The Surveillance of Racing Cyclists in Training: A Bourdieusian Perspective

Abstract

Research into the complexities of social identity construction and maintenance within racing cycling cultures has been neglected in sport sociology and studies of cycling group interactions are lacking. In this paper, preliminary findings from an on-going ethnographic research study on understanding the social world of a group (n= 73) of male racing cyclists aged between 17 and 56 years in the north east of England are discussed using the work of Pierre Bourdieu to interpret and explain what we term "lateral participatory social surveillance" which pervades the subculture of racing cyclists in training. Extracts from field notes and photographs from group training rides are used to reveal how social order is governed via this type of surveillance. Social order occurs through a commitment to the shared values of the training group under study, and through acceptance of initiatory rituals where newcomers are tested through acts of what Bourdieu terms symbolic violence. These preliminary findings suggest that whilst the exclusiveness of this sub-cultural field provides much of the attraction to established group members, it may also represent a barrier to participation for newcomers and a better understanding may inform debates related to building broader, more inclusive cycling cultures.

Introduction

This paper has evolved from a research project aimed at revealing the processes of identity construction and maintenance, including conventions of social order and power relations, within the social world of road racing cyclists in the north east of England. Findings are based on preliminary ethnographic fieldwork using a reflexive active participant observational approach over several months. The research setting under investigation is the racing cyclist group training ride and the cafés and coffee shops at which these gatherings invariably conclude. This social setting functions as a secret world, the organisation of which is governed by unwritten rules and unspoken knowledge, a social world with an intricate system of values invisible and unknown to outsiders.

The following extract from Barry (2010: 8-9) illustrates how surveillance functions as an essential element of the cooperative social structure of the racing cyclist training group:

> On the front with the same domestiques, I can discover their weaknesses and strengths. As we grow tired in the pursuit, it becomes evident when their bodies begin to give in. I will have ridden in a steady paceline with two to ten other riders, often the same ones, hours every day. In those hours I watch their movements on the bike like a psychiatrist eyes the patient. I begin to see when another rider's body is going to fail and they only have a few more turns on the front left in their legs before they fade. Their pedal strokes become laboured. They re-adjust their position repeatedly in the hope that a change might ease the pain; like a horse that has been running for too long and too fast, there is an awkwardness that appears as their muscles begin to fail.

This account is particularly revealing in the sense that it effectively outlines the thought processes of a racing cyclist in training (couched in the language of surveillance) that often remain unspoken within this subculture. Building on such accounts, this paper aims to reveal cultural processes of identity construction, maintenance and associated power structures that are mediated through forms of surveillance within this subcultural context. Initially however, and prior to developing this argument, it is worth briefly summarising key trends within the

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cycling literature in order to explain the antecedents relating to the theoretical position of this paper.

According to Williams (1989: 316), in the last 100 years three ideological themes have dominated the sport of road cycling. The first is technological fetishism involving riders developing a dependence on technology and anything which could make the difference between winning and losing. The second ideological theme is individualism, which was legitimated through the early structure of the sport where competitors competed as individuals and status was accorded to the individual who triumphed through their own efforts. The third theme was collectivism, the ideals of which took some time to be translated into cycling practice but were linked to a growing emphasis on rationality and organisation in society, which gradually transformed the social practices which occurred within bicycle road racing. "Taking pace" or "drafting" (riding behind in the slipstream of another rider) can conserve up to 39% of the energy required for forward motion (Hagberg and McCole 1990: 753). This is a practice which provides the context for the emergence of a social space between riders with the accompanying informal practices of co-operation which define that social space (Williams 1989: 317). These latter conflicting ideologies of individualism and collectivism result in a constant struggle over which should take primacy and this can be problematic for the neophyte whose socialization into the lived reality of the social setting is complicated by this contradiction, in which competition is flexible rather than reified (Albert 1991: 345).

