam	-	Apartment	15,000

**Table 2. Gangnam Members- Exercise**

	Name	Total duration	Duration (Gangnam health club)	Exercise per week	Exercise time	Personal Training	Sports	Type of Membership
1	A	9 years	8 years	2	Weekday Afternoon 2hours	Yes (past)	Golf	Corporate
2	B	30 years	8years	3	Weekday Afternoon 2 hours	Yes (past) 12 times per month	Golf	Couple
3	C	30 years	8 years	3-4	Weekday Afternoon 2hours	Yes (past)	Golf and dual martial arts	Corporate
4	D	20 years	8years	3	Weekday/end Afternoon 2 hours	Yes (past) 12 times per month	Golf and ping- pong	Personal
5	E	20 years	6years	3	Weekday Afternoon 1hour 50mins	Yes (past)	Golf and tennis	Personal
6	F	10 years	4years	3-4	Weekday Afternoon 2 hours	Yes (now) 15 times per month	Swimming	Personal
7	G	6 years	4years	3	Weekday/end Evening 2 hours	Yes (past)		Personal
8	H	8 years	2years	3	Weekday Evening 2 hours	Yes (now) 8 times per month	Ballet	Family
9	I	25 years	1year	3	Weekday/end Afternoon 2 hours	Yes (past)	Marathon	Personal
10	J	3 years	9months	1	Weekday Evening 40-50mins	Yes (past)	Mountain climbing	Corporate
11	K	6 months	6months	3	Weekday Evening 2 hours	Yes (now)	Golf and jogging	Couple
12	L	5 years	3months	5	Weekday/end Evening 2 hours	Yes (now) 12 times per month		Family

## Appendix B: Gangbuk Members

**Table 3. Gangbuk Members –Background**

	Name	age	Gender	Job	Marriage	Education	Residential/ workplace area	Type of vehicle	Type of housing	Income (year, US\$)
13	M	65	M	commerce	Married	High School	Gangbuk	Hyundai Equus	apartment	480,000
14	N	37	M	journalist	Married	college	Gangnam Gangbuk	Hyundai sonata	apartment	100,000
15	O	55	F	Officer	Married	High School	Kyungi-do Gangbuk	Kia Sportage	apartment	55,000
16	P	55	F	Officer	Married	High School	Kyungki-do Gangbuk	Kia	apartment	55,000
17	Q	58	M	Senior Research Fellow	Married	Ph.D	Gangbuk	SM5	apartment	120,000
18	R	45	F	School Director	Married	MA	Gangbuk	Hyundai Sonata	apartment	150,000
19	S	46	F	Q airline	Divorced	College	Gangbuk	Hyundai Avante	apartment	80,000
20	T	36	M	Supervisor	Married	MA	Gangbuk	KIA Roche	apartment	60,000
21	U	43	M	actor	Married	College	Gangbuk	-	apartment	-
22	V	41	F	Officer	Married	High school	Gangbuk	KIA Sorento	apartment	30,000
23	W	25	F	Officer	Single	High school	Gangbuk	Hyundai Avante	apartment	50,000
24	X	43	F	Web deginer	Married	college	Gangbuk	SM5	apartment	35,000

**Table 4. Gangbuk Members - Exercise**

	Name	Total duration	Duration	Exercise per week	Exercise time	Personal Training	Sports	Type of Membership
13	M	15 years	8 years	5	Weekday afternoon 2 hours	Yes (past)	Golf	general
14	N	10 years	8years	3	Weekday Evening 2 hours	Yes (past)	Golf	general
15	O	12 years	5years	5	Weekday Morning & Evening 2 hours	Yes (now)		general
16	P	5 years	5 years	3-4	Weekday Morning 1 hour 40mins	No		general
17	Q	5 years	3 years	2	Weekday-Evening Weekend-Morning 1 hour 20mins	No	Marathon	General
18	R	7 years	3 years	4-5	Weekday Afternoon 1 hour 30mins	Yes (past)	Golf	General
19	S	5 years	2 years	3	Weekday Morning 1 hour	Yes (past)	Swimming Ski	General
20	T	3 years	1 year	3	Weekday Evening 1 hour	No	Golf Cycling Baseball	General
21	U	20 years	1 year	7	Weekday afternoon 2 hours	Yes (past)	Golf	general
22	V	2 years	7 months	3	Weekday Evening 1hour 40mins	Yes (now)	swimming	general
23	W	2 years	4 months	3	Weekday Lunch time 1 hour	No		general
24	X	3 years	3 months	3	Weekday Morning or Lunch 1hour	No	swimming	general

### Appendix C: Personal Trainers

**Table 5: Personal Trainers- Background**

	Type	Name	Sex	Age	Career(yrs)	Centre
Gangnam Area	Private	Bong (director)	M	48	35	Gangnam Fitness Club
		Seong	M	36	12	Gangnam Fitness Club Freelancer
		Tae	M	34	10	Gangnam Fitness Club Freelancer
		Min	M	28	8	Gangnam Fitness Club Freelancer
	Public	Oh (director)	M	39	17	Noble fitness club
		Kim	M	23	2	Noble fitness club
		Shin	M	26	4	Noble fitness club
		Park	M	28	5	Noble fitness club
		Bean	M	28	6	Club M
		Jae (CEO)	M	35	10	YES gym
		Sang	M	35	10	YES gym
		Byung	M	33	8	YES gym
		Ra	F	24	1	YES gym
		Gyo	M	28	8	Gangbuk Health Centre
Gangbuk Area	Public	Ho	M	35	8	Gangbuk Health Centre
		Chang	M	30	9	Health World health club
		Jean	M	30	8	Toto Health Club
		In	F	38	18	Top world Gym
		Jong	M	32	4	Line fitness Gym
		Kim	M	27	6month	Line fitness Gym
		Young	M	29	6	Line fitness Gym
		Ju	M	31	3	Line fitness Gym
		Kyung	F	31	7	Line fitness Gym

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