The group training ride is a social setting in which racing cyclists learn and practice essential racing skills, rules and etiquette which incorporate the three ideological themes mentioned above. Experienced riders learn to arm themselves through close surveillance with as much knowledge of their riding companions as possible, because collectivism can switch to individualism at any time. Companions can switch from being co-operative colleagues to antagonistic opponents without warning (Williams 1989: 327). Whilst riding in a cooperative group, riders will constantly examine one another in an effort to detect visible signs of weakness and to monitor who is contributing to collective efforts and who is not. Close surveillance of the efforts of others is essential, because even when individuals appear to be contributing to collective efforts, they may not be. The terms "soft tapping" and "glass cranking" are used to describe a level of contribution to co-operative efforts by a rider who is not applying full force to the pedals in order to conserve energy for a later shift from collectivism to individualism. Maintaining the optimum drafting distance behind the rider in front is an essential skill and "holding the wheel" is fundamental to the sport as to "lose the wheel" in front when a race or group is "lined out" (at such a pace that the riders are forced in to a single line with each rider drafting on the wheel of the rider in front) is to commit the cardinal sin as it causes the group to "split" giving the riders in front an advantage and disadvantaging the riders behind. Therefore the ability to hold the wheel is central to the activity and is the standard by which all participants are judged, and is a further reflection of the intrinsic nature of surveillance in learning skills that are essential to cycling competition.

A range of strategies and rule like structures are combined to enable individual cyclists to gain maximum advantage in order to achieve the best possible outcome for themselves not only in terms of finishing position in competition but also in terms of the acquisition of 'social capital' in the training setting (Bourdieu 2006: 105). The astute rider concentrates and is alert at all times, scrutinizing the other riders, judging their strengths and weaknesses, their state of fatigue or otherwise and is always conscious that they too are under the surveillance of others. This constant condition of participants as both watcher and watched is a key element of the activity. Given the situation described here, in the current paper a case is made

for using the work of Pierre Bourdieu in order to explore, interpret and explain what we term "lateral participatory social surveillance" which pervades the subculture of racing cyclists in training (Andrejevic 2005; Albrechtslund 2008; Marwick 2012). In the following section we explain our theoretical approach in more detail.

Using Pierre Bourdieu to understand the 'lateral participatory social surveillance' of racing cyclists in training

The surveillance literature is largely based upon the use of Michel Foucault's (1977) "panopticon" for understanding how power operates in different social contexts. For example, Chan and Xu (2007) in their work on wedding photography in Hong Kong conceptualise the "bridal gaze" as panoptic and as the aggregated outlook of the wider audience. Haggerty (2006) acknowledges the overall value of the panopticon for the analysis of the dynamics of surveillance mechanisms but draws attention to its limitations in aiding our understanding of surveillance in contemporary societies. In his work Tear down the walls: on demolishing the panopticon, he argues that "important attributes of surveillance that cannot be neatly subsumed under the panoptic rubric have been neglected" (Haggerty 2006: 23). He notes that because the panoptic model directs our gaze to the oppressive dimensions of surveillance, it does not acknowledge that surveillance can be experienced from both sides and can be classified as fun or liberating (Haggerty 2006: 28). In the setting of the current research, surveillance is explained not merely as a tool of power but as a means to facilitate identity construction and to advance or maintain social position. We argue that Pierre Bourdieu's sociology can aid in understanding how surveillance operates in the subcultural context of racing cyclists in training.

Pierre Bourdieu is now regarded as one of the foremost philosophers of the twentieth century and was one of the first major social theorists to consider sport to be sociologically significant (Tomlinson 2004: 163). Bourdieu periodically devoted his attention to understanding sport and physical culture (Bourdieu 1978; 1992) and consistently used the metaphor "a feel for the game" when articulating how the body binds together his central theoretical constructs of "habitus", "capital" and "field" (Bourdieu 1984; 1990; 2006). Bourdieu's work has attracted considerable interest among scholars of the sociology of sport in recent years (e.g. Brown, 2005; Jarvie and Maguire 1994; Tomlinson 2004). Bourdieu's key concepts have previously been applied to sport subcultures by Mennesson (2000) in her study of the social construction of identities among female boxers; by Wacquant (1995) in his ethnographic study into the social structuring of bodily capital and bodily labour among professional boxers; and, most recently, by Nettleton (2013) in her study of fell running in which she focuses on the value of what she terms "existential capital" in a field of sport.

Before establishing the contribution of Bourdieu's sociology to understanding surveillance, what we refer to as "lateral participatory social surveillance" requires some further explanation. Andrejevic (2005) first introduced the idea of surveillance as a mutual practice. Social surveillance has also been applied by Marwick (2012), following the work of Joinson (2008) and Tokunga (2011), to help understand power differentials on social network sites. "Lateral surveillance" as described by Andrejevic (2005: 480), brings the power relations of panopticism to the idea of peer to peer monitoring, arguing (in reference to online social

networks) that technologies amplify top-down monitoring. However, in the lateral surveillance described in the social setting of the racing cyclist training group the relationship is between peers, despite power imbalances in terms of the value of respective capital holdings. Surveillance as a mutual practice where there is reciprocal peer to peer monitoring was first referred to as "participatory surveillance" by Poster (1990) and later developed further by Albrechtslund (2008). Albrechtslund highlights that the building of subjectivity, sharing of practices and the mutuality of participatory surveillance, creates opportunities for empowerment. Amichai-Hamburger, McKenna and Tal (2008: 1778) identify that empowerment opportunities resulting from peer to peer surveillance can be conceptualised as essential elements of identity construction and socialisation processes. According to Marwick (2012), "social surveillance" differs from panoptic surveillance in three key ways. The first is that it requires a conceptualization of power as being an intrinsic element of every social relationship. The second is that social surveillance always takes place between individuals rather than between organisations and individuals. The third is that surveillance is a mutual practice which involves both watching and being watched.

In the social setting of racing cyclists in training, surveillance is between agents with mutually held beliefs who utilise surveillance as a reciprocal social practice which is taken for granted based upon a shared habitus. Bourdieu defines the term "habitus" as the "durably inculcated system of structured structuring dispositions" found within the field which enable a person to orient themselves in to the social world and refers to the partly unconscious acceptance of rules, values and dispositions (Bourdieu 1990: 52). In short, habitus is a reconceptualization of terms such as habit and disposition; the term "field" is a retake on context, environment or situation; and, the term "capital" is a reinterpretation of terms such as resource and asset referring to the varying aspects of power that go beyond the economic and include symbolic, educational and cultural resources (Kauppi 2000: 37).

Bourdieu sought to provide a new sociological gaze with which to analyse social practices and the workings of the social world through empirical investigations. Habitus to Bourdieu is what power/knowledge is to Foucault. Habitus provides a way of seeing our social world (Maton 2012: 50). According to Bourdieu, specific cultural fields are constituted when groups of individuals determine what it is that constitutes capital within the field and how the capital is earned and distributed (Thomson 2008: 70). Putnam (2000: 155) described social capital as that which binds a group together and the basis of social capital is that social networks have value. The competition for social capital within fields is described by Bourdieu in terms of reproduction and transformation. Agents within the field adjust their expectations with regard to the capital they are likely to achieve in relation to the practical limitations imposed on them by their position in the field and by their habitus (Thompson 2008: 68; Webb, Schirato and Danaher 2002: 87).

As well as these core aspects of Bourdieu's sociology, the notion of "symbolic violence" is useful in the context of this paper to explain how the sub-cultural field under study is governed in terms of rules, rituals and conventions which legitimate certain discourses and activities via surveillance. Bourdieu's (1977: 190) concept of symbolic violence is a form of domination, gentler than physical violence, but violence nevertheless. It is used by dominant

group members to maintain social order often via unspoken means and lateral participatory social surveillance. It is argued that this is the fundamental way in which racing cyclists protect and maintain the social order of the group.

The concept of symbolic violence has previously been employed in a sport context by Cushion and Jones (2006: 143) to explain how an authoritarian discourse is established and maintained through misrecognition in relationships between coaches and athletes in professional youth soccer. The term "misrecognition" as it is used by Bourdieu, refers to the implicit understanding and acceptance of hierarchical cultural structures of any given field regardless of the repressive nature of such structures (Webb et al 2002). Consequently, as Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 167) point out, the process of misrecognition results in a form of 'violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity.' We contend that misrecognition arrived at through modes of surveillance results in social control by the dominant, as they need only to go about their normal activities and adhere to the rules of the game for the social order to be reproduced. Through lateral participatory social surveillance, subordinate members of the group perceive the actions of the dominant to be legitimate and act within the context of the social field in ways that they believe to be in their own interests.

Methodology

This paper adopts an ethnographic methodological approach to experiencing and interpreting the training culture of racing cyclists. Whilst ethnography does not claim to produce an objective account of reality, it is known to produce a version of the ethnographer's experiences of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context, negotiations and inter-subjectivities through which the knowledge was produced, and which may include reflexive, collaborative and participatory methods (Pink 2007: 14). In relation to this, Bourdieu (2004: 89) emphasises the importance of reflexivity to cultural research, insisting that it is only through a reflexive process that the subjectivity of the researcher to the production and representation of ethnographic knowledge can be appraised.

Reflexivity goes beyond the researcher's concern with questions of bias or how the reality which they may actually be distorting through their participation is observed with validity. Bourdieu argued that the social sciences are laden with biases and it is only by becoming aware of these biases that the researcher can reach a position of reflexivity. Reflexivity does not merely neutralise subjectivity as a collector of data or suppose that subjectivity should or could be avoided or eradicated. Instead, subjectivity should be engaged with as a central aspect of ethnographic knowledge, interpretation and representation.

All ethnographic work implies a degree of personal engagement with the field and the researcher (first author) in the current study was in a unique position as a neophyte member within the physically contested sub-cultural space under study. Observations were made whilst engaging in the racing cyclist group training. According to Sands (2002: 38), the experiential ethnographic approach cannot be successful unless the field researcher develops rapport and friendship with the cultural members being studied. In order to establish himself within the sub-culture of amateur racing cyclists in the north east of England, the researcher competed in 38 amateur races in the region between January and September 2012 to establish his racing credentials and he joined racing cyclist group training rides on over 40 occasions throughout the year. This was particularly important as the researcher's entry in to the social

world, as a mature (age 56) novice competitor and a former triathlete (identities which carry no social capital in the sub-culture under study) was initially greeted with some scepticism and the researcher had quickly become a target of counter surveillance (Kemple & Huey 2005: 147). Establishing rapport based on being a fellow competitor playing the same role and having the same athletic identity as the other members of the subculture occurred slowly over a period of ten months.

Tom (et al.) – in light of the comments by reviewer 2 there is the question of the overt/covert nature of the ethnographic process in this research that probably only needs a qualifying sentence in this paragraph – I am led to assume that there was a sense the participants knew they were being watched by the researcher but it requires something more explicit in this context – could this be done easily in a sentence? I also wonder that if concerns are raised about the ethical dimension of covert surveillance in this research, is it possible to reference another work to offset these concerns (I am not sure if Wacquant documented much about the activities of other boxers in his ethnography, but perhaps Sands might be suitable to establish that this is an accepted method of doing sports research) The researcher employed a combination of overt and covert strategies whist carrying out the ethnographic study. Yet, as Belinda Wheaton (1997) found in her ethnographic study of windsurfers in Britain, the reality of the research process is that the distinction between covert and overt is rarely black and white but takes on shades of grey. In informal sports settings such as the racing cyclist training group where membership is not fixed and where attendees come and go, informed consent on all occasions proved problematic, especially from peripheral members who only passed through the group but were nevertheless valuable informants. Whilst the researcher made every effort to carry out the field research overtly, due to the nature of the research site (, explained above), normal researcher/informant interactions were not always possible. However, cyclists were aware that they were under surveillance from the researcher and the researcher openly discussed his research with participants if they asked him about it and he did not attempt to deceive them in the same way others such as Wheaton (1997) felt necessary to do in order to obtain valid data. In this sense the current research was more overt in nature than it was covert. According to Sands (2002), it is not always possible or even desirable for sports ethnographers to formally obtain consent due to the fluid nature of many sports cultures and the need for ethnographers to be embedded within cultures enough to gain the deep 'insider' knowledge they seek. Yet Sands (2002: 118) also states that: "Changing names to protect the innocent or unknowing is a way of removing the onus of moral responsibility of the ethnographer." In line with this suggestion, the names of all participants in this research have been changed in order to protect their identities.

As Sands (2002: 39) discovered in his ethnography of collegiate sprinters, trust had to be established, and consequently the transition from outsider to insider was eased. In the current study, the familiarity with established members of the sub-culture ensured that the researcher was predominantly known as a racing cyclist that just happens to also be an academic researcher. Upholding the position of racing cyclist meant he was able to empathise with the experiences of pain in training, anxiety of competition and the sacrifices that are required to participate. As Sands (2002: 40) puts it, this is an example of the researcher earning "the right to access their knowledge and using it to further scholarly fieldwork". Thus the researcher's

experience and engagement in the cycling sub-culture has been deep and meaningful and the subcultural context was experienced on a daily basis.

Bourdieu's first studies were ethnographies of the peasant society in his native Beᵃrn in France and of the Kabila people of Algeria. In both settings photography played a major role in Bourdieu's early ethnographic practice. The taking of research photographs operated for Bourdieu as an efficient recording and storage technique allowing him to capture and collect large quantities of information in social situations that served to intensify his sociological gaze. In the current study the taking of photographs using a "smart phone" has been employed by the researcher as a way of getting the research process started and assisting with the development of relationships and rapport with study participants (Sands 2002: 38). The smart phone is an emerging tool of the social scientist and is particularly useful in ethnographic fieldwork as these devices have recently become an accepted and integrated part of everyday life. Collier and Collier (2007: 73) describe the use of the camera as a "can opener" that can help to establish rapport with study participants in two ways. First, playing the role of photographer can put the researcher in an ideal position to observe the culture of groups they are researching. Second, showing photographs to their study participants (or in the case of the current research, displaying some of the images on the social media page of the racing cyclist training group under study) can provide feedback on the images and their content while, at the same time, establishing connections and relationships with members of an increasingly mediated sub-culture.

In order to be able to observe activities they are interested in through visual images, ethnographers first have to establish themselves as someone who is trusted to take photographs. In the case of the current research, taking the first images helped to speed up the process of representation of the researcher as a participant observer by allowing study participants to gain an early understanding of his ethnographic intentions. Thus the perspective assumed by the researcher was that of an "out-of-frame" observer attempting to capture social reality by framing and immobilizing a moment within a succession of events (Becker 1995: 8). According to Bourdieu (2004: 92), the task of the researcher is to acquire knowledge of social processes, not to confirm or support the sub-cultural order. Rather it is to sustain an "interest in disinterestedness", or to engage as much in participant observation as in "participant objectification" in order to observe the ways in which human subjects are transformed into objects of power and knowledge, including how this process takes place through the fieldwork itself.

The connection between visual images and experienced reality is constructed through individual subjectivity and interpretation of images. Moreover, realistic use of visual images in ethnography has to be qualified by a reflexive awareness of the intentions behind their use and their limits as regards the representation of truth. To use analytical textual descriptions founded on photographs is to construct representations by moving from the visual to the textual and this is not a particularly common methodology within social science research where data tends to be alluded to rather than revealed as a component part of the analysis (Pink 2007: 15). The inclusion of textual descriptions offers a degree of accountability to the ethnographic research as the reader can actively follow the analysis via the text and agree or disagree with the researcher's interpretation. The reader is therefore not just the consumer of a textual analysis constructed by the researcher, but they can take on the role of observer who has "been there" and observed the scene (Pink 2007: 13).

As a final point it is worth noting that photographs can only ever be visual fragments which do not and cannot comprise a complete record of the scene or scenes depicted. It is impossible to measure the ethnographic value of a photograph as the value of any image is contingent on how it is situated and interpreted to invoke meanings and knowledge that are of ethnographic interest (Ball 1998: 141). The photographs included in the current paper perform the same function as the extracts from field notes which are also included. The goal is to share with the reader the process and character of the empirical research.

Symbolic violence via demonstrations of capital

According to Bourdieu (1984: 71), power and dominance in social situations derives from the possession of cultural and social resources. He proposes that social recognition comes from the possession of certain forms of social capital (power) which have value in specific fields. Power and dominance in the racing cyclist training group take a number of forms. Visible power is regularly reinforced by certain individuals described as "Hitters".[1] These individuals are the most powerful individuals in the group who occupy the highest positions in the social hierarchy by virtue of the fact that they are in possession of the most social capital. Hitters are recognized as decision makers who determine many important aspects of the training ride, including: the meeting venue; the time of departure; the route; the speed of the group; and, the structure of the training. Hitters also possess hidden power (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002: 40). This hidden power allows them the right to set the agenda "behind the scenes" and make decisions that will potentially exclude certain individuals. Hitters also have invisible power to influence beliefs, to set social norms and to influence the social conventions of the group via a surveillance mechanism based on authoritative positioning and to influence the social conventions of the group via lateral participatory social surveillance. Andrejevic (2005) suggests that surveillance of this type requires an implicit knowledge of power structures and the ways in which power is exercised. Take the following set of photographs as examples of the practice of power and the willing acceptance of subordination.

Tom et al – for the moment we can leave all the photographs in as they currently appear – however, I need to double check with the chief editor of the journal that images #1, #3 and #4 do not lead to concerns about a research subject being identifiable (keeping in mind it wouldn't be allowed here in Australia due to ethical/privacy concerns but it might be permissible in Canada – either way I just wanted to flag this for you all and will seek clarification from the chief editor.

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[1] An abbreviation of the description "Big Hitter" which is used in the racing cyclist subculture to describe a rider who has enjoyed racing success and whose previous level of athletic achievement continues to hold weight.

Image 1 above captures an occasion where a decision has been made by the hitters, which allows them the honour of waiting at the top of a significant climb to enable the group to re-form. This was a decision made on the basis that weaker riders, although unable to maintain the pace of the hitters on a climb, may still be able to contribute to collective efforts for the remainder of the ride. Thus the social order is governed by the hitters as they continue to implement rules that are dependent on the surveillance of the training group, the route and any emerging circumstances that occur. Despite the relative friendliness on display in *Image 1*, this situation is symptomatic of what Bourdieu describes as symbolic violence. The hitters in this example are reinforcing their dominance within the group whilst also ensuring that the collectivism required to complete the ride is understood by all members. *Images 2, 3* and *4* are taken on different occasions and are significant because they capture, in a visible form, key moments when decisions are being made by the hitters regarding specific aspects of the training ride. In each example, decisions are made only by those who hold the highest positions in the social hierarchy on behalf of the rest of the group, those in possession of fewer sub-cultural resources.

Being one of the fittest riders has significant value amongst racing cyclists and confers physical capital related to an individual's strength and athleticism. This overt and highly prised individualised component of the racing cyclist is studied, understood and admired by all within this sub-culture. Thus, 'physical capital', as it is expressed in the Bourdieusian sense, also confers status through social capital related to reputation and image. However, as well as emphasising the power associated with capital acquisition and maintenance for the hitters within the training group, it is also important to point out that forms of symbolic capital and associated acts of symbolic violence can only be exercised on others with complicity. That is to say, many agents do not know that they are subject to symbolic violence or even that they themselves exercise it. Simply put, symbolic power and acts of

symbolic violence are naturalized in a particular field and are known in this setting as "the way things are done". This is played out though the surveillance of others, converging in an implicit understanding of cultural etiquette and associated capital accrued within the training setting. Additionally it is worth noting that symbolic power can be lost when individual action contrasts with collective values, thoughts and dispositions. The following extract from field notes highlights an example:

> 09.11.12 BB Ride (11 riders): Stuart just back from a few weeks break so poor fitness.[2] Group riding in pairs, when it is Stuart and Tom's turn on the front, Paul comes to the front and positions himself alongside Stuart (no reason for him to do this). Paul then deliberately increases the pace drilling Stuart at the front of the group.[3] Obvious to all what is happening. Carl rides alongside Paul and tells him to stop being a "f…ing knob".[4] Paul continues until one of the hitters Jeff rides to the front and takes position in front of Stuart forcing Paul to ride alongside him and proceeds to drill Paul until East Harsley click; Paul dropped nobody waited.[5] In the café Carl said (referring to Paul) "the trouble with him is he just doesn't get it".

"Bullying" and "drilling" are acts of symbolic violence which are the clearest examples of how hitters exercise their power over other group members. Forcing the pace is designed to stimulate a reaction, either positive or negative amongst other individuals in the group who are in possession of fewer sub-cultural resources. In the preceding extract from field notes, Paul is not in possession of sufficient social capital to be allowed to behave in this way. He is in possession of very little symbolic capital related to reputation and image. Paul has some physical capital related to his strength and athleticism, but because of similar behaviour on previous occasions, Paul's riding behaviour is under constant surveillance from established members, particularly the hitters who are ready to punish him by exclusion from the group.

Paul is regarded as a "winter racer". This is a rider who wants to race when others do not, someone who during the summer racing season "never pins a number on his back" (does not race), but during the winter attempts to take advantage of riders who have raced all season and are returning from a recovery period or re-building fitness for the following season. By acting in the way he did, Jeff, who is also in possession of significant physical capital, exercised his power and in the process of doing so increased his symbolic capital and strengthened his position in the hierarchy of the group. The comment by Carl in the café, which is the direct result of his close surveillance of behaviour in the training group, provides confirmation that Paul does not share the same habitus as other group members and does not understand the norms of fairness and notions of distributive justice, nor crucially does he possess the social capital that comes from being a competing racing cyclist. Differences exist between and within different forms of habitus and this is the basis of the interactions and situations within the cyclist group as illustrated above.

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[2] "BB ride" denotes the ride starting point: a public house called the Blue Bell. Stuart is an established group member.

[3] "Drilling" is to force an individual to ride at an uncomfortable pace, an act of symbolic violence also referred to as "bullying" which is a practice that is only permissible under certain circumstances.

[4] "Knob" is a derogatory term referring to someone who acts in an unacceptable or inappropriate manner.

[5] "Click" is an insignificant hill or gradient. "Dropped" refers to when a rider is unable to maintain the speed of the group and is left behind

The racing cyclist group training rides under study are effectively race simulations where the skills and tactics used in racing are learned and practiced. The preceding image captures the critical moment when the switch between individualism and collectivism occurs and is a visual representation of the origins of the term "Hitter". A key objective in bicycle road racing is to make a "break" from the main field or group to escape from a co-operative formation in order to gain advantage through an individual effort. This is a tactic which only the fittest riders can accomplish. In order to achieve this a rider makes a rapid acceleration most effectively from the rear of the group and on the opposite side of the road or circuit. This, in the vernacular of the subculture, is a "hit" and consequently a form of symbolic violence. The rider on the right of the picture has switched from being a collaborative colleague to an aggressive opponent. He watches for a reaction from the group to his act of aggression as riders on the left are becoming alert to his action and the switch from collectivism to individualism begins to rise from a seated position to a standing position in order to accelerate in response. The following image provides an additional example of how this form of symbolic violence operates.

The above photograph was taken by the researcher from the rear of the training group with the intention of capturing the sub-cultural identity of participants illustrated through the wearing of specific styles and brands of clothing (see following section on this topic). The training group were taking pace or "drafting" collectively behind a tractor and trailer at a higher pace than would have been possible without the drafting effect. The first rider in the group (a hitter) decided that the speed of the tractor was not high enough and "hits" the tractor (and the group) on the wrong side of the road forcing the other riders to either make the same manoeuvre or be left behind the tractor and be dropped by the group. Bourdieu (1992: 42) explains that when individuals are subjected to acts of symbolic violence (i.e. in the image above) they often do not realise what is happening and the situation appears to be "the natural order of things". Thus, the symbolic violence is misrecognised as simply the way of the (social) world and the process whereby power relations are perceived not for what they objectively are, but in a form which renders them legitimate in the eyes of the beholder (Jenkins 1992: 104). Misrecognition also helps to explain how the most powerful members of the group act in a manner that benefits the established habitus.

This misrecognition is arrived at through modes of surveillance that result in social control by the dominant, as they need only go about their normal activities and adhere to the rules of the game for the social order to be reproduced. Through participatory lateral social surveillance, subordinate group members perceive their actions to be legitimate and act within the context of the social field in ways that they believe to be in their own interests.

Symbolic violence via distinction between brands of clothing and equipment

The embodiment of habitus manifests in an individual's deportment, manner and demeanour (Jenkins 1992: 75). Consequently, it is important to recognise that acts of symbolic violence within the training of racing cyclists goes beyond demonstrations of physical prowess. Hitters

are also agenda setters regarding "authentic" forms of clothing and equipment and quickly identify examples of non-conformity to the established tastes of the group.

The preceding images capture the way that specific types of clothing manufactured by a specific sub-culturally acceptable Italian clothing brand have become an element of the reinforcement of the *overt taste* and subsequent habitus of the group via displays of consumption practices and *expressions of taste*. Hitters are the fashion setters, they act out, consume and display the acceptable face of the group and through the misrecognition that their preferences are superior, the social hierarchy is reproduced and social limits are established for subordinate members. All newcomers to the field are subject to varying levels of surveillance aimed at determining their ability and willingness to participate in the reinforcement of established group norms and their potential threat to the sub-cultural social order. The following situation typifies the surveillance process that is cast upon newcomers and the harsh judgements that follow:

16.12.12 BB ride @ Kirklevington roundabout: 17 riders, roads were icy so it was posted on the Facebook Group main roads only.[6] New guy at the meeting point who nobody seemed to know. Just after Yarm as we headed towards Teesside Airport new guy was out the back although nobody commented or even looked back. Later in the café there was a discussion about how early he was dropped and also the following comments were made about his appearance and equipment: "his helmet was on the back of his head"; "he had a bottle of Lucozade Sport in his bottle cage"; "looked like a triathlete to me"; "he was wearing Altura."[7]

On the occasion described above the newcomer was in the presence of group members for only a few minutes, but decisions on his competence were quickly made by established group members in line with shared habitus centred upon their surveillance of his behaviour. Judgements were based on physical appearance and consequently the newcomer was positioned as an "outsider" and not a member of the established sub-culture and as such was not worth waiting for (when he was subsequently unable to maintain the pace of the group). Had the newcomer been dressed in a sub-culturally acceptable way, even though he was not known personally by established group members, different initial judgements may have been made relating to his perceived competence, although these judgements would have been conditional on the newcomer's subsequent physical performance. Outsiders are welcome to join the training group, but without the sub-culturally relevant forms of social capital related to the consumption of goods and associated expressions of taste, early assumptions are made regarding the absence of other forms of social capital which attract status within the group. Cycling attire and participant appearance by the wearing of specific brands of clothing as well as choices of equipment, including means of nutrition and hydration, are interpreted as a measure of competence (Finklestein 1991: 43).

A further example involving a friend and colleague of the researcher (a competitive club runner, but a leisure cyclist), further illustrates both the surveillance process and the importance of rider appearance.

03.01.13 – Ride from BB waiting to start the ride, Tim from work turned up. He had arranged to meet his friend Alan at the BB. Chatted for a couple of minutes Tim and Alan said they would tag along behind us. We rolled out with Tim and Alan at the back, pace was easy but they were dropped before the wind farm, nobody seemed to notice they were gone and nobody mentioned it.

On the following day's training ride, Joe, one of the riders from the previous day, was again present and the researcher took the opportunity to ask him about the impression that he had formed of Tim and Alan. Joe said "I took one look at them and thought f...ing h..l you two are going to struggle with this group." He followed this with the comment: "I know you should not judge a book by its cover but I could just tell." When asked if he had considered waiting for Tim and Alan he replied "what would be the point?" Joe had made these judgements within seconds of judging the newcomers based purely on their appearance, equipment and clothing choice. He had not himself had or even overheard any conversations with Tim or Alan.

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[6] "Facebook" is the social media site used by the racing cyclists to communicate regarding training locations, time, etc.

[7] "Lucozade Sport" is a sports drink. "Altura" is a brand of cycling clothing.

Summary

The social setting of the racing cyclist training group is characterized by both a high degree of watching and of being watched. Consequently, this paper has attempted to explain the manner via which lateral participatory social surveillance has a significant influence on the maintenance of social order, power and ambition within this sporting elite cultural group. Social surveillance of this type (e.g. as described by Marwick, 2012) proposes that the mutual practice of both watching and being watched differs from panoptic surveillance, in that it requires a conceptualization of power as being an intrinsic element of every social relationship and that such lateral surveillance takes place between individuals rather than between organisations and individuals. Consequently, this paper conceptualises surveillance in relation to processes of socialisation and identity construction and classifies it in this research setting as considered essential to the social practice of coercive control.

The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu was used to explore and interpret the social practices of racing cyclists in the training setting. The flexibility and explanatory power of Bourdieu's concepts has enabled a conceptual link to be established between misrecognition arrived at through modes of surveillance and social control by dominant group members. Thus, social order is reproduced as subordinate members of the group, through participatory lateral social surveillance, misrecognise the actions of the dominant "hitters" as legitimate and act within the context of the social field in ways they believe to be in everyone's interests. Using an ethnographic research strategy that was dependent on the surveillance of cultural subjects and the recording of practice via both smart phone photography and more traditional field notes from observations, the researcher was able to capture the life of a training group both on the road and in the café. This form of surveillance research has successfully begun to unveil the intricacies of the cultural practices of racing cyclists, including the complex interplay between notions of collectivism and individualism and the internal mechanisms of power that are derived from participants watching one another and making associated judgments.

In the racing cyclist training group within which the current research was conducted, hitters were found to hold the highest positions in the social hierarchy and consequently had the most social capital. This was empowering to the individuals concerned given that the other group members held them in high esteem and crucially "knew their place" within the social order. Established group members tended not to stretch the boundaries or question the unwritten rules of authority in relation to the group dynamics and generally, although not exclusively, succumbed to the imposition of symbolic violence without challenge. It is this "taken for granted" unspoken nature of the field which is based on a misrecognition, the process whereby power is exercised in a way that is viewed not for what it objectively is but in a form which renders it legitimate to those who are subject to it. Authority of the hitters exerted through practices of surveillance was implicit, deemed to be legitimate and it was through mechanisms of surveillance by which insiders were differentiated from outsiders of the group. To be an accepted member of the subculture required acceptance of the rule-like structures and those who "do not get it" soon realized that behaviour deemed unacceptable or which challenged established group norms would be punished through acts of symbolic violence, often leading to exclusion from the group.

Whilst the current research has begun to capture the nature of racing cyclist culture in a training setting, there are other related avenues that remain unexplored. For instance, initial research findings have revealed tentative links between surveillance, communication technology and social media that would benefit from further attention. The racing cyclist sub-culture is becoming increasingly mediated, leaving a gap in knowledge relating to the

emerging effects that lateral participatory social surveillance (via online social networks) is having on the racing cyclist training group. However, … can a final sentence be inserted to reinforce the significance of this research in line with the principle of lateral participatory social surveillance? This research is fundamental in order to fully understand the how lateral participatory social surveillance is embedded into all aspects of the everyday training practices of racing cyclists.

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